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

TRANSLATED BY
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WITH PORTRAIT AND ENGRAVINGS.

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Our Gamm. A. I. M. of Boston.
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§ 1. Thus family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of the sacerdotal dignity, is an indication of the highest door of a family. Now, I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses; and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; so, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfather's father was named Simon, with the addition of Peellus; he lived at a great age, underwent many trials, and was the high priest, who, first of all the high priests, was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Peellus had nine sons, one of whom was Matthias, called Eupidas; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also.—This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus; his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander; his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Caesar. I have therefore, according to the course reckoned on the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Jesus born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family, as I have found it described in the public records, and so bid adieu to those who exultate me, as of a lower original.

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

3. But when I was twenty, the same year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very extraordinary persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Caesar. These I was desirous to defend, and was willing to go, especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts. Accordingly I came to Rome,
thought it was through a great number of human souls that we were drowned in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number," swam for our lives all the night; when, upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dicarchsia, which the Italians call Putecole, I became acquainted with Aliturius, and with an old man of his name, and with his son, and not but a Jew by birth; through his interest became known to Poppoea, Cæsar's wife, and took care as soon as possible to entreat aed to procure, that the part of my night's expenditure at liberty and exile, and besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppoea, I returned home again.

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

5. I was then afraid, lest by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party; and that the dangers of the war should be communicated by them, and slain; since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what was to be done. And when they were assembled, and made a sedition. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be calm and to make a peace with the enemy. And away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditions proceeding.

6. But, upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace [which Gessius with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fend of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered, which was this: Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jewry as had fallen in the city, and plundered them, not only the houses, but the synagogues also, and the children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them: for they did neither attempt any innovation or massacres, nor had any reason of marks of hatred or treacherous design towards

* It had been thought the number of Paul and his companions was four hundred, of which the author, in his letters, speaks as two hundred. In our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the events, say that they were about three hundred.

† See of the Wars, b. 11. ch. xviii. sect. 3.

‡ The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren from that law of Moses, Lev. xix. 35: "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour the Syriam. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and highly criminal of all? for, when the Jews, their enemies, came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for them to do; for when by their assistance they had joined battle with those that attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory they forgot the assurances they had given in these their fellow-citizens and confederates, and slew them by hundreds and thousands [13,000]. The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of those things in the history of our English war. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they had them, should be put in a position of subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent messengers to me and to Josephus, saying, that those were the men of sense and of excellent character, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, that it was better to live, than to die, and they were most zealous in their cause. And they thought it better to come to me than to Josephus, because he was a more courageous man that the nation had, [than to be kept there;] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity, but still so, that they should not be used with the people who were still seeing Roman soldiers in Judea.

8. When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small anxiety about their country, by reason that the Jews had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria.—But I delivered them all out of the fear they were subject to, and reconciled the nation kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius to Dorn, which is a city of Phoenicia, as often as they thought fit; and I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following:

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity of these Julius Capellius was the head. Now he as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Mairus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compasus the son of Compus (for as to Compus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king [Agrippa] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions; all these persons before named gave their advice, that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans, and to the king. But Patus, who was persuaded by Josephus and me and to what species of company we the emperor's envoys, was to be sent as a friend to the Romans. And this resolution otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble of them all; the ringleader of them. But as for Justus, the son of Patus, who was the head.
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of the third faction, although he pretended to be
benevolent about going to war, yet was he really
destrresous of innovation, as supposing that he should
gain power to himself by the change of parties.
He had been formerly known to all of them, and
devoted to inform the multitude, That the "thecity of Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee,
and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, of
which he was the last. For it is also said, that he,
without his own province, but that under him and Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city
"the place, and that he had ordered that the city
Tiberias; that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa the father, but had
continued it under the tetrarch Agrippa major.
"But he told them, that now they had been so
unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero
"Stephanus, and that upon Sepphoris' submission of itself to Rome, that the Galileans began
"to become the capital city of Galilee, and that the
royal treasury and the archives were now re
moved from them." When he had spoken these
tings, and a great many more against Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a re
volt, he added, That "this was the time for them
"to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their
confederates, (whom they might com
mand, and who would now no longer insist upon
their return, for they bare to the people, Sepphoris, because they preserved their
"fidelity to the Romans,) and to gather a great
"number of forces in order to punish them."—
And having thus persuaded the Galileans to go to war for his abilities in laying in making
harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though
they advised what was more to their advantage,
and thus by his craftiness and his fallacies, for
he was not skilful in the learning of the Greeks,
and in dependence on that skill it was, that he
undertook to write a history of these affairs, as
aiming by this way of haranguing to disguise the
truth. But as to the Hasmoneans, they were
his character and conduct in life, and how he
and his brother were, in a great measure, the au
thors of our destruction, I shall give the reader
an account in the progress of my narration.

10. And this was the state of Tiberias was now in
But as for Galilee, its condition was such, that when
the news of Levi, saw some of his citizens much elevated upon their revolt from the
Romans, he laboured to restrain them, and
treated them that they would keep their alle
iances to them. But he could not gain his pur
pose, although he did his endeavours to the ut
most; for the neighbouring people of Gadara,
Gabara, and Sagana, with the Tyrians, got to
gether a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and
slew some of the inhabitants, and cast it out of the
villages where they had entirely demolished it. They
then returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people formentioned, and rebuilt Gischala
after manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to
the Romans, for the reason following: Philip the
prince of that country, not only being a man of
wars, where there were few of them in the same
kingdom, had been unexpectedly preserved
when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been
besieged; but as he fled away, had fallen into another danger; and that was, that he was
by Manasseh, and the robbers that were with him;
but certain Babylonians, who were of his kin
cled, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the
robbers from executing their design. So Philip
staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth,
having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that
he might not be discovered; and when he was
borne toward one of the villages to him belonging,
but one that was situated at a great distance
from the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those
that were under him, and commanded them to come
to him. But God himself hindered that his im
portunity for his own safety should happen
and had it not so happened, he had certainly perished.
For a favour having seized upon him imme
diately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and
gave them to one of his freed men to carry them
and bring them again to Varus, who was in the
kingdom, which the king and his sister had in
trusted him withal, while they were gone to
Berytos with an intention of meeting Gessana.—

When Varus, and the messenger of Philip, had
and learned that he was preserved, he was
very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should
appear useless to the king and his sister, now
Philip was come. He therefore produced the
carrier of the letters before the multitude, and
accused him of forging the same; and said, that
he spake falsely, when he related that Philip was
at Jerusalem, fighting among the Jews against
the Romans. He then slew him. And when the
freed man of Philip did not come, Varus was
doubtful what should be the occasion of his
stay, and sent a second messenger with letters,
that he might, upon his return, inform him what
other hath beenfallen of his chief, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this
messenger also, when he came, of telling a false
hood, and slew him. For he was pulled up by
the Syrines that were at Cesarea, and had great
expectations for that design; for they said that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the
Jews had committed, and that he should himself
take the government, as derived from their king;
for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the
family and being a descendant of Solomon, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for
which reason it was that he was puffed up, and
kept the letters to himself. He contrived, also,
that the king should not meet with those writ
ings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one
should escape, and inform the king what had
been done. He moreover slew many of the
Jews, in order to gratify the Synians of Cesarea.
He had a man that was to join with the
Babylonians at Batanias, and to take up arms and make an as
sault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Es
batana; for that was the name they went by.
He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews
that were of a tetrarchy character, and told them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their coun
trymen which dwell there, that Varus hath heard, that you intend to march against the king; but,
not believing that report, he hath sent us to
"persuade you to lay down your arms, and that
"this compliance will be a sign that he did well
"not to give credit to those that raised the re
port concerning you." He also enjoined them
to send several of their countrymen as a defence for them as to the accusation laid against
them. So when the twelve messengers came to their countrymen at Ecbatana, and found that
they had no designs to join with them at all, they
persuaded them to send the seventy men also;
who not at all suspecting what would come, sent
them accordingly. So these seventy went down
to Cesarea, together with the twelve ambassa
dors, the same day, and met with Varus, and the
ambassadors, and made an expedition against
the Jews of Ecbatana. But there was one of the
seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform
the Jews of their coming; upon which they took

* The famous Jewish numbers of Twelve and Seventy
are here remarkable.
his arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel at Gamala, leaving their own territory, its cities, and other things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein.— When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to return, and to remain with them. And he made an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the evil that had befallen upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus’s design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Eusebius Modius, and sent him to be Varus’s interpreter, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

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

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal factories. I was not contented with what was recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass; and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver, I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capelius the son of Antylus, and consulted the king what sort of authority he should part with to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow-legates went to Gischala to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and for setting himself up, and desiring that I should make him master of the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow-legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money, to decree that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was out of my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king’s deputy there, had sent to him to ask for their deliverance. This being pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil for them, lest they should be forced to make use of oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew that two sestertii were sold with them of Cesarea for one drachma, but that Galilæa four score sestertii were sold for four drachmas. So he gave a drachma to the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. When I had dismissed my fellow-legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And, when I had sent for the most hardy drivers of horses, among the Romans, to take power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to be forced to overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilæa in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly, I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge and execute their principality; for he gave me his sentences, while I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.
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In great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had conquered them, and that I seized five hundred talents. Also when I twice took Scepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treachery on the minds of those cities, I did not only destroy them, but laid the land waste. I did not, however, stop at this; for I added to the death either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will shew. And on this account, I suppose, it was that God, who is never unaccounted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterward preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had a natural fear, and fidelity to me; for that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation, and desired that I should save them. And I wrote to those, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot breaths of Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly, I despatched him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such an ascent as should come with him, and should procure what necessitiessoever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a city of Galilee, which is named Cesarea.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature desirous of liberty. Also it pleased me not, lest, by the number of his adherents, they might be chiefly Justus and his father Piscus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had been sent to me by the governor himself to ascertain this. Accordingly, I seized Justus and his father, and the rest of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thereto; for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under the jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Sibas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that he might be seized by me. But when I myself viewed what I was now sensible he was doing. So he hastened to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and had seated myself on a certain elevated place, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their bets would be a heavy reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But, before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down; for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape myself, and save the city of Tiberias. Nor was this the most trustworthy of those armed men that were about him, out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them, to leave me, being learnd that I was alone excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered; and they had executed what they came about, had not been notified from the elevation I stood on, and with the armed men, with whose names and number James, been carried out of the crowd upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and with the Galileans.

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

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

21. But now I resolved to go for it, and the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how madly perjured he was, and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would make him suffer in his utter destruction. He immediately upon me professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good-will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what services, in those of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his sons of piety, justice, humanity and charity to the Jews his brethren.
I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prepared with the troops of the Gallicans to let me do so, I came to Sephphoris.

23. But the inhabitants of this city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another, to divert me that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers, who were in the confines of Poilemais, and promised to give him a great price for capturing me, and three thousand drachmas for the horse that they had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the pretense that he had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he went to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last; for, as he was attacking me, I saw, coming upon the horse he had with him deserted him, and came to me, and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended as if I should fight with the treacherous party.

I took with me my Galilean guards that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias: and when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded, I charged the keepers of the gates to give admission to none but to Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them.] Accordingly, those that had come in as a charge of those that were not his friends were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, if he refused so to do, he was a dead man; he, seeing armed men standing all round him, was terrified and compelled; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then took Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that I would save him, and that he should not die; but I would turn him to the Jerusalem design he had against me; nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would receive me as the faithful to the father.

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

24. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king, [Jesus of Philippi, and Joseph of Arimathaea,] bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stand among them, I would withdraw them, and gave them to some other, but said to them, "Every one, ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had come for protection, ought not to be so treated as to expel their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever

* Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting, that every case is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience, and not to be compelled in matters of religion; as one may here observe, on the contrary, ever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

25. Now the people of the city of Galilea made themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equeceius Modius, but the forces that were sent were not enough to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places and besieged it. But when Eubius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, he sent from him sixty furlongs, he sent by him a ten thousand foot chosen men to take the city that night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibeon along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to our meeting where I abode. Upon this, I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it: but Eubius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending on his horsemen; but he would not come down: for were I not satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Eubius and his horsemen, who were in the rear, did not come to our assistance in that time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibeon, having lost three of his men in the fight. Thus there were many thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Be-sara, that lay in the confines of Poilemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibeon where Eubius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of the village, and gave orders that the footmen should pass with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the money that was made in the ship's cargoes, and was brought to Be-sara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Eubius battle; but he would not accept of the offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my route, and marched towards Neopolemon, because I had heard that the country about the cities was laid waste by him. This Neopolemon was captain of a troop of horse, and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me; as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin.—So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; that, if I could only find an opportunity, that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sephphoris, (for those of Gabara Hospitania supposed they would do better to attach themselves to the others, which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their submission to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them. As for Gabara Hospitania, I said to Sephphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in submission to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposals; that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and became Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so; see sect. 31, andLuke, ix. 54.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSSEPHUS.

and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but, anyway, the king being friendly towards them, the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do; one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend of John, and the endowment of those who were attached to his party. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch and bide their time: but, I say, I feared for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following: 28. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritza, who observed that the wife of Phulemy, the king's brother, was to take a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and Roman into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheea, with four hundred and fifty of us, and asked admission of us; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and in order to give them betimes I spake at once with our enemies: so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, where they were first built. But they thought it very ill that they did not receive a part of these spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people and the king's brother about those disappointed Romans, and that I sold deceitful language to them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were here in not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, men named Iacinius and Joseph, that were among the chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had been plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them to be put to death if they did not. But when I discovered this my command to any other person. 27. Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was about to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated against me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Taricheea did also themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded my guards and armed men to leave me and go to sleep, when they discovered this to the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. And when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they found there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, to bring the man, who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due punishment; and it was Jesus the son of Saphias, who principally set them on. He was ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances in matters of consequence; a seditionous person he was indeed, and an innovator for beyond the law. He acted however in these laws of Moses into his hands, and came into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens, if you are not disposed to hate Josephus on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus insolently to his deserved punishment. 28. When he said this I, who had openly applauded him for what he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the house in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly incapable of all the danger. He too, from the beginning, and, by reason of the pains I had been taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care of my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent incursion the citizens made upon me, he awoke me, and told me of the danger I was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a general, before my enemies came out of the city, and I should not saw myself kill me themselves. Thus did he discourse to me, but I committed the care of my life to God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black garment, and hung my head down, and cried aloud, and went by way to the hippodrome, where I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; so I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and was the greater with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of compassion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I tried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return: so I spake to them, and went by way to the hippodrome, where I thought none of my adversaries would meet me; but still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that money which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me if they pleased; and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came upon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me; but when the multitude bid them hold their fire, they obeyed, and I was saved as I should own to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a confession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me. 29. Wherefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus to them: "O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. However, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for I know that this city of yours [Taricheea] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with abundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Taricheea and the strangers cried out, that "they gave me thanks, and despaired me to be of good courage." Although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, inasmuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard their threats, which, though I might not read in St. Matthew that the twelve tribes of the people's gospel who were assembled for that day were all in the same case, yet it was in my time a little before his time, our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy." Matt. v. 43, is worth the above. I take it that these are in the west, for for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned this interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he revered for the true Messiah, as it follows in the succeeding
them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wasted them, I had promised and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own home, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

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

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion, and that they would contend for their safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were wizards, and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those that fled to them for refuge ought not to be put to death, nor to be accused of witchcraft, and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people were at first a while; but they then returned, and went again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men: they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Tiberias, in order to kill them: when I was informed of it, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. Therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men were, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked them with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos. I also informed the king thereof, and requested him that he should have his own ships, that they might come to me. But it was not in order to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under the jurisdiction. However, they were desired at last to send ships, and I made preparations for them to come. And this was the conclusion of what concerned those men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, the king wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that they were desirous to come over to him: this was what they wrote to him. But when I came to them, they desired me to receive credit to me to play the part of a king, I had no men to do; for they had heard that the walls of Tarichees were already built: I agreed to their proposal accordingly. And when I had made preparations for them, I went over to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, when I was gone to Tarichees, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, it so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far from the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of the king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon the king wrote to me, and desired to know what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me; upon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent many of my armed men from Tarichees to their own homes, because the next day was our Sabbath; for I would not have the people of Tari chees be disturbed on that day by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I adjourned at that time, my army took any particulars of guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was double-mind'd to do; for I saw that my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us so to do, even then our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Tarichees, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose. Therefore I threatened to apply to the stragglers; so I immediately placed those my friends of Tarichees, on whom I could best confide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out at those gates; I also called me the heads of families, and bid every one of them to seize upon a ship, to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole land of the two tribes were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw their weapons upon me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations to have been ships, so that we need not wonder at our Evangelists, who still call them ships, nor ought we to render them less probable by their number, which is the more to be learned from our author elsewhere: Of the War, B. 4, chap. 9, sect. 8.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senators of Tiberias into my power, and sent them to the city forementioned, with me and the principal among the populace, and those not fewer in number than the other. But when the multitude saw into what great mischief they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition; hence I ordered young men of mine to punish him in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to pious to put one of my own people to death, and yet found it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go quietly to the citadel of Gamala, and bring out the king and queen, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Tarichæa, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. Of all the multitude of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pius, I made them to sup with me, and durèd our supper time I said to them, that I knew all that had been done, and said to them all others, but did not say so (publicly) because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jerusalem, upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was, so to say, their king, and had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death]. When I had said this to them during supper time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be put out of the city; I also put an end to the knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when

Portus Mosis, as is observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned Acts xxvii. 29 at Antioch. He was brought up, Acts xxii. 5. See Prid. at the year 46.
they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he per-
suaded the high priests, Annanias and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, and some others of the same se-
ditions faction, to set me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggregating my people and laying the foundation of my glory; and he said, that this would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Annanias also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get strength, and what was not yet so soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Annanias the high priest demonstrated to them, that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests, and of the rulers of the people, bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

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

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

41. Now, as my father wrote me an account of this, (for Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, was a pro-
ducer, and said, That I had told him,) I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow-citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain; my father ear

white breastplate, and in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days’ time I should leave the coun-
try, and go home. Upon hearing this they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, I left the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my return and landing at Perea. Thence, as soon as they heard it, they got together great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of the terror of the plunderers that were with them, and which people, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Abshhe.

42. But it was wonderful what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me, and said, "O Joszaiah, and hast thou thus lain down thy life? Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of the terror of the plunderers that were with them, and which people, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was Abshhe.

43. When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when I got to the camp of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, I saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be Improved by them. But when I did not comply with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

44. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compas-
sions. I thought it became me to un-
dergo the most manifest hazards of war, for so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their subsistence, I sent the rest away to their own houses; and when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and with the will of the Galileans, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready for divine wars, which were predictive of the great things that afterwards came to pass: of which see more in the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 3. The other life

in the War. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 3. 9.
to fight with Ptolemais, who was come with two
corps of footmen, and one troop of horsemen,
and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus, to burn
those villages of Galilee that were near Ptole-
mais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the
city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about
the distance of an hundred furlongs from it.
And now we frequently brought out our forces
as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther
than skirmishes at a distance; for when Ptolemais
was surprised to know that I was there, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet he did not
remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan
and his fellow-legates came. They were sent, as we
have said, to Galilee, to Simon, the high
priest. And Jonathan contrived how he
might catch me by treachery; for he durst not
make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote
me the following epistle: "Jonathan, and those
that are with him, and are sent by the scribe of
Jerusalem, to Josephus, send greeting. We are
sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who
have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many
snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him
to do nothing that should be contrary to the
common
his brethren. Hence has he determined to
consult with thee about our common
concerns, and what is fit to be done. We
therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to
bring only a few men with thee, for this village
with its castles, and its towers, are of as great a
strength as we ourselves. Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of
these two things, either that I should come with-
out armed men, and then they should have me
wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great
force, they would have me be the slave of
enemy. Now it was a horseman who bore the
letter, a man at other times bold, and one
that had served in the army under the king.
It was the second hour of the night that he came,
with a few friends, and had brought the
principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my
servant's telling me, that a certain horseman
of the Jewish nation was come, was called in at
my command, but did not so much as
me, but held out a letter, and said, "This letter
is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusal-
em. Do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I
am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my
guard could not but desire me to be a little
cautious of the writing, as I was in the
company of the soldiers. But I desired him to sit down and sup
with us, but when he refused so to do, I held the
letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talk-
ing with my guests about other matters. But a few words of this letter dissuaded me, and I dismissed the rest to go to their beds. I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered
my servant to get some wine ready. I also open-
ed the letter so that nobody could perceive it
and understood the words by mine own
writing. Upon the inspection that you
are come in health into Galilee. I rejoice, and
this especially, because I can now resign the
care of public affairs here into your hands, and
return into my native country, which is what I
have desired to do a great while; and I confess I
ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth,
but farther, and this without your commands.—
But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot
with all my heart do it now, and when I have
left Galilee, you may bring with you another
who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this
I do here at Chabalo. Do you therefore, on the
receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare
you well!"

45. When I had written thus, and given the
letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along
with him thirty of the Galileans of the best cha-
racters, and gave them instructions to salute
those ambassadors, but to say nothing to them.
I also gave orders to as many of those
armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to
me, to go along with the others, every one with
him whom he was to guard, lest some conversa-
tion might pass between those whom I sent and
those that were with Jonathan. So these men
went [to Jonathan.] But, when Jonathan and his
partners had failed in this their first attempt, they
sent me another letter, the contents whereof
were these: "Jonathan, and his brother, and his
desire to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on
the third day, without any armed men, that we may
hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John,
and the Galileans, and that they had sent their
letters to us, and said, that they would come to
us. But after that, we were informed by our friends
that the Galileans were come to Japha, which was the last village of
all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong
walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it.
There is a multitude of men with their wives and
children met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy their the advantage of an excellent
commander. With these clamours Jonathan and
his partners were greatly provoked, and though they durst not show their anger openly: so they
made them no answer, but went to other villages.
But still the same clamours met them from all
the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade
them to have any other commander besides
Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went
away from them without success, and came
next day to Sephoris, the greatest city of all Galilees.
Now the city of Sephoris was situated on the
river Jotapata, and the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but
neither praised nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sephoris to Aochis, the people of that place made a clamour against
them. For when they came to Japha, and were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their
clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John
met them, with three thousand armed men; but,
as I understood by their letter, that they had re-
solved to fight against me, I arose from Chabo-
lo, with three thousand armed men also, but left
in my camp one of my fast friends, and came
to Jotapata. Thus I was to Jotapata, and the
distance being no more than forty furlongs. Where I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two
hundred and forty cities and villages in Ga-
llie, I will send them, and I will send them to
people, excepting Gabara and Gischala, the one
of which is John's native city, and the other in
confederacy and friendship with him.

46. When Jonathan and his partners had
received this letter, they wrote me no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and
taking John into their consultation, they took
counsel together by what means they might at-
tack me. They also would write to all the cities and villages that were in
Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or
two persons in every one of them that was at
The Life of Flavius Josephus.

acquaintance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that he had done all that he could for Galileeans who were well affected to me: he would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with the resolution which about the hour of the night, by the means of one Sacceus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Judah, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were chargé with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads by which we would go towards the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

38. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them take their arms and bring three days' provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained each of them that most was faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself amongst them. Now on the fifth day, being the sabbath, when I was at Gabara, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me; many others of the multitude also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as they saw my camp, I bid them not to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country.

And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them, (for their affection was so great that they would not see nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with the sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had condescended to compose these troubles without shedding any blood.) Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so that men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men without saying a word of these matters to any body.

With these was Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they private, and armed men kept all the other doors but one, which they kept open; and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in this, for when I came, it was not for Galileeans who were well affected to me to desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with the resolution which about the hour of the night, by the means of one Sacceus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Judah, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were chargé with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads by which we would go towards the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

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the country; for in that road you may, in three days' time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that no man should pass by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they went to Tiberias, but went themselves to the city Tiberias, excepting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came to him, and chose him to be their governor, they would be under his government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thereto. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither, but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been in a great many such as had a quarrel with me to arrest me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having a just and well-meaning government in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: for they said, that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens; and that Jonathan, in bringing their case to me, that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they said that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they had done so, they were in fear for themselves, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else; because they said the Sabboth, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed on that day.

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichea; yet did I withdraw some to make inquiry in the city, how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me; I also set many persons all the way that led from Tarichea to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. Therefore, they all came into the Proseucha; it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people: thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow-citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom:" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justin came in and commended him for what he had said, and preferred them to some of the office of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour which was now come had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our law has us to go to our baths on the Sabbath days: so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these things, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day about the first hour of the day, I came from Tarichea to Polycarp's epistle, page 78. It is also worth our remark, that the Jews in the days of Josephus used to dine at the sixth hour or noon; and that in obedience to their traditions of the law of Moses also.
resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous, and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, to arm and equip themselves, in order to defend themselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breast-plate, and girded on my sword, so that it was quite concealed, and came into the Proseaux.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none to come near him except his countrymen; and, being engaged in the duties of the day, and bad betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, and of that unincensed silver, and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Cæphalus, and the ten who had been appointed to guard them, had been ordered to tell him that he might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, what is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the occasion of the murder of the priests? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had done this, and that we had received the money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to prevent it, I ordered them to spare the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the two hundred talents of money which they have taken." 58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill-will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult; and, as the people were crying out that they would not leave me alone, there came out of the temple one of the counsellors, Xerxes, saying to the people, that Jesus, John and his armed men were at hand; whereasupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance; for, had not this been so, I certainly would have been destroyed by John,) said, "O ye people of Tiberias, leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them, but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them."

59. When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and brought me to the place where the weapons, me and all that had been with me, had made it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. So I was hasted from the place, and I should appear to desire a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning, and desired him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and so did all they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he"
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

upon I presently sent for the chief of the Galli- neans, and told them after what manner, against all former usage, I had received the orders from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which, the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer, and again to report to them, but to permit them to go against John, and utter- ly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues.

However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to take the matter into consideration; and, if orders those ambassadors that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence; for I told them that it was best for them to act ac- cording to their determination; whereas they were prevailed on. And, as it happened, was in such a condition, as when the snares he had laid did not take effect, re- turned back to Gischala.

62. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom we had sent, came back again, and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ama- mas, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their en- deavors to persuade them to rise against the govern- ment. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief mess of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, the city perpetually, and abased the Galileans, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbel, where I first of all inquired into the matter; and I bid the ambassadors declare to the people that all the letters of the people of Jerusalem had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and that they might burn their houses, and that they should not be astonished at this; as also what related of the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act (on this occasion.)

63. Now when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for the high steward, I must say; and for the principal men of the Gababren, and pro- posed to hold a council, and desired them to con- sider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to have sent me, and, had drawn me from the city, and they thought it was not fit to desert the city now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them that two of them should go to accase me before the multitude, (at Jerusalem,) that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do, and that they would yearly pay the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole multitude are very mutable. When therefore it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Simon, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joas] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hun- dred soldiers for their guard.

64. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from Jerusalem, and, with my consent, I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comfort ed him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal give him pro- visions for his journey thither.
64. But on the next day I brought ten thousand armed men with one, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred drachmas, that they might reward them, and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and I said they would come to me the same day, and that they would bring what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them to bring them all before us: and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him why he wore it, and he told me that he had it out of the plunder of the city. I had him punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them. I proceeded to all whatsover they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs; as also to others who profess to write history, that they may have little regard to truth, and not afraid, either out of ill will or fear, to relate falsehoods. These men do, like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence; and so I shall say what I have conceived and let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to undervalue the wickedness of certain men, and not of any favour to them, but rather to sing out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus, thou most sagacious of writers, (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present), for so thou bestostest of thyself, that I and the Galileans were the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa junior]? For before ever I was appointed by the community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hast ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of them fell in the battle. Nor is it only who say this; but so is written in the commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clause with me and Pliny the historian, and desirous that thou, who wast the author [of that war] mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hast entirely been punished at the command of the king and not king Agrippa, who had power given him to leave the war; but when at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice, changed the punishment of death into a long imprison.
THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice! and, when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not enquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet certain it is, that I remember that thou hast the assurance to say, that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, were to know that I had done in Galilee; for thou wast then at Berytus in Syria, and the king: nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry, but leave it to thyself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But I am not concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Cæsar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. But if thou hast written as a poet, and written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men of letters, were alive? Greeks, were all alive! for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But another thing; these men are to live, that thou hast thoughtkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturtest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, who at that time were all dead under Vespasian and Titus; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately added these histories to those which the learned persons, some of which were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken and preserved for all time, that he had written his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined; and thou mayest thereby know their contents. "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend." "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him, nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say, (for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,) but he wrote thus by way of earnestness, that his dyathikes were not all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus, which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

65. Now when I had settled the affairs of Tiberius, and after I had associated my Friends as a Sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it appeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and march against Jerusalem, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had happened. Yet was I not pleased with their determination; as purposing to compose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the utmost diligence to learn what were their arms, which were under John; which when they had done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, wherein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had done wrongs to the public; and I took care to write a law to what time to such as would take this most advantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw down their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. So that the men both in public and private were in no small disorder, and deserted John; and, to the number of four thousand, threw down their arms, and came to me. So that no others staid with John, but joined with the fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre; and, when John saw that he had been outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and was in great fear against me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and took up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and because they saw me engaged in other affairs. So the Galilean Galus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly to them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly Galus promised them both, and came to the city; and when they saw him, he sent them a garrison, as they desired, and, when he had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, and made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took the city with the utmost joy, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill-will to that city also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that supported them there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as finding them without inhabitants; for the men out of fear ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring necessary to be instated on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew or birth, he makes not the least mention of the appearance of Christ, or what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew whose name was Patera. This Patera was the author of a most prodigal character; a slave both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposed to Josephus; and it is believed that he procured his murder, but that Josephus, though he had his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him live. But his particular enemies also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem.
The Life of Flavius Josephus.

upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was incensed at it, and determined them to leave off, and put them in mind that it was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since they neither would hear, nor to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them to do, (for I knew that the people there was too hard for my exhortations to them,) I bid those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about me, to go out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other city, and that by the death of Flavius, a friend of mine, I determined not to stay, but to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as he should dwell better, and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in such surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to go on a second, and to come to their assistance, and to take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies’ incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gal-

luss to send them a considerable army; both of horse, and of horse, and of cavalry, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harried by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Gerasim; where I cast a good and a great army of the city of Seppho-

riors; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of men with ladders, I became master of the greatest part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to re- tire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously and bravely, and gave a good account of ourselves, and Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fled back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been entrusted to guard my body; his name was Justus, who I had taken; and this was the reason why I did not let them take Sepphoris. At the same time also, there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of this guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five fur-

longs distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Syria.

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was Jeremias, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jor-

man, and held the command of those that belonged to him; and as soon as I knew that the army of the king of Syria had their forces to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which they did accordingly; so that our army, ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately
made a sudden turn with my own forces, and some of those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had met with the king's men, and one day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance; for the horses which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me overboard, I might have cut the man's throat, who was a captain of the king's, and carried into a village named Cephasmes or Capernaum. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was, and so they did not go with their pursuit any farther; but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hand, I continued feverish that day; and, as the physicians directed, I was at night removed to Tariiches.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage again, and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush behind the camp, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush; during which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them the easy prey of six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sailed from Taricheus to Judaea, and asked of him how he had treated his friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there was a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remember of them, and conveyed them to the Romans; and there he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he feared the men now near death, and the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian come to Ptolemais, the chief men of the king's party, and the temple, and the city of the priests, and the city of the village of Titus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction, yet did the king (only) put him into prison, and gave him to the king's command, and to have other care of him. But when Vespasian came to Galilee, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent them, with Phineus their commander; he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Tariiches, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how, when he was there, and who it was that he was afterwards wrou'd and took with him, or how I was afterwards loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the book of the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish War.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. But they said that they would not have him bestride the sea, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for so of these things when I was at home, and sent some of his officers to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he feared the men now near death, and the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian came to Ptolemais, the chief men of the king's party, and the temple, and the city of the priests, and the city of the village of Titus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction, yet did the king (only) put him into prison, and gave him to the king's command, and to have other care of him. But when Vespasian came to Galilee, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent them, with Phineus their commander; he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Tariiches, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how, when he was there, and who it was that he was afterwards wrou'd and took with him, or how I was afterwards loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the book of the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish War.

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

* Of this Epaphroditus, see the note on the Preface to the Antiquities.
PREFACE.*

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

Now of these several reasons for writing history, I must profess the two last were my own reasons also; of those actions of which I was most interested in that war which we Jews had with the Romans, and knew myself its particular actions, and what conclusion it had. I was forced to give the history of it, because I saw that others perverted the truth of those actions into their writings.

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

3. I found, therefore, that the second of the Ptolemies was a king, who was extraordinary diligent in what concerned learning, and the collection of books; that he was also peculiarly ambitious to procure a translation of our law, and of the constitution of our government therein contained, into the Greek tongue. Now Eleazar the high priest, one not inferior to any other of that dignity, among us, did not envy the forenamed king the participation of that advantage, which otherwise he would for certain have denied him; but that he knew the custom of our nation was, to hinder nothing of what we esteemed our lessons from being written to others. Accordingly I thought it became me, both to imitate the generosity of our high priest, and to suppose there might even now be many lovers of learning like the king; for he did not obtain all our writings at that time, but those who were sent to Alexandria as interpreters gave him only the books of the law, while there was a vast number of other matters in our sacred books. They indeed contain in them the history of five thousand years; in which time happened many strange accidents, many chances of war, and great actions of the commanders, and mutations of the form of our government. Upon the whole, a man that will peruse this history may principally learn from it, that all events succeed well, even to an incredible degree, and the reward of felicity is proposed by God; but then it is to those that follow his will, and do not venture to break his excellent laws; and that so far as men any way apostatize from the accurate observation of them, what was practicable before becomes impracticable; and whatsoever they set about as a good thing is converted into an incurable calamity. And now I exhort all those that peruse these books, to apply their minds to God, and to examine the mind of our legislator, whether he hath not understood his nature in a manner worthy of him; and hath not ever so

* This preface of Josephus is excellent in its kind, and lightly worthy the repeated perusal of the reader, before he set about the perusal of the work itself.
† That is, all the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans.
‡ We may sensibly note here, that Josephus wrote seven books about the Jewish War long before he wrote these his Antiquities. Those books of the war were published about A. D. 75, and these Antiquities, A. D. 93, about eighteen years later.
§ This Epaphroditus was certainly alive in the third year of Tiberius, A. D. 100. See the note on Antig. b. 1 against Ache, sect. 1: Who he was we do not know; for us to Epaphroditus, the freedman of Hero, and afterwards Domitian's secretary, who was put to death by Domitian in the 14th or 15th year of his reign, he could not be alive in the third of Tiberius.
¶ Josephus here plainly alludes to the famous Greek proverb, If God be with us, every thing that is impossible becomes possible.
PREFACE.

cited to him such operations as become his power, and hath not preserved his writings from those indecent fables which others have framed; although, by the great distance of time when he lived, he might have securely forged such lies; for he lived two thousand years ago: at which vast distance of ages the poets themselves have not been so hardy as to fix even the generations of their gods, much less the actions of their men, or their own laws. As I proceed, therefore, I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, in the order of time that belongs to them; for I have already promised so to do throughout this undertaking; and this, without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away any thing therefrom.

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

* As to this intended work of Josephus concerning the reasons of many of the Jewish laws, and what philosophical or allegorical sense they would bear, the loss of which work is by some of the learned not much regretted, I am inclined, in part, to Fabricius's opinion, sp. Hererocarp, p. 63, 64. That "we need not doubt but among some vain and frigid conjectures derived from Jewish imaginations, Josephus would have taught us a greater number of excellent and useful things, which perhaps noless, neither among the Jews nor among the Christians, can now inform us of; so that I would give a great deal to find it still extant."
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE YEARS—FROM THE CREATION TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

BOOK I.

CHAP. 1.


1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But when the earth did not come into sight, but was covered with thick darkness, and a wind moved upon its surface, God commanded that there should be light. And when that was made, he considered the whole mass, and separated the light and the darkness; and the name he gave to one was Night, and the other he called Deep; and he named the beginning of light, and the time of rest, the Sabbath, and the Day of the Lord. And this was indeed the first day. But Moses said it was one day; the cause of which I am able to give even now; but because I have promised to give such reasons for all things in a treatise by itself, I shall put off its exposition till that time. After this, on the second day, he placed the heaven over the whole world, and separated it from the other parts, and he determined 6 his way by the sea. He also placed a crystalline [firmament] round it, and put it together in a manner agreeable to the earth, and fitted it for giving moisture and rain, and for affording the advantage of dews. On the third day he appointed the dry land to appear, with the sea itself round about it; and on the very same day he made the plants and the seeds to spring out of the earth. On the fourth day he adorned the heaven with the sun, the moon, and the other stars; and appointed them their motions and courses, that the visceritides of the seasons might be clearly signified. And on the fifth day he produced the living creatures, both those that swim and those that fly; the former in the sea, the latter in the air. And he also appointed them to society and mixture for procession, and that their kinds might increase and multiply. On the sixth day he created the four-footed beasts, and made them male and female. On the same day he also formed man. Accordingly Moses says, that in just six days, the world, and all that is therein, was made; and that the seventh day was a rest, and a release from the labour of such operations; whence it is that we celebrate a rest from our labours on that day, and call it the Sabbath: which word denotes rest in the Hebrew tongue.

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

3. Moses says farther, that God planted a paradise in the East, nourishing with all sorts of trees; and that among them was the Tree of Life, and another of Knowledge, whereby was to be known what was Good and Evil. And that when he had brought Adam and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to take care of the plants. Now the garden was watered by one river; which ran round about the whole earth, and was parted into four parts. And Phison, which denotes a Multitude, running into India, makes its exit into the sea, and flows under the name of the Greeks called Ganges. Euphrates also, as well as Tigris, goes down into the Red Sea. Now the name Euphrates, or Phrath, denotes a river; or a firmament; or a Duke, or a Multitude; or Siphon. And Euphrates and Tigris, or Diglith, is signified what is swift with vermilion; and Geon runs through Egypt, and denotes what arises from the East, which the Greeks call Nile. God therefore commanded that Adam and his wife should eat of all the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the Tree of Knowledge; and peculiar to Josephus, in his preface, sect. 4, says, That Moses wrote some things eminently, some allegorically, and the rest in plain words: since, in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second, he gives us no history, but a mystery at all; but when he comes to verse 4, &c., he says, that Moses, after the seventh day was over, began to talk philosophically; it is not very improbable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some enigmatical or allegorical or philosophical sense. The change of the name of the god just at this place, from Elohim to Jehovah Elohim; from God to Lord God, in the Hebrew, Samuel, and Septuagint, does not also a little favour some such change in the narration or construction.

4. We, the observers, have, that Jesus was said to be compounded of soul, and body, with St. Paul, I Thess. v. 21, and the rest of the ancients. He elsewhere says also, That the name Jehovah was forbidden to be used, as hearing in soul and spirit, Antiq. B. iii. chap. ii. sect. 2. Wherein this strange notion came, which yet is not

* Since Josephus, in his preface, sect. 4, says, That Moses wrote some things eminently, some allegorically, and the rest in plain words: since, in his account of the first chapter of Genesis, and the three first verses of the second, he gives us no history, but a mystery at all; but when he comes to verse 4, &c., he says, that Moses, after the seventh day was over, began to talk philosophically; it is not very improbable that he understood the rest of the second and the third chapters in some enigmatical or allegorical or philosophical sense. The change of the name of the god just at this place, from Elohim to Jehovah Elohim; from God to Lord God, in the Hebrew, Samuel, and Septuagint, does not also a little favour some such change in the narration or construction.

§ By the Red Sea is here meant the Arabian Gulf, which also is all by one name, but all that South Sea, which included the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, as far as the East Indies, as Rehband and Hudson were truly note, from the old geographers.
foretold to them that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. But while all the living enjoyed the fruit of the tree,7 he had tasted of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and imagined that when they disobeyed the command of God, and fell into calamities, he persuaded the woman, out of a malicious intention, to taste of the Tree of Knowledge; telling them, that in that tree was the power of good and evil, and which knowledge, when they should obtain, they would lead a happy life; nay, a life not inferior to that of a god; by which means he overcame the woman, and persuaded her to despise the command of God. And when he had tasted of that tree, and was pleased with its fruit, she persuaded Adam to make use of it also. Upon this they perceived that they were become naked to one another, and being ashamed thus to appear abroad, they invented somewhat to cover them; for the tree sharpened their understanding: and they covered themselves with fig leaves; and tying these before them, out of modesty, they thought that they were happier than they were before, as they had discovered what they were in want of. But when God came into the garden, Adam who was wont before to come and converse with him, being conscious of his wicked heart, and of the state of the world he had been surprised; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure? And why he, that before delighted in that conversation, did now fly from it, and avoid it? When he made no reply, a form of words came out of him that had transgressed, and he had behaved himself not as he was surprised by God; and he asked what was the cause of this his procedure? And why he, that before determined about you both, how you might lead a happy life, without any affliction, and care, and sorrow; and therefore he asked them whether they were now pleased with what grew naturally, that might contribute to your enjoyment and pleasure should grow up by my providence, of their own accord, without your own labour and pains-taking; which state of labour and pains-taking would soon bring on old age, and death would not be at any remote distance; but now thou hast abused this my good will, and hast disobey ed my commands; for thy silence is the sign of a virtue, but of thy evil conscience. However Adam assented to his judgment; and said he was not to be angry at him, and laid the blame of what was done upon his wife; and said that he was deceived by her, and thereupon became an offender; which he accused the serpent. But God allotted him punishment, because he the more easily, by the counsel of his wife; and said, the ground should not henceforth yield its fruits of its own accord, but that when it should be harassed by their labour, it should bring forth some of its fruits, and refuse to bring forth others. He also made Eve liable to the inconvenience of breeding, and the sharp pains of bringing forth children; and this because his punishment was in accordance with the Serpent which persuaded her, and had thereby brought him into a calamitous condition. He also deprived the Serpent of speech, out of indignation at his malicious disposition towards Adam. Besides this, he inserted poison under his tongue, and made him an enemy to men; and suggested to them, that they should direct their strokes against his head, that being the place wherein lay his mischievous designs towards men, and it being easiest to take vengeance on him that way. And when he had done this, he gave him the skin of his feet, that he might go rolling all along, and dragging himself upon the ground. And when God had appointed these penalties for them, he removed Adam and Eve out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Posternity of Adam, and the Ten Generations from him to the Deluge.

§ 1. Adam and Eve had two sons; the elder of them was named Cain; which name, when it is interpreted, signifies a Possession; the younger Abel, which signifies Sorrow. They had also daughters. Now the two brethren were pleased with different courses of life; for Abel was the younger was a lover of righteousness; and, believing that God was present at all his actions, he brought the fruits of the earth, and of his own body, to God. Now Cain brought the fruits of the earth, and of his husbandry; but Abel brought milk, and the first fruits of his flock: but God was more delighted with the latter worship, when he was pleased with what grew naturally, as in the state of Cain, and he slew his brother, and hid his dead body, thinking to escape discovery. But God, knowing what had been done, came to Cain, and asked him, What was become of his brother? because he had not seen him of many days; whereas he used to observe them conversing together at other times. But Cain was in doubt with himself, and knew not what answer to give to God. At first he said, That he himself was at a loss about his brother; and therefore he was provoked by God, who pressed him vehemently, as resolving to know what the matter was, he replied, He was not his brother's guardian, or keeper, nor was he an accuser of him: God convicted Cain, by having been the murderer of his brother, and said, I wonder at thee, thou knowest not what is become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed.5 God therefore did not inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, on account of his offering sacrifice, and thereby making application to him not to be extreme in his wrath to him; but he made him accursed, and threatened ed him with the seventh generation. He also cast him, together with his wife, out of that land. And when he was afraid, that in wandering about he should fall among the wild beasts, and by that means perish, God bid him not to

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* Hence it appears, that Josephus thought several at least of the brute animals, particularly the serpent, could speak before the fall. And I think few of the more perfect kinds of those animals want the organs of speech at this day. Many inducements there are also to a notion that these animals are in obedient states, and that their capacities have been once much greater, than what we now see them, and are capable of being taught, and of being taught and trained in the same manner as our domestic animals; this is a still more ancient and authentic and probably allegorical account of that grand affair of the fall of our first parents, I have not been able to say in what light Josephus may have seen it, but being only a conjecture, I omit it. Only thus far, that the imposture of the sin of our first parents to their posterity, any farther than as some way the cause or occasion of man's mortality, seems almost entirely groundless; and that both man and the other subordinate creatures are hereafter to be delivered from the curse then brought upon them, and last to be delivered from that bondage of corruption, Rom. viii. 19-25. 1 § 4. The main reason why Cain accepted of the sacrifice of Abel, and rejected that of Cain; as also why Cain slew Abel, on account of that he acceptance with God, is much the same as that of Josephine. I mean, because Cain was the evil one, and slew his brother. And, therefore what sort of Cain? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous. 1 John, i. 9-12. — Know therefore to be no better than a Pharisaical notion or tradition.
BOOK I—CHAP. III.

entering such a melancholy suspicion, and to go over all the earth without fear of what mischief he might suffer from wild beasts; and, setting a mark upon him, that he might be known, he commanded him to depart.

2. When Abel had travelled over many countries, he, with his wife, built a city named Nod, which is a place so called, and there he settled his abode; where also he had children.—He was not afraid of his punishment in order to amendment, but to increase the wickedness; for he only aimed to procure every thing that was for his own bodily pleasure, though it obliged him to be injurious to his neighbours. He contradicted all that he had with much wealth, rapine and violence; he excelled his acquaintance to procure pleasure and spoils by robbery, and became a great leader of men into wicked courses. He also introduced a change in that way of simplicity wherein men lived before; and was the author of measures and weights; and whereas they lived innocently and geniously while they knew nothing of such arts, he eh his with us. Nay, even while Adam was alive, it came to pass, that the posterity of Cain became exceeding wicked, every one successively dying, one after another, more wicked than the former. They were intolerable in war, and in all other actions. But Tubal, one of Cain's children, by his other wife, exceeded all men in strength, and was very strong in muscular performances. He procured what tended to pleasures of the body by that method; and first of all invented the art of making iron. Lemuel was also the father of a daughter, whose name was Naamah; and because he was so skilful in matters of divine revelation, that he knew he was to be punished for Cain's murder of his brother, he made his Escape, with his wife, children, and other goods, and went away to inhabited regions far distant from the land of Canaan; for he was afraid of being murdered by his brothers and their posterity, and of falling into their hands, and of being subjugated to their dominions to God whose commandments were appointed to them. Cain was punished for his wickedness as justly as Noah was for his, and was made an example to all future generations, in the time of which Noah lived, and in the time of his being saved from the flood. His posterity lived by the practice of the art of making iron, and by their influence, and by their buildings and their inventions, and by their wars, and by their expeditions and their actions for the better; but seeing they did not yield to him, but were slaves to their wicked pleasures, he was afraid they would kill him, together with his wife and children, and every one that he had married; so he departed out of that land.

2. Now God loved this man for his righteousness. Yet he not only condemned those other men for their wickedness, but determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make an other race that should be pure from wickedness, and cutting short their lives, and making their years not so many as they formerly lived, but one hundred and twenty only; and he turned the dry land into a Cassification and a Deluge, which all antiquity witnesseth to be an ancient tradition; nay, Seth's posterity might engrave their inventions in an endless number of pillars; yet, it is no way credible that they could survive the deluge, which has buried all such pillars and edifices for unutterable ages, in the waters, especially since the like pillars of the Egyptian Seth or Berosus were extant after the flood, in the land of Nineveh, and perhaps in the days of Josephus also, as is shown in the place here referred to.

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

4. Josephus here supposes, that the life of these giants (for of them only no I understand him) was now reduced to 120 years. In the year 120 years, one generation. Enoch, sect 10, in Asa. Rer. part 1, p. 385. For as
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father was one hundred and sixty-two years old. Now he, when he had lived three hundred and sixty-five years, departed, and went to God; whence it is that they have not written down his death. Now Methuselah, the son of Enoch, who was born to him when he was one hundred and sixty-five years old, had Lamech for his son, when he was one hundred and eighty-seven years of age; to whom he declared the government, when he had retained it nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Now Lamech, when he had governed seven hundred and seventy-seven years, appointed his son Tubal-cain to be his successor. Now Tubal-cain, who was born to Lamech when he was one hundred and eighty-two years old, and retained the government nine hundred and fifty years. These years collected together make up the sum before set down. But now, let us inquire into the deaths of these men; for they extended their lives all along, together with their children and grandchildren; but let him have regard to their births only.

5. When God gave the signal, and it began to rain, the water poured down forty four days, till it became fifteen cubits higher than the earth; which was the reason why there were no greater ones after. And after this, the water ceased to fly away. When the rain ceased, the water did but just begin to abate after one hundred and fifty days; that is, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, it then ceased to subside for a little while. After this, the river rested on the face of the earth of a certain mountain in Armenia; which, when Noah understood, he opened it, and seeing a small piece of land about it, he continued quest, and conceived some cheerful hopes of deliverance. But only a few days afterwards, when the water was decreased to a greater degree, he sent out a raven, as desirous to learn whether any other part of the earth were left dry by the water, and whether he might go out of the ark with safety; but the raven returned to him seven days, he sent out a dove, to know the state of the ground, which came back to him covered with mud, and bringing an olive branch. Here by Noah learned that the earth was become clean of the flood. So after he had stayed seven more days, he sent the living creatures out of the ark, and both he and his family went out, when he also sacrificed to God, and feasted with his company. As the Ark presently called the Noah's Ark, or Noah's, the Place of Descent; for the ark being saved in that place, its remains are showed there by the inhabitants to this day.

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

5. This Arkulnecus, or Ascension, is the proper rendering of the Armenian name of this very city. It is called in Ptolomy, Naxalan, and by Moses Chosrenus, the Armenian historian, Isakian; but at the place itself, Noahchaian, which signifies the first place of descent, and is a lasting monument of the preservation of Noah in the ark, upon the top of that mountain, at whose foot was built, the first city or town after the flood. See Ant. B. xx. chap. ii. sect. 3. and Moses Chosrenus, p. 71, 72; who also says, p. 19, that another town was related to have been built, Serch, or Taqch, on account of the dispersion, on account of the dispersion of Xisularus, or Noah's sons, from thence first made. Whether any other town of this ark is known in the barbarian authors of the country suppose, I cannot certainly tell. Nor Turufan had not very long since a mind to see the place himself, but that with too great dangers and difficulties to venture through them.
BOOK I.—CHAP. IV.

9. Now when Noah had lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood; and all that time happily, he died, having lived the number of nine hundred and fifty years. But let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think, that what we have said of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives an argument, that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life, for those ancients were beloved of God, and [lately] made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, men did all live so great a number of years; and besides, God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it as a monumenal display of his power. They were all of a series, which would not have recorded the time for future ages, [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived six hundred years; for the great year is completed in that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said, all those that have written antiquities, both among the Greeks and Barbarians: for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian history, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean monuments, and Mochus and Hesiteus, and besides those that composed the Phcenician history, agree to what I here say. Hesiod also, and Hecateus, and Hannibel, and Aculius; and besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years. But as to these matters, let every one look upon them as they think fit.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Tower of Babylon and the Confu-

§ 1. Now the sons of Noah were three, Shem, and Japhet, and Ham, born one hundred years before the flood. These, being of good purpose, moved from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; and persuaded others who were greatly afraid of the lower grounds on account of the flood, and so were very loath to come down from the high mountains, to follow their examples. Now the plain in which they first dwelt, was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad, for the thorough peopling of the earth, that they might not raise sensious and populous nations, but that the country, being very large, should be divided into separate colonies, that being divided, and the city that was divided might not be a great part of the earth, and enjoy its fruits after a plentiful manner. But they were so ill in instructed that they did not obey God; for which reason they fell into commotions, and were made sensible, by experience, of what they had been guilty. For when they flourished with a numerous youth, God admonished them again to send out colonies; but they, imagining that the prosperity they enjoyed was not derived from the favour of God, but supposing that their own power was the proper cause of the plentiful condition they were in, did not obey him. Nay, they added to this their disobedience to the Divine will, the most alluring supposition; that if they were to send out separate colonies, that being divided among, they might the more easily be oppressed.  

2. Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an afront and contempt of God. He was the son of the grandson of Noah, a mighty man, and of great strength of hand. He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through his means they were happy, but to believe that it was through their own wisdom, which conspired that happiness. He also gradually changed the government into tyranny, seeing no other way of turning men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence on his own power. He also said, we are revenged on God, if he should have a mind to drouth the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to
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reach; and that he would avenge himself on God, for destroying them before Greece.

3. Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, and to esteem it a piece of cowardice to submit to God; and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any wise disquieted at the least idle word. And, by reason of the multitude of hands employed in it, it grew very high, sooner than any one could expect; but the thickness of it was so great, and it was so strongly built, that if it had not seemed, upon the view, to be less than it really was. It was built of burned brick, cemented together with mortar made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water. When God saw that they acted so madly, he did not resolve to destroy them utterly, since they were not grown wiser by the destruction of the former sinners, but he caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages, and causing, that through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion of that multitude, the Hebrews understanding it before; for the Hebrews mean by the word Babel, confusion. The Sibyl also makes mention of this tower, and of the confusion of the language when she says thus: "When all men were of one language they built a higher tower, if they would thereby ascend up to heaven, but the gods sent storms of wind and overthrew the tower, and gave every one his peculiar language; and for this reason it was that the city was called Babylon." But as to the plain of Shinar, in the country of Babylonia, Hestucus mentions it, when he says thus: "Such of the priests as were saved took the sacred vessels of Jupiter Enyalius, and came to Shinar of Babylonia."
the EvilEans, who are called Getul' · Sabethas founded the Sabathena; they are now called by the Greeks Astimorbas; Sabataas settled the Sabataeas; and Ragamus the Ragamus; and he had two sons, the one of which, Judas, settled the Judeas, a nation of western Ethiopians, and left them his name; as did Sabas, to the Sabataeas. But Numrod, the son of Chus, stayed and the other came back to Egypt and we shall describe hereafter was the cause that those cities were overthrown. The sons of Canaan were these: Sidonius, who also built a city of the same name; it is called by the Greeks Sidon; Amathus inhabited in Amathis, which is now called Amatike by the inhabitants, although the Macedonians named it Epiphania, from one of his posterity; Arudeas possessed the island of Rhodes. A Phaexas was the son of Arumus, whom Necho overthrew in Libanus. But for the seven others (Eueus, Chethus, Jehuseus, Amorrees, Gergesses, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus), we have nothing in the story but their names: and the Hebrews overthrew their cities; and their calamities came upon them on the occasion following.

3. Noah, when after the deluge the earth was resettle in its former condition, set about its cultivation; and when he had planted it with vines, and the fruit was ripe, and he had gathered the grapes in their season, and the wine was ready for use, he offered sacrifice, and fasted, and being drunk, he fell asleep, and lay naked in an unseemly manner. When his sons saw this, he came laughing, and showed him to his brethren; but they covered their father's nakedness. And when Noah was made sensible of what had been done, he prayed for posterity to the inhabitants of Canaan, that they might be granted to Haran of Mesopotamia, where Terah died, and was buried, when he had lived to be two hundred and five years old; for the life of man was already by degrees diminished, and became shorter than before. Nahor begat Haran, when after whom the term of lifeless man was one hundred and twenty years, God determining it to the length that Moses happened to live. Now Nahor had eight sons by Milca; Uz, and Bus, Kemuel, Hazar, Phuedas, Lubud, and Bethuel. These were all the genious sons of Nahor; for Teba, and Gaim, and Tachas, and Macha, were born of Reuma his concubine; but Bethuel had a daughter Rebecca, and a son Laban.

CHAP. VII.

How Abram our Forefather went out of the Land of the Chaldeans, and lived in the Land then called Canaan, but now Judea.

§ 1. Now Abram, having no son of his own, adopted Lot, his brother's son, and his wife Sarah's brother; and he left the land of Chaldea when he was seventy-five years old, and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein did dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity. He was a person of great age, both for understanding all the things of God, and for his hearers, and not mistaken in his opinions for which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinions that happened then to have concerning God; for he was firm; and not from Abram the Hebrew, or Passenger from Egypt, nor from the household of Abraham the Hebrew, or from the people of Israel, but from Abraham, the Father of all the children of Hebrew, or of all the Hebrews, in a history long before Abram was born; nor ever Espousing, or ever Unespousing, for that, Gen. xix, 13, where the original says, they told Abram the Hebrew, the Septuagint renders it the Passenger, foreign; but this is spoken only of Abram himself, though he had then forty years, and his marriage almost two years, he signification of the Hebrew word, taken as an appellative and not as a proper name.
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the first that ventured to publish this notion, that there was but One God, the Creator of the Universe; and that as to other, [gods] if they contributed any thing to the happiness of men, that each of them afforded it only according to his appointment, and not by their own power. This his opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena that were visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, and moon, and all the heavenly bodies; thus, "if [said he] all the inhabitants of the earth, not only those of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain that so far as they cooperate to our advantage, they do it not of themselves, but as they are subser- vient to him that commands them, to whom alone we ought justly to offer our honour and thanksgiving." For which doctrines, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country; and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan. And when he was there settled, he built an altar, and performed a sacrifice to God. And he made his son Japheth, his beloved, his heir, to inherit his kingdom; but not naming him, as he says thus: "In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous and great, and his name was Hezechias. He said concerning himself, Hecezicus does more than merely mention him; for he com- posed, and left behind him, a book concerning him. And Nicolaus of Damascus, in the fourth book of his history says thus; "Abraham reigned an hundred and eighty years; he was a foreigner, who came within the land of the Canaan; Babylon, called the land of the Chaldeans; But, after a long time, he got him up, and removed from that country also, with his people, and went into the land of Canaan; But he dwelt in the land of Jorda, and this when his posterity became a multitude, as to which posterity of his, we relate their history in another work. Now the name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus, and is known by another village, which has derived its name from him, The Habitation of Abraham."

CHAP. VIII.

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

§ 1. Now after this, when a famine had invaded the land of Canaan, and Abram had discovered that the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, and to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own arguments proved the truest. Now seeing he was to take Sarah with him, and was afraid of the madness of the Egyptians with regard to women, lest the king should kill him on occasion of his wife's great beauty, he contrived this device: He pretended to be her brother, and directed her in a semblable way to pretend the same; for he said it would be for their benefit. Now as soon as they came into Egypt, it happened to Abram as he supposed it would then call the name of his wife's beauty, was greatly talked of; for which reason Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, would not be satisfied with what was reported of her, but would needs see her herself; but that was preparing to enjoy her; but God put a stop to his inordinate inclinations, by sending upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from those calamities, they told him, that his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai, who she was and who it was that she brought along with her! And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her; but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, that he might be induced to leave into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before. 2. From hence the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great wisdom. But on the contrary, the Egyptians undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and deli- nities, and other sciences, and before Abram came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.

CHAP. IX.

The Destruction of the Sodomites by the Assyrian War.

§ 1. At this time, when the Assyrians had the dominion over Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition, both as to riches and number of their youth. There were five kings that managed the affairs of this country, Balass, Baras, Senubar, and Sumobor, with the king of Bala, and each king led on his own troops. And the Assyrians made war upon them, and dividing their forces into four parts, fought against them. Now every part of the army had its own commander; and when the battle was joined, the Assyrians were conquerors, and imposed a tribute upon the kings of the Sodomites, who submitted to this slavery twelve years, and so long they continued to pay their tribute once on the thirtieth year they rebelled, and took the army of the Sodomites came upon them, under their leader, and fought against them, and put an end to them. These kings had laid waste all Syria, and overthrew the offspring of the giants. And when they were come over against Sodom, they pitched their camp at the vale called the Sham-e-va, that at that time, by sending a letter upon him a distemper, and a sedition against his government. And when he inquired of the priests, how he might be freed from those calamities, they told him, that his miserable condition was derived from the wrath of God, upon account of his inclinations to abuse the stranger's wife. He then, out of fear, asked Sarai, who she was and who it was that she brought along with her! And when he had found out the truth, he excused himself to Abram, that supposing the woman, and not his wife, he set his affections on her, as desiring an affinity with him by marrying her; but not as incited by lust to abuse her. He also made him a large present in money, that he might be induced to leave into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation, his virtue and his reputation became more conspicuous than they had been before. 2. From hence the Egyptians were formerly addicted to different customs, and despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account, Abram conferred with each of them, and confuting the reasonings they made use of, every one for their own practices, he demonstrated that such reasonings were vain, and void of truth; whereupon he was admired by them, in those conferences, as a very wise man, and one of great wisdom. But on the contrary, the Egyptians undertook; and this not only in understanding it, but in persuading other men also to assent to him. He communicated to them arithmetic, and deli- nities, and other sciences, and before Abram came into Egypt, they were unacquainted with those parts of learning; for that science came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, and from thence to the Greeks also.
demised joined battle with the Assyrians, and the
fight was very obstinate, many of them were
killed, and the rest were carried captive; among
whom was Lot, who had come to assist the
Sodomites.

CHAPTER XI.

How Abram fought with the Assyrians, and over-
came them, and saved the Sodomite Prisoners,
and took from the Assyrians the prey they had
gotten.

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

2. Abram, when he had saved the captive
Sodomites, who had been taken by the Assyrians,
and Lot also, his kinsman, returned home in
peace. Now the king of Sodom met him at a
particular place, which they called The King’s
House, near Salem Jerusalem. Now this place
received him. That name signifies, The right-
wise King: and such he was, without dispute,
insomuch that, on this account, he was made the
king of God; however, he was afterward called
Salem Jerusalem. Now this king supplied Abram’s
army in a hospitable manner, and gave them provisions in abundance; and as they
were feasting, he began to praise him, and to
bless him, because he had delivered him out of
trouble. And when Abram gave him the tenth part of his
prey, he accepted of the gift. But the king of
Sodom desired Abram to take the prey; but entreat
that he might have those men restored to
him whom Abram had saved from the Assyrians,
because they belonged unto him. But Abram
would not do so; nor would make any other ad-
vantage of that prey, than what his servants
had; but still insisted that he should afford a
part to his friends that had assisted him in the
battle. The first of them was called Eschol, and
then Emzer, and Mamre.

3. And God commended his virtue, and said,
There shall not however lose the rewards these
that deserved to receive by such thy glorious ac-

domplishments. He answered, And what advantage will it be to me to have such rewards, when I have none
more to give them apart from me? for he was hitherto child-

less. And in addition to that, he had promised that he should have a
son, and that his posterity should be very nu-
merous; insomuch that their number should be like the

stars. When he heard that, he offered a sacri-

cement to God, as was commanded him. The num-
er of the sacrifices was this: He took an heifer
of three years old, and a she-goat of three years
old, and a ram in like manner of three years old,
and a turtledove, and a pigeon; and, as he was
engaged in the service, another bird, a little
bird, he did not divide. After which, before he

* It is worth noting here, that God required no other
animals under the law of Moses than what were taken
from these five kinds of animals which he here required of
Abram. Nor did the Jews heed upon any other domestic

animals the three here named, as Rashi observes on
Amos. B. iv. ch. iv. sect. 4.

1 As to this affliction of Abraham’s posterity for 400
years, see Amos. B. iv. ch. ix. sect. 1.

built his altar, where the birds of prey flew
about as doves of brood, a divine voice came
to him, declaring that their neighbours would be
gracious to him; and this he believed, although he
had been in Egypt, for four hundred years; during which
time they should be afflicted, but afterwards
should overcome their enemies, should conquer
the Canaanites, and possess themselves of their
land and of their cities.

4. Now Abram dwelt near the oak called Ogy-
ges; the place belongs to Canaan, not far from
the city of Hebron. But being uneasy at his
wife’s barrenness, he went to the king of Gath,
and asked that he might have male issue; and God required of
him to be of good courage; and said, that he
would add to all the rest of the benefits that he
had received, and bestowed upon him, even since he led him out
of Mesopotamia, the gift of children. Accord-
ingly Sarai, at God’s command, brought to his
bed one of her handmaids, a woman of Egyptian
descent, in order to obtain children by her;
and when this handmaid was with child, she tri-
umphed, and ventured to afront Sarai, as if the
dominion were to come to a son to be born of her.
But when Abram resigned her into the hands of
Sarai, to put her to service, she would not return
to her master and mistress, as if not able to bear the instance of Sarai’s soreness to her; and she entreated God to have compassion on her. Now a divine Angel met her, as she was going forward in the wilderness, and bid her return back to her master and mistress; and in order to subdue that wise advice, she would live better hereafter; for that the reason of her being in such a miserable case was this, that she had been ungrateful and arrogant towards her mistress.
He also told her, that if she disobeyed God, and went on still in her way, she should perish; but if she would return back, she should become the mother of a son, who should reign over that country. These words adduced her to her master and mistress, and obtained for

her. A little while afterwards she bare Is-
mael, which may be interpreted, Heard of God,
because God had heard his mother’s prayer.

5. The formentioned son was born to Abram
when he was eighty-six years old; but when he
was ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and pro-
mised him, that he should have a son by Sarai, and his name should be called Isaac. And in fact he showed him, that from this son should spring great nations and kings, and that they should ob-
tain all the land of Canaan by war, from Sidon to
Egypt. But he charged him in order to keep his poxterity unto the limit of others, that they should be circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin, and
that this should be done on the eighth day after
they were born, the reason of which circumci-
sion, I will explain in another place. And Abram
inquiring also concerning Israel, whether he
should live or not, God signified to him, that he
should live to be very old, and should be the fa-
ther of great nations. Abram therefore gave
thanks to God for these blessings; and then, God
and all his family, and his son Ismael, were cir-
cumcised immediately; the son being that day
thirteen years of age, and he ninety-nine.

CHAPTER XI.

How God gave the Nation of the Sodomites,
out of his Wrath against them for their Sins.

§ 1. About this time the Sodomites grew proud,
on account of their riches and great wealth; they
became unjust towards men, and impious towards
God, insomuch that they did not call to mind the advantages they received from him, that had
been to them by the Sodomitical practices. God was therefore much dis-

animals than the three here named, as Rashi observes on
Amos. B. iv. ch. iv. sect. 4.
pleased at them, and determined to punish them for their pride, and to overthrow their city, and to make it a desolation, unless some change should be made.

2. When God had thus resolved concerning the Sodomites, Abraham, as he sat by the oak of Mamre, at the entrance of his tent, saw three angels; and thinking them to be strangers, he rose up, and saluted them, and desired they would accept of an entertainment, and abide with him; to which, when they agreed, he ordered cakes of manna, and water for washing his feet; and when he had slain a calf, he roasted it, and brought it to them, as they sat under the oak.

Now they made a show of eating; and besides, they asked him about his wife Sarah, where she was; and when he told them she was in the tent, they should come again hereafter, and find her become a mother. Upon which the woman laughed, and said, that it was impossible she should bear children, since she was ninety years of age, and her husband was a hundred. Then they concealed themselves no longer, but declared that they were angels of God: and that one of them was sent to inform them about the child, and two of them to warn of Sodom.

3. And when Abraham heard this, he was grieved for the Sodomites; and he rose up, and besought God for them, and entreated him that he would not destroy the city, because it was not righteousness with it. And when God had replied, That there was no good man among the Sodomites; for if there were but ten such men among them, he would not punish any of them for their sins, Abraham held his peace. And the angels came to the city of the Sodomites, and Lot entreated them to accept of a lodging with him; for he was a very generous and hospitable man, and one that had learned to imitate the goodness of Abraham. Now when the Sodomites saw the young men to be of beautiful countenances, and this to an extraordinary degree, and that they took up their lodgings with Lot, they resolved themselves to enjoy these beautiful boys by force and violence; and when Lot entreated them to sobriety, and not to offer any thing immodest to the strangers, but to have regard to their lodging in his house; and promised, that if their inclinations could not be removed, he would send them to his brother, but let them not be exposed to any violence: and so, instead of these strangers: another thus they were made ashamed.

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

the Jewish War. But Lot's wife continued turning back to view the city, as she went from it, and beheld no man, until she became of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt for I have seen it, and it remains at this day. Now he and his daughters fled to a certain small place, called Zoar; and Lot took with him the fire, and the water, and the sand, and the stones; it is to this day called Zoar; for that is the word which the Hebrews use for a small thing. There it was that he lived a miserable life, on account of his family, and being no company, and his want of provisions.

5. But his daughters, thinking that all man kind were destroyed, approached to their father, though taking care not to be perceived. Thus they found their father asleep, and they said to him, Father, there are two sons; the son of the elder was named Moab, which denotes one derived from his father: the younger bare Ammon, which name denotes one derived from a king. Another person of whom was the father of the Moabite, which is even still a great nation; the latter was the father of the Ammonites; and both of them are inhabitants of Canaan. And such was the departure of Lot from among the Sodomites.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Abimelech, and concerning Israel the Son of Abraham; and concerning the Arabian, which were his Posterity.

§ 1. Abraham now removed to Gerar of Palestine, leading Sarah along with him, under the notion of his sister, using the like dissimulation that he had used before, and this out of fear; for he was afraid of Abimelech, the king of that country, who did also himself fall in love with Sarah, and would have taken her to wife; but he was restrained from satisfying his lust by fear of his master's distemper which befell him from God. Now when his physicians despaired of curing him, he fell asleep, and saw a dream, warning him not to abuse the stranger's wife; and when he recovered, he told his friends that God had inflicted that disease upon him, by way of punishment for his injury to the stranger, and in order to preserve the chastity of his wife; for that she did not accompany his master, but that she was a stranger's wife; and that God had promised to be gracious to him for the time to come, if this person be once secure of his wife's chastity. When he had said this to his servants, his wife's was, he sought for Abraham, and bid him not be concerned about his wife, or fear the corruption of her chastity; for that God took care of him, and that it was by his providence that he received his wife again, without her suffering any abuse. And he appealed to God, and to his wife's conscience; and said, that he had not any inclination at first to enjoy him, if he had known she was his wife; but since, said he, though he about as thy sister, I was guilty of no offence. He also entreated him to be at peace with him; and to make God determined by eye-witnesses. When Christian princes, so called, lay said their foolish and unadvised wars and quarrels, and send a body of 70 persons to travel over the East, and bring us faithful accounts of all ancient documents, which have been lost in the works of time. We therefore have copies of all such as are present lost among us, we may hope for full satisfaction in such inquiries, but hardly before. I have no proper wicked intention in these daughters of Lot, when in a case which appeared to them of unavoidable necessity, they procured themselves to be with their fathers in the city of Sodom, in the wild and dangerous deserts of Arabia, makes it exceeding difficult for inquisitive travellers to ascertain, and to give us a just report; and for some copies of reports of countries people, at a distance, they are not very satisfactory. In the same time, I have no opinion of Le Clerc's dissertation or hypothesis about this question, which can only be
propitious to him, and that if he thought fit to continue with him, he should have what he wanted in abundance; but that if he designed to go away, he should be brought back. So he declared to him, and have whatsoever supply he wanted when he came thither. Upon his saying this, Abraham told him, that his presence of kindred to his wife was so great, because she was his brother's daughter; and that he did not think his son should travel abroad without this sort of dissimilation; and that he was not the cause of his distress, and was only solicitous for his own safety; he said also that they were ready to stay where they were, and that he left Abimelech assigned him land and money, and they covenanted to live together without guile, and took an oath at a certain well, called Beersheba, which may be interpreted, The seal of their peace; so it is named by the people of the country unto this day.

2. Now in a little time Abraham had a son by Sarah, as God had foretold him, whom he named Isaac, which signifies Laughter. And indeed they so called him, because Sarah laughed when God* said she should bear a son, she not expecting such a thing, as being past the age of child-bearing; for she was ninety years old, and Abraham a hundred; so that this son was born to them in the last year of each of those decimal numbers. And they circumcised him upon the eighth day; and from that time the Jews continue the custom of circumcising their sons upon the eighth day, as the Egyptians, and the Arabians, they circumcise after the thirteenth year, 1-cause Ismael, the founder of their nation, who was born to Abraham of the concubine, was circumcised at that age; concerning whom is a particular account, with great exactness.

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

4. When the lad was grown up, he married a woman, by birth an Egyptian, from whence the mother was herself derived originally. Of this wife were born to him two sons, Nahor and Ismail Kedar, Abdeel, Mabsam, Idduas, Manasos, Manas, Chodad, Theman, Jeturth, Napheus, Kaduna. These inhabited all the country from Euphrates to the Red Sea, and called it Nahor. They were an Arab nation; and names the country from these, both because of their own virtue and because of the dignity of Abraham their father.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Isaac, the legitimate Son of Abraham.

§ 1. Now Abraham greatly loved Isaac, as being his only begotten, and given to him at the borders of old age, by the favour of God. The child also endeavoured himself to his parents still more by the exercise of every virtue, and adhering to his duty to his parents, and being zealous in the worship of God. Abraham also placed his own happiness in this prospect, that when he should die, he should leave this his son in a safe and secure condition; which accordingly he obtained by the will of God; who beise desiring to make an enlargement of Abraham's posterity, disposed himself to position himself towards him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed upon him; how he had made him superior to his enmies, and that his son Isaac, who was the principal part of the present happiness, was safe from him; and he said, that he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy obligation. Accordingly he commanded him to carry him to the mountain Moriah, and to build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it; for that this would best manifest his religious disposition towards him, if he preferred what was pleasing to God before the preservation of his own son.

2. Now Abraham thought that it was not right to disobey God in any thing, but that he was obliged to serve him in every circumstance of life, since all creatures that live enjoy their life by his providence and the kindness he bestows on them, are bound to thank God for what he has commanded, and to do according to his command, and to his own intentions about the slaughter of his son, from his wife, as also from every one of his servants; otherwise he should have been hindered from his obedience to God; and he took his son, and laid him on an altar, and offered him together with all his servants, and laying what things were necessary for a sacrifice upon an ass, he went away to the mountain. Now the two servants went along with him two days; but on the third day, as soon as he saw the mountain, he left those servants that were with him till then, in the plain, and having his son alone with him he came to the mountain. It was that mountain upon which King David afterwards built the temple, and it was the mountain where they had brought with them every thing necessary, and all things of the war, b. c chap. x. And Aristotle is styled a very little child at 16 years of age, Antip. b. xvi. chap. 2. sec. 7. Domitian is also called by him a very young child, when he went on his German expedition, at about 18 years of age. Abraham's wife, Sarah's husband, was called Sarah; and Isaac's wife, the son of Abraham, was called Rebecca, Antip. b. v. ch. vii. sec. 6, and ch. ix. sec. 2. 3 Note, that Josephus, when he speaks of Abraham's only begotten son, though he at the same time had another son, Ismael. The Septuagint expresses the true meaning, by rendering the text the begotten son.

§ Here is a clause in the copies of the Greek, that King David afterwards built the temple on this mount Moriah, while it was certainly no other than King Solomon, who built that temple, as indeed Josephus cites it from Josephus. For it was for certain David, and not Solomon who built the first cell there, as we learn, 3 Sam. xxiv. 18.
sary for a sacrifice, excepting the annual that was to be offered only. Now Isaac was twenty-five years old. And as he was walking the altar, he asked his father, "What father, he asked his father, "What is this to offer, since there was no animal there for an oblation?" To which it was answered, "That God would provide himself an oblation, he being able to provide for men the very things of which they have not, and to deprive others of what they already have, when they put too much trust therein; that, therefore, if God pleased to be present and propitiate at this sacrifice, he would provide himself an oblation.

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

4. Now Isaac was of such a generous disposition as became the son of such a father, and was pleased with this discourse; and said, "That he was not worthy to be born at all; if he should receive the dispensation of God and of his father, and should not resign himself up readily to both their pleasures; since it would have been unjust if he had not obeyed, even if his father alone had been pleased. So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. And the deed had been done if God had not opposed it; for he called loudly to Abraham by his name, and forbade him to slay his son, and said, "It was not out of a desire of human blood that he was commanded to slay his son, nor was he willing that he should be taken away from him whom he had made his father, but to try the temper of his mind, whether he would be obedient to such a command. Since, therefore, he now was satisfied as to his alacrity, and the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, he was delighted in having bestowed such blessings upon him; and that he

would not be wanting in all sort of concern about him, and in bestowing other children upon him; and that his son should live to a very great age; that he should live a happy life, and sequentia a large principality to his children, who should be good and legitimate." He foretold also, that his family should increase into many nations; and that he should have behind them an everlasting name; that they should obtain the possession of the land of Canaan, and be envied by all men. When God had said this, he produced to them a ram, which did not appear before, for the sacrifice, so Abraham and Isaac, receiving each other unexpectedly, and having obtained the promises of such great blessings, embraced one another; and when they had sacrificed, they returned to Sarah, and lived happily together.

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

§ 1. Now Sarah died a little while after having lived one hundred and twenty-seven years, and Abraham was eighty-six years old, and he built publicly allowing them a burying-place: which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendents built themselves sepulchres in that place.

CHAP. XV.
How the Nation of the Troglydotes were derived from Abraham by Keturah.

§ 1. ABRAHAM, after this, married Keturah, by whom six sons were born to him, men of courage and of sagacious minds: Zambran, and Jadar, and Easar, and Judan, and Amrah, and Eder. And the sons of Sarah were, Saharah, and Jadan, and Dorah, and Meelah, and Thaim, and Lotan. The sons of Jedar were, Atinas, and Assur, and Loorn. The sons of Saharah were, Ephras, and Ophreas, and Anoch, and Ethanas, and Eldas. Now for all these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to settle them in colonies; and they took possession of Troglydotes, and the country of Arabin the Happy, as far as it reaches to the Red Sea. It is related of this city that the Queen of Sheba made war upon it, and took it, and that her grandchildren, when they inhabited it, called it from its name Africa. And indeed Alexander Polyhistor gives his attestation to the same, and says, that she was the first Polyhistor, who made the prophet, who was also called Mnacchus, who wrote a history of the Jews, in agreement with the history of Moses, their legislator, relates, that there were many sons born to Abraham by Keturah: nay, he names three of them, Apher, and Surim, and Japhrim. That from Surim was the land of Assyria denominated; and that from the other two, Apher and Japhrim, the country of Africa took its name, because these men were auxiliaries to Hercules, when he fought against Libya and Antaeus; and that Hercules married Apher's daughter, and of her he begat a son, Didorus; and that Sophon was his son

The effect, St. Paul's exposition in the Testament of Reuben, sect. 6, in Authent. Rec. part i p. 309, who charges his sons, 'To worship the Seed of Judah, who should be for them in visible and invisible wars; and should be among them an eternal King.' Nor is that observation of a learned foreigner of my acquaintance to be despised, who takes notice of the plural must signify posteriorly, and in the singular may signify either posteriority or a single person; and that in the promesse of all nations being happy in the Lord, or that of the children of Abraham, or of David &c. which is capable of no such ambiguity.
from whom that barbarous people called Hephah- 
ians were denounced.”

CHAP. XVI.
How Isaac took Rebeka to Wife.
§ 1. Now when Abraham, the father of Isaac, had 
resolved to take Rebeka, who was grand-daughter 
to his brother Nahor, for a wife to his son Isaac, 
when he was yet a youth, he sent his eldest 
cousin of his servants to betroth her, after he had 
obliged him to give him the strongest assurances 
of fidelity. Which assurances were given after 
the manner following: They put each other 
under a strict oath, that they should be satisfied 
with her, or else she should return to her own 
country; that they should call upon God as the witness of what was 
to be done. He also sent such presents to those 
that were there, as were in esteem, on account 
them for their rare and behawer to them in that 
country. This servant got thither not under a con-
 siderable time; for it requires much time to pass 
through Mesopotamia, in which it is tedious trave-
elling, both in winter for the depth of the clay, 
and in summer through the hot sand, and besides 
this, for the robbers there committed, which 
are not to be avoided by travellers but by caution 
beforehand. However, the servant came to Har-
an. And when he was in the suburbs, he met a 
considerable merchant, and desired him to send 
the water; he therefore prayed to God, that Rebeka 
might be found among them, or her whom Abra-
ham sent him as his servant to espouse to his 
son, in case his will were that this marriage 
should be consummated, and that she might be 
made known to him by this sign, that while others 
denied him water to drink, she might give it 
him.

With this intention he went to the well, and 
desired the maidens to give him some water to 
drink; but while the others refused, on pretence 
that they wanted it all at home, and could spare 
one for him, one only of the company rebuked 
him for his pertinacity, and that she must be 
made known to him by this sign, that while others 
denied him water to drink, she might give it 
him. She then offered him water in an obliging manner. And 
he met her second, and desired her to draw 
the water; and asked who were her parents, and wished them joy of such 
a daughter; and mayest thou be espoused, said 
her, to their satisfaction, into the family of an 
acceptable father, bring up thou thy children. Nor did she disdain to satisfy his 
inquiries, but told him her family. They, says she, 
call me Rebeka; my father was Bethuel, but he 
is dead; and Laban is my brother, and, together 
with my mother, takes care of all our family af-
fairs, and is the guardian of my virginity. When 
the servant heard this, he was very glad at what 
had happened, and at what was told him, as per-
ceiving that God had thus plainly directed his 
journey; and producing his bracelets and some 
other ornaments, which it was esteemed decent 
for virgins to wear, he gave them to the damsel, 
by way of acknowledgment, and as a reward for 
her kindness in giving him water to drink; saying, 
it was but just that she should have them, 
because she was so much more obliging than any 
of the rest. She desired also that he would 
come and lodge with them, since the approach 
of the night gave him time to proceed further. 
And producing his precious ornaments for women, 
said, he desired to trust them to none more 
safely than to such as she had showed herself to 
be; and that he believed he might guess at the 
humanity of her mother and brother, that they 
would not be displeased, from the virtue he found 
in her, for he would not be burdensome, but 
would pay the hire for his entertainment, and 
spend his own money. To which she replied, 
that he guessed right as to the humanity of her 
parents; but complained, that he should think 
them so parsimonious as to take money; for that 
he should have all on free cost. But she said, 
she would first inform her brother Laban, and, 
if he gave her leave, she would conduct him in. 

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

CHAP. XVII.
Concerning the Death of Abraham.
§ 1. A little while after this Abraham died. He 
was a man of incomparable virtue, and hon-
oured by God in a manner agreeable to his piety 
towards him. The whole time of his life was 
one hundred seventy and five years; and he was 
buried in Hebron, with his wife Sarah, by their 
sons Isaac and Ismael.

CHAP. XVIII.
Concerning the Sons of Isaac, Esau and Jacob. 
Of their Nativity and Education.
§ 1. Now Isaac's wife proved with child, after 
the death of Abraham; * and when her belly was 
greatly burdened, Isaac was very anxious, and 
inquired of God, who answered, That Rebeka 
should bear twins; and that two nations should 
take the names of these sons; and that he who 
appeared the second should excel the elder. 
Accordingly she, in a little time, as God had foretold 
two twins; the elder of whom, from his 
head to his feet, was very rough and hairy; but 
the younger took hold of his heel as she was in the 
birth. Now the father loved the elder, who was 
called Esau, a name agreeable to his 

* The birth of Jacob and Esau is here said to be after 
Abraham's death; it should have been after Sarah's 
death. The order of the narration in Genesis, not always 

exact according to the order of time, seems to have led 
Josephus into it, as Dr. Bernard observes here.
ANTTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

4. The son, by commanding him to put away these wives, he resolved to be silent.
5. But when he was old, and could not see at all, he called Esau to him, and told him, that besides blindness, and the disorder of his eyes, his very old age hedged him round, as the worship of God [by sacrifice;] he bid him therefore to go out a hunting, and when he had caught as much venison as he could, to prepare him a supper, that after this he might make supplication to God, and sacrifice a burnt-offering for him, during the whole time of his life; saying, that it was uncertain when he should die, and that he was desirous, by prayers for him, to procure beforehand God to be merciful to him.

6. So Esau went out, and went hunting. But Rebekah thinking it proper to have the supplication made for obtaining the favour of God to Jacob, and that without the consent of Isaac, bid him kill kids of the goats, and prepare a nourishing supper. So Jacob obeyed his mother, according to all her instructions. Now when the supper was got ready, he took a goat's skin, and put it about his arm, that by reason of its hairy roughness he might be distinguished from his brother; for they being twins, and in all things else alike, differed only in this thing. This was done out of his fear, that before his father had made his supplications, he should be caught in his evil work, and that he should, on the other Silanias, which names signifieth names.

3. It was now that Isaac's affairs increased, and his power was in a flourishing condition, and he had great riches. Abimelech thinking Isaac throve in opposition to him, while their living together made them suspicious of each other, and Isaac's retiring showing a secret enmity also, he was afraid that his former friendship with Isaac, and his security to himself, he should, on the other Silanias, which names signifieth names.

4. Now Esau, one of the sons of Isaac, whom the father principally loved, was now come to the age of forty years, he married Adah, the daughter of Elon, and a Hethite, without the law of God, and a daughter of Elon, and a Hethite, without the law of God, and Heth, and a daughter of Elon, and held not with his father Isaac, but made himself a man of war, and was not subject to his father, but was a hairy, and as the advice of his father; for had Isaac been the arbitrator, he had not given him leave to marry thus, for he was not pleased with contracting any alliance with the people of that country; but not caring to be uneasy to his father, which preferred the earlier friendship Abimelech had showed to himself and his father to his later wrath against him, he returned home.

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7. Thus did Isaac pray to God, thinking his prayers had been made for Esau. He had but just finished them, when Esau came in from hunting. And when Isaac perceived his mistake, he was silent; but Esau required that he forresting things to befall to the posterity of Jacob and Esau, in future ages, was for certain providential; and according to what Rebekah knew to be the purpose of God, she told him, that she knew a boy would come upon him, in order to the solemn blessing of his son then present, and his foretelling his future behaviour and fortunes. Whence it must be, that when Isaac had unwittingly blessed Jacob, and was afterward made sensible of his mistake, yet did he not attempt to alter it, howsoever earnest his affection for Esau might incline him to wish it might be so; for he knew that the blessing came not from himself, but from God, and that an alteration was out of his power. A second affiance then came upon him, and caused him to fret Esau's future behaviour and fortunes also.

8. Whether Jacob or his mother Rebekah were most beloved of Isaac, it is not possible for us to determine. However, the blessing being delivered as a prediction of future events, by a divine impulse, and
might be made partaker of the like blessing from his father, that his brother had partook of; but his father refused it, because all his prayers had been spent upon another. He was not like Jacob, however, his father, being grieved at his weeping, said, that he should excel in stature, and strength of body; in arms, and all such sorts of work; and should obtain glory for ever after him; but should serve his brother."

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

CHAP. XIX.
Concerning Jacob's Flight into Mesopotamia, by Reason of the Fear he was in of his Brother.

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

2. "Jacob, it is not fit for thee, who art the son of a good father, and grandson of one who had obtained a great reputation for his eminent virtue, to be dejected at thy present circumstances; but to hope for better times, for thou shalt have great abundance of good things by the labour thou shalt do for me; for I brought Abraham hither, out of Mesopotamia, when he was driven away by his kinsmen; and I made thy father a happy man; so will I bestow a less degree of happiness on thee and thy posterity, than good courage, and under my conduct to proceed on this thy journey, for the marriage thou goest so zealously about shall be consummated. And thou shalt have children of good characters, but their multitude shall be immeasurable; and they shall leave what they have to a still more numerous posterity, to whom I will be to whose posterity I give the dominion of all the land, and their posterity shall fill the earth and sea, so far as the sun beholds them; and I will make their name great among all nations, and the many labourers thou must undergo, for by my providence I will direct thee what thou art to do in the time present, and still much more in the time to come."

3. Such were the predictions which God made to Jacob. Whereupon he became very joyful at what he had seen and heard, and he poured oil on the stones, because on them the prediction of the event of his journey was written. Jacob then received a vow that he would offer sacrifices upon them, if he lived and returned safe; and if he came again in such a condition, he would give the tithe of what he had gotten to God. He also judged it suitable to make use of the imposition of Bethel, which, in the Greek, is interpreted, The house of God.

4. So he proceeded on his journey to Mesopotamia, and at length came to Haran; and meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, with boys grown up, and men no less, he passed on, and kept close to the high places, and beginning to discourse with them, he asked them whether they knew such a one as Laban? and whether he was still alive? Now they all said they knew him, and that he was the most respectable a person as to be unknown to any of them. He then asked that his daughter fed her father's flock together with them; and that indeed they wondered that she was not yet come: for by her means thou mightest hasten and procure rest to know about that family. While they were saying this the damsel came, and the other shepherds that came down along with her. Then they showed her Jacob, and told her that he was a stranger who came to solicit her, and her father's affairs. But she, as pleased, after the custom of children, with Jacob's coming, asked him who he was? and whence he came to them? and what it was he kindness she had came thither? She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise from his descent to the latter, nor of his surprise at her beauty, which was so florishing as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relationship between thee and I, being of the same stock and race, that seems more excellent than human; and at last God himself stood above it, and was plainly visible to him, who, calling him by his name, spake to him these words:

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5. But Jacob was quite overcome, not so much by their kindred, nor by that affection which might arise from his descent to the latter, nor of his surprise at her beauty, which was so florishing as few of the women of that age could vie with. He said then, "There is a relationship between thee and me, elder than either thy or any birth, if thou shalt be the damsel for Laban, I shall be the son of Terah, as well as Haran and Nahor. Of the last of whom, Nahor, Bethuel thy grandfather was the son. Isaac my father was the son of Abraham and of Sarah, who was the daughter of Haran. And in the nearness and latterement of mutual kindred which we bear to one another, for my mother Rebeka was sister to Laban thy father, both by the same father and mother; I therefore, and thou are cousin germanus. And I am hereby come to thee to solicit thee, to marry me, that thou mayst have such a spirit which is proper between us." Upon this the damsel, at the mention of Rebeka, as usually happens to young persons, wept, and that out of the kindness she had came thither! She also wished it might be in their power to supply the wants he came about.

6. When she had said thus, she brought him to Laban and being owned by his uncle, he was secure himself as being among his friends; and he brought a great deal of pleasure to them by his unexpected coming. But a little while afterward Laban told him anything any of his servants his father, and he said to him, in words they were no more than his father, and mother, and mother, and that the will make thee equal in his eyes to any advantageous circumstances whatsoever. Then she bid him go to her father and follow her while she conducted him to him, and not to deprive him of such a pleasure by staying any longer away from him.

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8. By this deprivation of the kingdom which was to be given Esau of God," as the firstborn, it appears that Joseph thought, that a "kingdom to be derived from God,"
of God, and of the blessings for which their father prayed: and that this was the occasion of his making him a present of his daughter to his mother on that account; and that both of them, better reconciled to her, she named her son Reubel, because 'had mercy upon her in giving her a son, for that is the signification of this name. After some time she bare three more sons, which signified that God had blessed her prayer. Then she bare Levi, the confirmer of their friendship. After he was born Judah, which denotes thanksgiving. But Rachel, having his father's blessing, she should make herself enjoy a leaser share of Jacob's affections, put to bed to her handmaid Bilha, by whom Jacob had Dan. One may interpret that name into the Greek tongue, a device judgament. And after her death, it was unenconquerable in stragagem, since Rachel tried to conquer the fruitfulness of her sister by this stragagem. Accordingly Lea took the same method, and under a cousin-stragagem to that of her sister; for she put to bed to him her own handmaid. Jacob therefore had by Zilpa a son, whose name was Gad, which may be interpreted fortune; and after him Asher, which may be called mildness; and after him, Joseph, because he added glory to Lea. Now Reubel, the elder son, was not an apple of mandrake to his mother. When Rachel saw them, she desired that she would give her the apples, for she longed to eat them, but her husband would not give them to her. And when she had deprived her of the beuouness she ought to have had from her husband; Rachel, in order to undate her sister's anger, said, she would yield her husband to her; and he should lie with her for two days, the account of the favour, and Jacob slept with Lea by the faveur of Rachel. She bare three sons, Issachar, denoting one born by hire; and Zebulon, one born as a pledge of benevolence towards her kindred; both by hire. And after that Jacob had a son, named Joseph, which signified there should be another added to him. Now Jacob fed the flocks of Laban his father-in-law all this time, being twenty years, after which he desired leave of his father-in-law to take his wives and go home; but when his father-in-law would not give him leave, he contrived to do it secretly. He made trial therefore to stay with his father another year, under pretense of this journey. When they appeared glad and approved of it, Rachel took along with her the images of the gods, which, according to their laws, they used to worship in their own country, to the great astonishment and confusion of Laban's children also of them both, and the handmaids, and what possessions they had, went along with them. Jacob also drove away half the cattle, without letting Laban know of it beforehand. But the reason why Rachel took these images of the gods, although Jacob had taught her to despise such worship of those gods, was this, that in case they were pursued, and taken by their father-in-law, we have recourse to those images, in order to obtain his pardon. Now Laban, after one day's time, being accquainted with Jacob's and his daughters' departures, the intervals were assigned; their several excellent characters; their several faults and repentances; the several accidents of their lives, with their several pro- phecies at their deaths: see the treatises of these twelve patriarchs, still preserved at large in the Author. Rec. part i. p. 291—443.

The difference between these desires for life and servants, such as we now hire for a time agreed upon on both sides, and slavery again after the time contracted for, is a very great and firm distinction. Accordingly, when the Apotheosis Constitutiones forbade a clergyman to marry perpetual servants or slaves, B. vi. ch. xvi. it is almost only of the former sorts, as we please to marry our female servants, as our consent in Master's of my learned friend Mr. Samuel Barker's of what we still call mandrakes, and their description by them. But naturalists and physicians, as I believe me to think these three mentioned were really mandrakes, same no other.
was much troubled, and pursued after them, leading a band of men with him; and on the seventeen day of the month consummated the rest
ning on a certain hill; and then, indeed, he did not meddle with them, for it was evident; but God stood by him in a dream, and warned him to receive his son-in-law and his daughters in a peaceful manner; and not to revert to any thing rashly, or in wrath to them, but to make a
league with Jacob. And he told him, that if he deserved their small number, and attacked them in a hostile manner, he would himself assist them; but if he injured them, he would be cursed by God, he called Jacob to him the next day, in order to treat with him, and showed him what dream he had; in dependence whereas he came comfortably to him, and began to accuse him, al
tegrating that he had enlarged him when he was poor and in want of all things, and had given him plenty of all things which he had: "For," said he, "I have joined my daughters to thee in marriage, and supposed that thy kindness to me would be greater than before; but thou hast had no regard to either thy own mother's relation to me, nor to the affinity now newly contracted bet
 tween us; nor to those wives whom thou hast married, nor to those children of whom I am the grandfather. Thou hast treated me as an enemy, by driving away my cattle; and by per
secuting my daughters to run away from their father; and by carrying home those sacred pa
terns, and those vessels which my father gave me, and my forefathers, and have been honoured with the like worship which they paid them, by myself. In short, thou hast done this whilst thou wert my kinsman, and my sister's son, and the hus
band of one of whom I esteemed thee; and dost of which used to be treated by me, and didst eat at my table." When Laban had said this, Jacob made his defense: "That he was not the only person in whom God had discovered when to make war upon any man, of whom a small portion of him? Then, as to thy daughters, take notice, that it is not through any evil prac
ices of mine that they follow me in my return home, but from the just affection which wives have towards their husbands to the utmost. Therefore, shall I therefore, not so properly myself as their own children." And thus far of his apology was made, in order to clear himself of having acted unjustly. To which he added his own complaint and accusation of Laban; saying, "While I was thy sister's son, and thou hast given me thy daugh
ters in marriage, thou hast worn me out with thy harsh commands, and detained me twenty years and six months; and in order to my marrying thy daughters, hard as it was, I own to have been tolerable; but as to those that were put upon me after those marriages, they were worse, and much indeed as an enemy stands to an associate. But Laban and the servants of A
ban had used Jacob very ill; for when he saw that God was assisting to Jacob in all that he desired, he promised him, that of the young cattle which were born, he should have some of what was of a white colour, and sometimes what should be of a black colour; but when those that came to Jacob's share proved nume
rouses, he did not keep his faith with him; but said he could not, for the sake of his bread; and because of his carrying him the multitude of his possessions. He promised him as before, be
cause he thought such an increase was not to be expected; but when it appeared to be fact, he deceived him.

11. But these, as to the sacred images, he bid him search for them; and when Laban accepted of the offer, Rachel being informed of it, put those images into that camel's saddle on which she rode, and sat upon it; and said, that her nature
tural purgation hindered her rising up; so Laban left off searching any farther, not suspecting that his daughter in such circumstances would approach to those images. So he made a league with Jacob, and bound it by oaths, that he would not bear him harm while he lived. Jacob was also punished; and Jacob made the like league, and pro
mised to love Laban's daughters. And these leagues they confirmed with oaths also, which they made upon certain mountains, whereas they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar, whence that hill is called Gilgal; and from thence they call that land the land of Gilgal at this day. Now when they had feasted after the making of the league, Laban returned home.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Meeting of Jacob and Esau.

§ 1. Now as Jacob was proceeding on his journey to the land of Canaan, angels appeared to him, and suggested to him good hope of his future condition; and that place he named The
Camp of God. And being desirous of knowing what he should intend them, he sent messengers to give him an exact account of everything, as being afraid, on account of the enmities between them. He charged those that were sent to Esau, that "Jacob had thought it wrong to live together with him, and was therefore in anger against him, and so had gone out of the country; and that he now, thinking the length of time of his absence must have made up their differences, might get together with him his wives and his children, with what posses
sions he had gotten; and delivered himself, with what was most dear to him, into his hands, and should think it his greatest happiness to partake, together with his brother, of what God had bestowed on him." So these messengers told him this message. Upon which Esau was very glad, and met his brother with four hundred men. And Jacob, when he heard that he was coming to meet him, was greatly afraid; however, he committed his hope of deliverance to God; and considered how, in his present circumstances, he might preserve himself and all that were with him, and come to his country and to his homesteads. He therefore distributed his company into parts; some he sent before the rest, and the others he ordered to come close behind, that so if the first were overpowered, when his brother attacked them, they might have those that followed as a refuge to fly unto. And when he had put his company into this order, he sent some of them to carry presents to his brother. The presents were made of a million of sheep, and a hundred of four-footed beasts, of many kinds, such as would be very acceptable to those that received them, on account of their rarity. Those who were sent went at certain intervals of space and order, that by faring one after another, they might appear to be more numerous, that Esau might remit of his anger, on account of these presents, if he were still in a passion. Instructions were given to those that were sent to speak gently to him.

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

3. And when Jacob understood that his brother was near, he ordered his wives to go before, each by herself, with the handmaids, that they might see the actions of the men, as they were fighting, if Esau were so disposed. Then he went up to his son, and bowed down to him, who had no evil design upon him, but saluted him; and asked him about the company of the children and of the women; and desired, when he had understood all he wanted to know about them, that they should come with him, and throw their father's heritage, which was only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him. These are all the children of Jacob, twelve males, and one female. Of them eight were legitimate, viz. six of Leah, and two of Rachel, and four were of the handmaids, two each; all whose names have been set down already.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Violation of Dinah's Chastity.

§ 1. Hereupon Jacob came to the place, till this day called Tents, [Succoth] from whence he went to Shechem, which is a city of the Canaanites. Now as the Shechemites were keeping a festival, Dinah, who was the only daughter of Jacob, went into the city to see the finery of the women of that country. But then he went to Shechem, the son of Hamor the king, saw her, he defiled her by violence; and being greatly in love with her, he desired of his father that he would procure the damsel to him for a wife. To which desire he condescended, and came to Jacob, desiring him to give leave that his son Shechem might, according to law, marry Dinah. But Jacob, not knowing how to deny the desire of one of such great dignity, and not yet thinking it lawful to marry his daughter to a stranger, entrusted him to give him leave to have a consultation about what he desired him to do. So the king went away, in hopes that Jacob would grant him this.

* Perhaps this may be the proper meaning of the word Israel by the present and the old Jerusalem analogy of the Hebrew tongue. In the meantime, it is certain that the Hebrews of the first century in Egypt, and elsewhere, interpreted Je-ru-el, to be a man seeing God, as is evident from the fragments foreclosed.

1. A brother of the Shechemites by Simon and Levi, see Ant. c. 4. p. 309, 418, 432—439. But why Josephus has omitted the circumstance of these Shechemites, as the occasion of their death; and of Jacob's great grief, as in the Testament of Levi, sect. 1, I cannot tell.

1. Simon Benoni signifies the son of my sorrow and Benjamin, the son of days, or was born in the father's old age.

marriage. But Jacob informed his-sons of the desolution of their sister, and of the address of Hamor; and desired them to give their advice what they should do. Upon this, the greatest part said nothing, not knowing what advice to give. But Simeon and Levi, the brethren of the damsel, by the same mother, agreed between themselves to follow his advice in it, by going now the time of a festival, when the Shechemites were employed in ease and feasting, they fell upon the watch, when they were asleep, and coming into the city, slew all the males; as also the king and his son with them but spared the women. And when they had done this without their father's consent, they brought away their sister.

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

3. And when he was gone thence, and was come over against Ephraim, he there buried Rachel, who was dead in childbed. She was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron. And when he had mourned for her a great while, he called the son that was born of her Benjamin, because of the sorrow the mother had with him.

How Isaac died, and was buried in Hebron.

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

Gen. xvi. 90, I suspect Josephus's present copies to be here imperfect; and suppose, that in correspondence to other copies, we write that Rachab called her son's name Benasni, but his father called him Benjamin, Gen. xxxii. 15. As for Benjamin, as commonly explained, the son of the right hand, it makes no sense at all, and seems to be a gross modern error only. The Samaritan now writes this name truly Benjamin, which probably is here of the same signification, only with the Chaldee termination is, instead of es, in the Hebrew, as we pronounce Cherubin or Cherubim indiscriminately. Accordingly both the Testa-ment of Benjamin sect. 5, p. 430, and Philo de nominum baevolentia, p. 180, write the name Benasni, as if it were not the son of his right hand, but the son of days.
Containing the interval of two hundred and twenty years—from the death of Isaac to the exodus out of Egypt.

1

Chapter I.

Here Isaac and Jacob, the sons of Isaac, divided their inheritances; and Esau possessed Idumæa, and Jacob Canaan.

1. After the death of Isaac, his sons divided their inheritances respectively. Nor did they retain what they had before: but Esau departed from the city of Hebron, and left it to his brother, and dwelt in Seir, and ruled over Idumæa.

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

And he became the father of five sons; of whom, Jasp and Jabalah, and Coreus, were by one wife, whose name was Abalana; but of the rest, Aliphas was born to him by Ada, and Raguel by Sesmerah; and these were the sons of Esau. Aliphas had five legitimate sons, Se'man, Omer, Saphus, Gotham, and Kanaz; for Amneck was not legitimate, but by a concubine, whose name was Thamna. These dwelt in that part of Idumæa which was called Gebalites, and that despised, because it declared the future happiness of his son; and that, by the blessing of God, the time should come when he should be honoured, and thought worthy of worship by his parents and brethren, then that what they were like his mother and father; the former as she that gave increase and nourishment to all things, and the latter, be that gave form and other powers to them; and that the stars were like his brethren, since they were eleven in number, as were the stars that receive their power from the sun and moon.

And thus did Jacob make a judgment of this vision, and that a shrewd one also. But these interpretations caused very great grief to Joseph's brethren; and they were affected to him heretofore as if he were a certain stranger, that was to have those good things which were signified by the dreams, and as not one was a brother, with whom it was probable they should be joint partakers; and as they had been partners in the same parentage, so should they be of the same happiness. They also resolved to kill the lad, and having satisfied their removal thither: whereupon he had melancholy suspicions about them, as being ignorant of his sons' condition, and receiving no messenger from the flocks that could inform him of the true state they were in; so desponding, and being in great doubt about them, he sent Joseph to the flocks, to learn the circumstances his brethren were in, and to bring him word how they did.
CHAP. III.

How Joseph was thus sold by his Brethren into Egypt, by Reason of their Hatred to him: and how they were moved, or gave Justification, and had his Brethren under his Power.

§ 1. Now these brethren rejoiced as soon as they saw their brother coming to them, not indeed as at the presence of a near relation, or as at the presence of one sent by their father, but as at the presence of one that they thought had done them an infinite wrong, and would ever be so grossly guilty, if they would be persuaded to follow his present advice, which would include what they were so eager about, but was not so very bad, but in the distress they were in, they were tempted to see if they therefore not to kill their brother with their own hands, but to cast him into the pit that was hard by, and so to let him die; by which they would gain so much that they would not deal with their own hands with his blood. Moreover, young men readily agreed to so Reuel took the lad, and tied him with a cord, and let him down gently into the pit, for it had no water at all in it; who, when he had done this, went his way to seek for such pasturage as was fit for his flock.

3. But Judas, being one of Jacob's sons also, seeing some Arabians, of the posterity of Esmael, carrying spices and Syrian wares out of the land of Gilead into the Egyptian coasts, wisely to advise his brethren to draw Joseph out of the pit, and sell him to the Arabians; for if he should die among strangers a great way off, they should be freed from this barbarous act.— This advice also Joseph up out of the pit, and sold him to the merchant, who had for twenty pounds. He was now seven years old. But Reuel, coming in the night time to the pit, resolved to save Joseph, without the knowledge of his brother, since he had taken the advice. And when he was calling to him, he made no answer, he was afraid that they had destroyed him after he was gone; of which he complained to his brethren; but when they had told him what they had done, Reuel left off his mourning. So Joseph sold his brother, and they considered what they should do to escape the suspicions of their father. Now they had taken away from Joseph the coat which he had on, when they had cast him into the pit; they let him down into the pit; so they thought proper to tear that coat to pieces, and to dip it into goat's blood, and then to carry it and show it to their father, that he might believe he was destroyed by wild beasts. Joseph's father, when he saw it, and supposed that he had come to the old men, but this not till what had happened to his son had already come to his knowledge. Then they said that they had not seen Joseph, nor knew what mishap had befallen him. This was the cause that they had found his coat bloody and torn to pieces, whence they had a suspicion that he had fallen among wild beasts, and so perished, if that was the coat he had on when he came by his home. Now Jacob had before some better hopes that his son was only made a captive; but now he laid aside that notion, and supposed that this coat was an evident argument that he was dead, for he well remembered that this was the coat he had on when he sent him to his brethren; so he began lamented the lad as now dead, and as if he had been the father of no more than one, without taking any comfort in the rest; and so he was also affected with his distress. Joseph met with these hopes, when he also conjectured that Joseph was destroyed by wild beasts. He sat down also clothed that forbade it, as the interpretation of that dream done also in all our copies, Gen. xxxvii. 10.

1 The Septuagint have twenty pieces of gold; the Testament of God, 30; the Horae and Barnes, 30, of all; and the Nigra Lat. 30. What was the true sum? and true sum, cannot therefore now be known.
in aekleth, and in heavy afflication, inasmuch that he found no ease when his son conforted him, neither did his pains remit by length of time.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the signal Chastity of Joseph.

§ 1. Now Potiphar, an Egyptian, who was chief cook to king Pharaoh, bought Joseph of the merchant, who sold him to him. He had him in the greatest honour, and had him in his amity; and was so loving to him, that he made him a free man, and gave him leave to make use of a diet better than was allotted to slaves. He intrusted also the care of his house to him. So he enjoyed these advantages; yet did he not enjoy them to the least extent which he said to have such a change of his condition, but he demonstrated that wisdom was able to govern the uneasy passions of life, in such as have it in reality, and do not only put it on for a show, under a present state of happiness, as he was, to do nothing contrary to his mistress, he might well be excused in a case where the contradiction was to such sort of commands only. But this opposition of Joseph's, when she did not expect it, made her still more vacillate and occasioned her more irregularities with this naughty passion, so she resolved to compass her design by a second attempt.

5. Joseph, by saying this, and more, tried to restrain the violent passion of the woman, and to reduce her affection within the rules of reason; but she grew more ungrateful and earnest in the matter of her passion, and that was the more reason why she was more insensible to what wickedness was not unknown (where there be any quiet for them;) but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger: And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might live in the utmost happiness, from a good conscience, both before God and before men. Nay, that she would act better like his mistress, and make use of her authority over him better, while she was in the society of his mistress, as she was with him. He resolved to look on her, and yet would not amend what had been done amiss. He also suggested to her the fear she would be in, lest they should be caught; and that the advantage of concealment against all; and that she was secure that wickedness was not known [would there be any quiet for them?] but that she might have the enjoyment of her husband's company without any danger: And he told her, that in the company of her husband she might live in the utmost happiness, from a good conscience, both before God and before men.

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that thou didst squeeze this wine from three clusters of grapes with thine hands, and that the king be guilty of a sin, because he was in fear of thee, that he was not really of a good disposition. This has been occasioned by his being advanced to honour beyond what he deserved, and what he hoped for, insomuch that he concluded that he was not deemed fit to be trusted with thy estate, and the government of thy family, and was preferred above thy eldest servants, might be allowed to touch thy wife also. This was when she had entered her husband, and showed him her establishment, as if he then left it with her when he attempted to force her. But Potiphar, not being able to disbelieve what his wife's tears showed, and what his voice said, and what he saw himself, and being assured by his heart to his wife's, did not set himself about the examination of the truth, but taking it for granted that his wife was a modest woman, and condemning Joseph as a wicked man, he threw him into the malefactor's prison; and had a still higher opinion of his wife, and bare her witness, that she was a woman of a becoming modesty and chastity.

CHAP. V.

What things befell Joseph in Prison.

4. Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not take himself unto his defence, nor gave any account of the circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the distress he was in, firmly believing that God, who knew the cause of his affliction, and the truth of the fact, would be more powerful than those that inflicted the punishments upon him; a proof of whose providence he quickly received; for the keeper of the prison, taking notice of his care and fidelity in the affairs he had in charge, and the devoutness of his countenance, relaxed his bonds, and thereby made his heavy calamity lighter and more supportable to him; he also permitted him to make use of a diet better than that of the rest of the prisoners. And thus the harsh parliament and heavy labours were over, full to discerning one among another, as is usual in such as are equal sufferers, and to inquire one of another, what were the occasions of their being condemned to a prison. So it was that when he was come to the king, and one that had been respected by him, was put in bonds upon the king's anger at him. This man was under the same bonds with Joseph, and grew more dejected than he, and observed that Joseph had a better understanding than the rest had, he told him of a dream he had, and desired he would interpret its meaning; complaining that, besides the afflictions he underwent from the king, God did also add to him trouble from his dreams. 2. He therefore said, That in his sleep he saw three clusters of grapes hanging upon three branches of a vine, large already and ripe for gathering, and these he squeezed them into a cup, which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the wine, he gave it to the king to drink, and that he received it from him with a pleasant countenance. This, he said, was what he desired his service, and what he had done, if he had any portion of understanding in such matters, he would tell him what this vision foretold: who bid him be of good cheer, and expect to be loosed from his bonds in three days' time, because the king desired his service, and what he had done to restore him to it again; for he let him know that God bestows the fruit of the vine upon men for good; which wine is poured out to him, and is the pledge of fidelity and actual confidence among men; and the bitter cup to end to their griefs, and pain, and passion and grief out of the minds of them that use it, and makes them cheerful. Thou say'st
of his misfortunes, thou wilt learn what thy dreams signify. So the king commanded that they should bring Joseph into his presence; and those who received the command came and brought him with them, having taken care of his habit, that it might be decent, as the king had enjoined them to do.

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

6. To which Joseph replied: "This dream," said he, "O king, signifies one and the same event of things; for when thou sawest the kine, which is an animal made for the plough and for labour, devoured by the worse kine, and the ears of corn eaten by the smaller ears, they foretell a famine, and want of the fruits of the earth, for the same number of years, and equal with those when Egypt was a happy state; and this so far, that the plenty of one year will not prevent another year of scarcity and want. For the famine is to come upon men, not to grieve them, but that when they know it beforehand, they may by prudence make the actual experience of what is foretold the more tolerable. If thou, therefore, carefully dispose of the plentiful crops which will come in the former years, thou wilt procure that the future calamity will not be felt by the Egyptians."

7. Hereupon the king wondered at the discretion and wisdom of Joseph; and asked him by what means he might so dispense the foregoing plentiful crops, in the happy years, as to make the miserable crops more tolerable. Joseph then added this advice: To spare the good crops, and make them a part of the provision of the poor; and be not so anxious to hoard them, regardless of necessity, but to reserve what they would have spent in luxury beyond their necessity, against the time of want. He also exhorted him to take the corn of the husbandmen, and give them only so much as would be sufficient for their food. Accordingly Pharaoh, being surprised at Joseph, not only for his interpretation of the dreams, but for the counsel he had given him, intrusted him with dispensing the corn, with power to do what he thought would be for the benefit of the people of Egypt, and for the benefit of the king, as believing the interpretation of the dreams and the kind of acting would prove the best overseer of it. But Joseph having this power given him by the king, with leave to make use of his seal, and to wear purple, druce in his chariot through all the land of Egypt, and took the corn of the husbandmen, allotting as much to every one as would be sufficient for seed and for food, but without discovering to any one the reason why he did so.

CHAP. VI.

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

§ 1. Joseph was now grown up to thirty years of age, and enjoyed great honours from the king, who called him PohtahPanehes, out of regard to his prodigious degree of wisdom; for that name denotes the receiver of secrets. He also married a wife, the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, of whom the king was in great estimation; but the wife she was all sorely afflicted by it, and came running to the king's gates; and he called upon Joseph, who sold the corn to them, being become a saviour to the whole multitude of the Egyptians. Nor did he open this market of corn for the people of that country only, but strangers had liberty to buy also, Joseph being willing that all men, who are naturally akin to one another, should have assistance from those that have more than they need.

2. Now Jacob also, when he understood that foreigners might come, sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn; for the land of Canaan was grievously afflicted with the famine; and this great misery would soon have overthrown all that Joseph had only retained Beulahman, who was born to him by Rachel, and was of the same name with Joseph. These sons of Jacob then came into Egypt, and applied themselves to Joseph, wanting to buy corn; for nothing of this kind was done without his approbation, since even then only was the honour that was paid the king himself advantageous to the person that paid it, when they took care to honor him as Joseph also. Now when he would have his brethren do him violence, he thought nothing of him, for he was but a youth when he left them, and was now come to an age so much greater that the demeanour of his face were changed, and he was not unknown by them. In the greatness of his dignity wherein he appeared suffered them not so much as to suspect it was he. He now made trial what sentiments they had about affairs of the greatest consequence; for he refused Nor is this a notion peculiar to that Testament; but, as Dr. Bernardi confesses, note on Art. 111b. ch. iv. sect. 1, he has found, or, common to a number of ancient Jews of old time. 1 This entire ignorance of the Egyptians of these years of famine before the coming of Joseph is shocking. On the large chap. v. sect. 7, by Joseph, seems to be almost incredible. It is in no other copy that I know of.
3. Now the brethren were under distraction and terror, and thought that very great danger hung over them; yet not at all reflecting upon their brother Joseph; and standing firm under the accusations laid against them, they made their defence by Reuben, the elder of them, who now became their spokesman: "We come not hither," said he, "with any unjust design, nor in order to bring any harm to the king's affairs; we only want to be preserved, as supposing your Honours to be inclined for us to be informed of the miseries which our country labours under, we having heard that you proposed to sell corn, not only to your own countrymen, but to strangers also, and that you determined to allow that corn in order that it may not be want; we are brethren, and of the same common blood, the peculiar lineaments of our faces, and those not so much different from one another, plainly show. Our father Jacob, a humble man, who had twelve of us for his sons by four wives; which twelve of us, while we were all alive, were a happy family; but when one of our brethren, whose name was Joseph, died, our affairs changed. Now we are a nation; for our father could not forgive us for our being near to make a long lamentation for him, and we are in affliction, both by the calamity of the death of our brother, and the miserable state of our aged father. We are now therefore come to buy corn for our country; we have the provision for our family, to Benjamin, our youngest brother; and if thou sendest to our house, thou mayest learn whether we are guilty of any fraud in what we do." 4. And thus did Reuben endeavour to persuade Joseph to have a better opinion of them. But when he had learned from them that Jacob was alive, and that his brother was not destroyed by them, he left the present put in the prison, and intending to examine more into their affairs when he should be at leisure. But on the third day he brought them out, and said to them, "That since you constantly affirm that you are not come to do any harm to the king's affairs; that you are brethren, and the sons of the father whom you named, you will satisfy me of the truth of what you say, if you leave one of your company with me, who shall suffer no injury here: if when you have corn to your father, you will come to me again, and bring your brother, whom you say you left there along with you: for this shall be by me esteemed an assurance of the truth of what you have told me." Hereupon they were in greater grief than before; they wept, and perpetually deplored one another the calamity of Joseph; and said, "They were fallen into this misery as a punishment for what we did in our anger against him." And Reuben was large in his reproaches of them for their too late repentance, whence no profit arose to Joseph; and earnestly exhorted them to bear with patience whatever they suffered, since it was done by God in way of punishment on his account. Thus they spake to one another, not imagining that Joseph understood their language. A general sadness also seized on them at Reuben's words, and they all made confession for what they had done, and that they condemned the wickedness they had perpetrated, for which they judged they were justly punished by God. Now when Joseph saw that they were in this distress, he was affected at it; and not being willing that they should take notice of him, he retired: and after a while came to them again, and taking Symeon, in order to his being a pledge for their brethren, he bid them, he they had bought, and go their way. He also commanded his steward privily to put the money which they had bought with them for the purchase of corn into their sacks, and to dismiss them thence, who did what he was commanded to do. 5. Now when Jacob's sons were come into the land of Canaan, they told their father what had happened to them in Egypt, and that they were delivered to a very heinous crime; and how they said they were brethren, and that they had left their eleventh brother with their father, but were not believed; and how they had left Symeon with the governor, until Benjamin should return. But Jacob was not pleased with any thing his sons had done, and he took the detention of Symeon heinously, and thence thought it a foolish thing to give up Benjamin also. Neither did he yield to Reuben's persuasion, though he begged it of him; and gave Jacob the corn, saying: "For our father could not forgive us, in many respects, kill his own sons, in case of their harm came to Benjamin in the journey. So they were distressed, and knew not what to do. Nay, there was another accident that still disturbed them more the money that was found hidden in their sacks of corn. Yet when the corn they had brought failed them, and when the famine still afflicted them, and necessity forced them, Jacob did [not] still resolve to send Benjamin with his brother, although there was no returning into Egypt, and he came with what he had been mishandled. Now, the misery growing every day worse, and his sons begging it of him, he had no other course to take, in his present circumstances. And Judas, who was of a bold temper upon other occasions, spake his mind very freely to him: "That it did not become him to be afraid on account of his son, nor to suspect the worst, as he did; for nothing could be done to his son but by the appointment of God, which must also for certain come to pass though he were at home with him; that he ought not to confound them to such manifest destruction; nor deprive them of that plenty of food they might have from Pharaoh, by his unreasonable fear about his son Benjamin, but ought to take care of the preservation of Symeon, lest by attempting to hinder Benjamin's journey, Symeon should perish. He exhorted him to trust God for him, and said he would either bring his son back to him safe, or, together with his lost own life." So that Jacob was much comforted by this council of the brethren, and sent Benjamin to them, with the price of the corn doubled; he also sent presents to Joseph, of the fruits of the land of Canaan, balams and rosin particule ishere wanting which I have supplied in brackets, and I wonder none have hitherto suspected it ought to be.
as those tarpeisine, and honey. Now their father shed many tears at the departure of his sons, as well as themselves. His concern was, that he might receive them back again safe after their journey; and their care was, that they might find them safe and well, and not have to bear the grief for them. And this lamentation lasted a whole day; so that the old man was at last tired with grief, and stayed behind; but they went on their way for Egypt, yet it was a mourning, to mitigate their grief for their present misfortunes, with the hopes of better success hereafter.

6. As soon as they came into Egypt, they were brought down to Joseph. But here no small fear did arise in the hearts of the brothers about the price of the corn, as if they had cheated Joseph. They then made a long apology to Joseph's steward; and told him, that when they came home they found the money in their sacks, and that they had now brought it along with them. He said he did not know what they meant; so they were delivered from that fear. And when he had loosed Symeon, and put him into a handsome habit, he suffered him to be with his brethren; at which time Joseph came from his attendance on the king. So they offered him their presents; and upon his putting the silver cups out of Benjamin's sack, he said they found that what he said was true; that he had hidden the cup; they having indeed searched the rest only for a show of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still they were well assured that he was wholly innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the meanwhile, have gotten a good way on the journey. But, as soon as they had searched Benjamin, they found the silver, and took it from him, and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft; and this made his delusion they had put on their father when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them when he was so adverse to it.

7. Now when after supper they had composed themselves to sleep, Joseph commanded his steward both to give them their measures of corn, and to hide its price again in their sacks; and that withal they should put into Benjamin's sack the golden cup out of which he loved himself to drink. Which things he did in order to make trial of his brethren, whether they would stand by Benjamin when he should be accused of having taken that cup, and either derive shame or danger to be in danger; or whether they would leave him, and depending on their own innocence, go to their father without him. When the servant had done this Joseph left him, and retired within the house, leaving nothing of all this, went their way, and took Symeon along with them, and had a double cause of joy, both because they had received him again, and because they took back Benjamin to their father, as they had promised. But presently a troop of horsemen encompassed them, and brought with them Joseph's servant, who had put the cup into Benjamin's sack. Upon which unexpected attack of the horsemen they were much disturbed, and making a great noise, they ran to Joseph upon men who, a little before, had been by their lord thought worthy of an honorable and hospitable reception? They replied by calling them wicked wretches, who had forgot that very hospitable and kind treatment which Joseph had given them, and did not scruple to be injurious to him, and to carry off that cup out of which he had, in so friendly a manner, drunk to them; and now to take back the money, they now more than the danger they should be in if they were taken, in comparison of the unjust gain. Hereupon he threatened that they should be punished; for, though they had escaped the trip into Egypt, yet they had not escaped the knowledge of God, nor had gone off with what they had stolen; and, after all, asked why we come upon them? as if they knew nothing of the matter; and he told them that they should immediately know it by their punishment. This, and more of the same nature, did the servant say, in way of reproach to them; being now the higher thing here that concerned them, laughed at what he said, and wondered at the abusive language which the servant gave them, when he was so hardly as to accuse those who did not believe so much as retain the price of their corn, which was found in their sacks, but brought it again, though nobody else knew of any such thing; so far were they from offering any injury to Joseph voluntarily. But still they were afraid of it, and of a more sure justification of themselves than their own denial of the fact, they bid him search them, and that if any of them had been guilty of the theft, to punish them all; for, being nowadays conscious to themselves of any crime, they spoke with assurance, and, as they thought, without any danger to themselves also. The servants desired there might be a search made; but they said, the punishment should extend to him alone who should be found guilty of the theft. So they made the search; and having searched all the rest, they came last of all to Benjamin, as knowing it was that which they were searching for; but found the cup in him, and thrown hidden the cup; they having indeed searched the rest only for the needed of accuracy: so the rest were out of fear for themselves, and were now only concerned about Benjamin, but still they were well assured that he was wholly innocent; and they reproached those that came after them for their hindering them, while they might, in the meanwhile, have gotten a good way on the journey. But, as soon as they had searched Benjamin, they found the cup, and took it from him, and all was changed into mourning and lamentation. They rent their garments, and wept for the punishment which their brother was to undergo for his theft; and this made his delusion they had put on their father when they promised they would bring Benjamin safe to him. What added to their misery was, that this melancholy accident came unfortunately at a time when they thought they had gotten off clear; but they confessed that this misfortune of their brother, as well as the grief of their father for him, was owing to themselves, since it was they that forced their father to send him with them when he was so adverse to it.

8. The horsemen therefore took Benjamin and brought him to Joseph, his brethren also following him; who, when he saw him in custody, and was told of them in the king's name, said to their father, 'O thou son of my decline, the vile wretches as you are, to have such a strange notion of my kindness to you, and of God's providence, as impudently to do thus to your benefactor, who in such a hospitable manner had entertained you? Whereupon they gave up themselves to be punished, in order to save Benjamin; and called to mind what a wicked enterprise they had been guilty of against Joseph. They also pronounced that they were more than万人次, and, instead of being freed from the miseries of this life, and if he were alive, that he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing God's vengeance upon them. They said further, that they were the plagues of their father, since they should now add to his former affliction for Joseph, this other affliction for Benjamin. Reubal also was large in cutting them upon this occasion. But Joseph dismissed them, and said to them, 'Oh ye sons of Israel, 'for I said to every man who said to me, Where is the cup? and that he would content himself with the lad's punishment; for he said, it was not a fitting thing to let him go free, for the sake of those who had not offended, but it was proper for him to be condemned together with him with that who had been guilty of stealing. And when he promised to give them leave to go away in safety, the rest of them were un-
der great consternation, and were able to say
nothing on the sad occasion. But Judas, who
had persuaded their father to send the lad from
him, being otherwise also a very bold and active
mensch, went alone, and was frightened by all,
but only by one of us, and he the youngest also;
but yet there remains some hope for us, who
otherwise must be under despair on his account;
and this from thy goodness, which promises a
dear and present reward. And now, I beg you
not to look at us, or at that great crime we have
been guilty of, but at thy own excellent nature,
and take advice of thine own virtue, instead of
that wrath thou hast against us; which passion
that otherwise are of a low character indulge,
as they do their strength, and that not only on
great, but also on very trifling occasions. Overcome,
sir, that passion, and be not subdued by it, nor
suffer it to play those of us who do not otherwise
press upon their own safety, but are desirous to
accept of it from thee; for this is not the first
time that thou wilt bestow it on us. But when
we have done by corn, we have afforded us
great plenty of food, and gave us leave to carry
so much home to our family as it has preserved
them from perishing by famine. Nor is there any
difference between not overlooking them,
perishing for want of means of subsistence,
and not punishing those that seem to be
offenders, and have been so unfortunate as to
lose the advantage of that glorious benefaction
which they received from thee. It will be an
instance of equal favour, though bestowed after
a different manner; for thou wilt save those
whom thou didst feed the other; and thou
wilt hereby preserve alive, by thy own bounty,
them whom thou didst not; and which will be
distressed by famine; it being, Indeed, at once
a wonderful and a great thing to sustain our lives
by corn, and to bestow on us that pardon, whereby
now we are distressed, we may continue those
lives. And I am ready to suppose that God is
willing to afford thee this opportunity of showing
thine virtuous disposition by bringing us into
this calamity, that it may appear thou canst for
give the injuries that are done to thyself; and
may be an instance to the world how those who,
on other accounts, stand in need of thy as-
sistance; since it is indeed a right thing to do
well to those who are in distress for want of food,
but it is a different thing to do well to those
who do not deserve to be punished, when it is on account
of heinous offences against thyself; for if it be
a thing deserving commendation to forgive such as
have been guilty of small offences, that tend to a
person's loss, and this be praised in him that overlooks such offences; to restrain a man's pass-
ion as to crimes which are capital to the guilty
is to be like the most excellent nature of God
himself. And truly, as for myself, had it not
been for this that we have done, I would not
have thought of what happened on occasion of the death of Joseph, how miserably he is always afflicted at the loss of his sons. I had not made many words on account of the saving of our own lives; I mean, any farther than as
that would be an excellent character for thyself,
to preserve even those that would have nobody
to lament them when they were dead, but we
would have yielded ourselves up to suffer what-
socred; and not by seeking to save ourselves,
plead for mercy to ourselves, though, indeed,
we dies, it will be while we are young, and be
fore we have had the enjoyment of life, have
regard to our father, and take pity of his old age,
on whose account it is that we make these sup-
plications to thee. We beg thou wilt give us
those lives, which this wickedness of ours has
rendered obnoxious to thy punishment; and this
for his sake who is not himself wicked, nor does
his being our father make us wicked. He is a
good man, and not worthy to have such trials of
his patience: and now we are acquainted, he is always
and care for us. But if he hear of our deaths,
and what was the cause of it, he will on that
account die an immature death: and the reproachful
word from his mouth, which he has said to us, and
will directly kill him. Nay, will bring him to a
miserable death, while he will make haste to rid
himself out of the world, and bring himself to a
state of insensibility, before the sad story of our
end come abroad into the rest of the world. Con-
sider these things in this manner, although our
wickedness does now provoke thee with a just
desire of punishing that wickedness, and forgive
it for our father's sake: and let thy commiser-
ation of him weigh more with thee than our wick-
edness. Have regard to the old age of our fa-
ther, who, if we perish, will be very lonely while
he lives, and will soon die himself also. Grant this
for his good, who is not himself wicked, and
will honour him that begat thee, and will grant it
to thyself also, who enjoyest already that denomina-
tion; thou wilt then, by that denomination, be
preserved of God, the Father of all, by showing
a miracle to the world, by delivering him from
this. Thou wilt appear to honour him who is styled
by the same name; I mean, if thou wilt have this
pity on our father, upon the consideration how
mischief he will be if he be deprived of his sons.
It is thy power thou hast to bestow on us what
God has given us, when it is in thy power to take
it away, and so to resemble him entirely in charity,
for it is good to use that power, which can either
give or take away, on the merciful side; and
when it is in thy power to destroy, to forget that
thou ever hadst that power, and to look on thy-
self as only allowed power for preservation; and
that the more any one extends this power, the
greater reputation does he gain to himself. Now,
by forgiving our brother what he has unhappily
committed, thou wilt preserve us all; for we cannot
think of living if he be put to death, since we
dare not show ourselves alive to our father with-
out him. And as for my share, if thou wilt pun-
ish him, I have no part in the miseries of his crime.
I will only leave with thee this one consideration,
and then will say no more, viz. that our brother
committed this fault when he was young, and
not yet of confirmed wisdom in his conduct, and
that men naturally forgive such young persons.
1 end here, without adding what more I have to
say, that in case thou condonest us, that omis-
sion may be supposed to have hurt us, and per-
mitted thee to take the severer side. But in case thou
condonnest us, and dost not punish us, it will be
thy own goodness, of which thou art inwardly
conscious, that thou freest us from condemnation;
and that not by barely preserving us, but granting
us such a favor as will make us appear more righteous than we really are, and by
representing to thyself more motives for our de-
liberation than we are able to produce ourselves.
If therefore thou resolvest to say him I desire
not, or to forgive him, or to be pitiful to him,
and as a slave, I am fit for labour for thy
lvery, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert on this occasion. See two more such speeches or declama-
tions, Antiq. B. vi. c. xiv. sect. 4.
splendour and happiness, and ruled over Egypt jointly with the king, and had intrusted to his care almost all his affairs; he did not think any thing was too hard for him to do, in the performance of the greatness of the works of God, and his kindness to him, although that kindness had, for some late times, been intermitted; so he immediately and zealously set upon his journey thither.

2. When he came to the wilde of Gibeon (Beersheba,) he offered sacrifice to God; and being afraid that the happiness there was in Egypt might tempt his posterity to fall in love with it, in the end, and be instrumental in removing into the land of Canaan, and possessing it, as God had promised them; as also being afraid, lest if this descent into Egypt were made without the will of God, his family might be destroyed in Egypt, and they would never be able to depart this life before he came to the sight of Joseph, he fell asleep, revolving these doubts in his mind.

3. But God stood by him, and called him twice by his name; and when he asked, who he was? God said, "No, sure, it is not just that thou Jacob shouldst be unacquainted with that God who has been ever a protector and a helper to thy forefathers, and after them to thyself: for then I would have had thee to understand, how dominion, I gave it thee: and by my kindness it was, that when thou wast sent into Mesopotamia all alone, thou obtainedst good wives, and returnedst with many children, and much wealth. The whole land of Egypt also has been given into thy providence; and it was I who conducted Joseph thy son, whom thou gavest up for lost, to the enjoyment of great prosperity. I also made him lord of Egypt, so that he differs but little from a king. And now I will conduct thee to them in this journey, and foretell to thee that thou shalt die in the arms of Joseph; and I inform thee, that thy posterity shall be many ages in the authority of thy sons, and shall be a great people in the land which I have promised them.

4. Jacob, encouraged by this dream, went on more cheerfully for Egypt, with his sons, and all belonging to them. Now they were in all seventy. I once indeed thought it best not to set down the names of this family, especially because of their difficult pronunciation, [by the Greeks,] but upon the whole, I think it necessary to mention those names, that I may disprove such as believe that we can only know the names of the Jews, but are Egyptians. Now Jacob had twelve sons; of these Joseph was come thither before. We will therefore set down the names of Jacob's children and grandchildren. Reuben had four sons, Abior, Abiud, Abiram, and Shephi, who had six, Samuel, Jamin, Avod, Jachin, Soar, Samul. Levi had three sons, Gersom, Caath, Merari. Judah had three sons, Saha, Phares, Zechar; and by Phares two grandchildren, Earron and Armer. Issacher had six sons, Thola, Phua, Jachub, Samson. Zabulon had with him three sons, Sarad, Hemon, Jael. So far is the posterity of Levi with whom went her daughter Dina. These are thirty-three. Rachel had two sons, the one of whom, Joseph, she had two sons also, and nameless. There had six sons, Jabron, Bala, Barchar, Aser, Gers, Naaman, Jea. Ros, Mesomph, Apphis, Arad. These fourteen added to the thirty-three, before amount to the number forty-seven. And this was the legitimate posterity of Jacob. He had besides by Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Naphtali, which last had four sons, that followed him, Izael, Gibe, Jaad, and Sallim. Dan had an only begotten son, Uni. If these be added to those before mentioned, they complete the number fifty-four. Gad and Asher were the sons of Zilph, who

* In all this speech of Judas we may observe, that Josephus still supposed that death was the punishment of...
was the handmaid of Lea. These had with them, Gad seven, Saphoniah, Augis, Sunas, Arazon, Aein, Eroed, Ariel. Aser had a daughter Sarah, and six male children, whose names were Jomme, Ies, Isi, Belia, Abar, and Melchiel. If we add those, which are sixteen, to the fifty-four, the forementioned number (seventy) is completed, Jacob* not being himself included in that number.

When Joseph understood that his father was coming, for Judas his brother was come before him, and informed him of his approach, he went out to meet him; and they met together at Heropolis. But Jacob almost fainted away at this unexpected sight; for he joyfully re¬ceived him, being yet not himself able to contain from being affected in the same manner, at the pleasure he now had, yet was he not wholly overcome with his passion, as his father was. As he himself had five of his brethren with him, and made haste to the king, to tell him that Jac¬ob and his family were come, which was a joyful hearing to him. He also bid Joseph tell him with all speed that his brethren were with him, that he might give them leave to follow the same. Who told him they were good shepherds, and had been used to follow no other employment but this alone. Whereby he provided for them, that they should not be separated, but in the same place, and take care of their father; as also her¬eby he provided, that they might be acceptable to the Egyptians, by doing nothing that would be common to them with the Egyptians; for the Egyptians were prohibited to meddle with the feeding of sheep.

6. When Jacob was come to the king, and sal¬uted him, and wished all prosperity to his go¬vernment, Pharaoh asked him how far he was; and when he was upon his answer, that he was a hun¬dred and thirty years old, he admired Jacob on account of the length of his life. And when he had added, that still he had not lived so long as his forefather Abraham, he gave him leave to live with his children in Heliopolis; for in that city the king's shepherds had their pasturage.

7. However, the famine increased among the Egyptians; and this heavy judgment grew more oppressive to them, because, as it prevented the re¬river overflow the ground, for it did not rise to its former height, nor did God send rain upon it; nor did they indeed make the least provision for themselves, so ignorant were they what was to be done. But Pharaoh sold them corn for their money. But when their money failed them, they bought corn with their cattle, and their slaves; and if any of them had a small piece of land, they gave up that to purchase them food, by which means the king became the owner of all their substance; and they were removed some to one place, and some to another, that so the possession of their country might be firmly afforded to the king; ex¬cepting the lands of the priests, for their country continued still in their own possession. And in¬* All the Greek copies of Josephus have the negative particle not, as if Joseph himself was not the author of one of the 70 souls that came into Egypt; but the old Latin copies want it, and directly assure us he was one of them. It is therefore hardly certain which of those was Josephus's true reading, since the number 70 is made up without him, if we reckon Leah for one, but if she be not reckoned, Jacob must himself be one, to complete the number.

15. Pharaoh appropriated the employment of a shepherd in the days of Joseph; whereas Bishop Cumberland has shown that they rather lived in the days of the Canaanites, when Joseph had not only conspired the Egyptians of old time. See his Sanchoniatho, p. 361, 369.

16. Relations here put the question. How Josephus could account of its not raining in Egypt during this famine, while the ancients affirm, that it never does naturally rain there! His answer is, that when the ancients deny that it rains in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above

deed this sore famine made their minds, as well as their bodies, slaves; and at length compelled them to procure a sufficiency of food by such dishonourable means. But when this misery ceased, and the river overflowed the ground, and the ground brought forth its fruits plentifully, Joseph came to every city, and gathered the people thereto belonging together, and gave them back entirely the land which, by their own con¬trary, was kind to him, bestowing upon them so alone enjoyed the fruits of it. He also exhorted them to look on it as every one's own posses¬sion; and to fall to their husbandry with cheerfulness; and to pay as a tribute to the king, the fifth part of their fruits while they, and no one else, enjoyed the fruits of it. This men rejoiced upon their becoming unexpectedly owners of their lands, and diligently observed what was enjoined them. And by this means the land of Canaan was put in common with them, by authority among the Egyptians, and greater love to the king from them. Now this law, that they should pay the fifth part of their fruits as tribute, continued until their latter kings.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob and Joseph.

§ 1. Now when Jacob had lived seventeen years in Egypt, he fell into a disease, and died in the presence of his sons; but not till he made his prayers for their enjoying prosperity, and till he had foretold to them prophetically how every one of them was to dwell in the land of Canaan. But this happened many years afterward. He also enlarged upon the praises of Joseph; how he had not remembered the evil doings of his brethren to their disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, was kind to them, bestowing upon them so many benefits, as seldom are bestowed upon men's own benefactors. He then commanded his own sons, that they should admit Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into their number, and divide the land of Canaan in common with them, concerning whom we shall treat hereafter. How¬ever, he made it his request, that he might be buried at Hebron. So he died, when he had lived full a hundred and fifty years, three only abstained, having not been feared by his ancestors in piety towards God; and having such a recom¬ pense for it, as it was fit those should have who were so good as these were. But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Egypt, and buried it in the fiftieth year from his birth. Now his brethren were at first unwilling to return back with him, because they were afraid, lest, now their father was dead, he should punish them for their secret practices against him, since he was now gone, for whose sake he had been so gracious to them. But he persuaded them to fear no harm, and to entertain no suspi¬cions of him; so he brought them along with him, and gave them great possessions, and never left off his particular concern for them.

the Delta, which is called Egypt in the strictest sense; but that in the days of Joseph, Egypt was divided into the Lower Egypt adjoining to it, it did of old, and still does rain sometimes. See the note on Antiqu. B. iii. ch. i. sect. 6.

§ Josephus supposes, that Joseph now restored the Egyptians their lands again, upon the payment of a fifth part as tribute. It seems to me rather that the land was now considered as Pharaoh's land, and this fifth part as the rent of it. For it was not a reversion, but they had tenure; and that the lands were not properly restored, and this fifth part reserved as tribute only, till the days of the Maccabees. See Essay on the Old Testament, Ap¬pendix, 148, 149.

17. As to this concourse upon Joseph, so preparatory to Jacob's adopting Ephraim and Manasseh into his own fa¬mily, the ancients were not initially sufficed for our purpose, while the ancients affirm, that it never does naturally rain there! His answer is, that when the ancients deny that it rains in Egypt, they only mean the Upper Egypt above
Concerning the Afflictions that befall the Hebrews in Egypt, during four hundred years.*

§ 1. Now it happened that the Egyptians grew solicitate and lazy, as to pains-taking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very greedy and avaricious; such was their eagerness at their prosperity: for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment. And having in length of time forgotten the benefits they had received from Joseph, particularly the crown being on his head, and a family being in favour, they fell upon the nation in a very abusive manner towards the Israelites, and contrived many ways of afflicting them; for they enjoined them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities and ramparts, that they might restrain the river, and hinder its waters from stagnating, upon its running over its own banks: they set them also to build pyramids,* and by all this wore them out; and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to endure the toil of four hundred years did they spend under these afflictions: for they strove one against the other which should get the mastery, the Egyptians desiring to destroy the Israelites, and to make them labours, and the Israelites desiring to hold out to the end under them.

2. While the affairs of the Hebrews were in this condition, there was this occasion offered itself to the Egyptians, which made them more solicitous for the extinction of our nation. One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about that time there would be a child born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virility, and obtain a glory that would be remembered through all ages. Which thing was believed by the king, that according to this man's opinion, he commanded that they should cast every male child, who was born to the Israelites, into the river, and destroy it; that besides this, the Egyptian midwives misdoubled on account of the Hebrew women, and observe what is born, for those were the women who were enjoined to do the office of midwives to them; and by reason of their relation to the king, would not transgress this his command. He enjoined also that if any parents should disobey him, and venture to spare their male children alive, they and their families should be destroyed. This was a severe affliction to the nation indeed, that in every seventh year as they were deprived of their sons, and while they were the parents themselves, they were obliged to be subservient to the destruction of their own children, and in their own gradual dissolution, the calamity would become very harsh and incommensurable to them. And this was the case when they were in Egypt. It can be too hard for the purpose of God, though he contrive ten thousand subtle devices for that end, for this child, whom the sacred scribe foretold, was brought up and concealed from the observers approved by the king, and then told him that he did not mistake in the consequences of his preservation, which were brought to pass after the manner following.

3. A man whose name was Amram, one of the nobler sort of the Hebrews, was afraid for his whole nation, lest it should fail, by the want of young men to be brought up hereafter; and was very uneasy at it, his wife being then with child, that he should not be able himself to pray to God; and entreated him to have compassion on those men who had nowise transgressed the laws of his worship, and to afford them deliverance from the miseries they at that time endured, and to render shortlived their enemies' hopes of the destruction of their nation. Accordingly God had mercy on him, and was moved by his supplication. He stood by him in his sleep, and exhorted him not to despair, but to make further, that he did not forget their piety towards him, and would always reward them for it, as he had formerly granted his favour to their forefathers; and made them increase in abundance from that time to time, so that he put him in mind, that when Abraham was come alone out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, he had been made happy, not only in other respects, but that when his wife was at first barren, she was afterward by him enabled to conceive seed, and bare him sons. That he left to Ishmael and to his posterity the country of Arhia; as also to his sons by Keturah, Troglodytis; and to Isace Canaan. That by my assistance, said he, he had great experience in his wars, which, unless you be yourselves impious, you must still remember. As for Jacob, he became well known to strangers also much misery to the Egyptians, and so much happiness to the Israelites from the rearing of Moses.

* Josephus is clear that these midwives were Egyptians, and not Israelites, as in other copies; a thing not improbable, not being easily to be supposed, that Pharaoh could trust the Israelite midwives to execute so barbarous a command against their own nation. But as they were not able to prevent it, so they were disposed and corrected hence our ordinary copies, Exod. i. 13—15. And indeed Josephus seems to have used much comprehensive copies of the Pentateuch, as well as other authorities; and best, about the works and actions of Moses, than either our Hebrew, Samaritan, or Greek Bible afford us, which enabled him to be so large and particular about him.

* Of this passage the scribes and Samaritan and Greek who saw the Israelite infants, and of the inscription on the obelisk, containing, in my opinion, one of the oldest records of mankind. See Essay on the Old Test. Appendix, p. 136, 145. 147. 217.—220.
in love with it, on account of its largeness and beauty: for God had taken such great care in the formation of Moses, that he caused him to be brought up in the midst of the princes of Egypt, and to have a liberal education, and to be taught all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and to understand their ways and doings, and to have a great love for the women of Egypt, and to have a great desire to see the children of Israel and to know what it was like to be a prince in the land of Egypt. And when he was brought up, he began to think about the children of Israel and to wonder about them, and to say to himself, "Why are the children of Israel treated with such injustice and cruelty, and why are they not allowed to live in peace and prosperity?"

5. Therefore, Moses, the king's daughter, saw the little child and was moved to pity for him, and she knew that he was a prince in the land of Egypt and that he had been taken away from his mother and placed in the river. And she said to herself, "This child is a prince of the Hebrews, and he has been placed in the river by his mother, who is a princess of the land of Egypt."

6. And when the princess saw the little child, she said to herself, "This child is a prince of the Hebrews, and he has been placed in the river by his mother."

7. And when the princess saw the little child, she said to herself, "This child is a prince of the Hebrews, and he has been placed in the river by his mother."
diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and in a puerile mood, he breathed it Hence, and taking a stone, he endeavored to bring along with it an evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribes saw this, (he was the same person who bore to the king the tablets of the covenant of this kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said, "This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no peace; his blood will be made upon the heads of those who took and led his army before those enemies were apprized of his attacking them; for he did not march by the river, but by land, where he gave a wonderful demonstration of his power and greatness, for when the ground was difficult to be passed over, because of the multitude of serpents, which it produces in vast numbers, and indeed is singular in some of those productions, which other countries do not breed, and yet such as are worse than others in power and mischief, and an unusual fearlessness of sight, some of which ascend out of the ground unseen, and also fly in the air, and so come upon men at unawares, and do them a great deal more mischief, Moses entered a wonder in preserving the army safe, and without hurt; for he made baskets like unto arks, of sedge, and filled them with ives," and carried them about with them; and in the gospel of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.

CHAP. X.

How Moses made War with the Ethiopians.

§ 1. Moses therefore, when he was born, and brought up in the foregoing manner, and came to the age of maturity, made his virtue manifest to the rulers of the land, and to the king; and they were for the bringing them down, and raising the Israelites. And the occasion he laid hold of was this: the Ethiopians, who are next neighbours to the Egyptians, made an inroad into their country, which they seized upon, and carried off the effects of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, fought against them, and revenged the affronts they had received from them; but being overcome in battle, they fled to the land of the ruins, and by their means repelled the serpents, and used them for their assistants against the Egyptians. When he had therefore proceeded thus, according to his journey, he came upon the Ethiopians before they expected him; and joining battle with them, he beat them, and deprived them of the hopes they had of success against the Egyptians, and went on, overthrowing their strength, and destroying the slaughter of those Ethiopians. Now when the Egyptian army had once tasted of this prosperous success, by the means of Moses, they did not shrink from those difficulties, and continued that the Ethiopians were in danger of being reduced to slavery, and all sorts of destruction. And at length they retired to Saba, which was a royal city of Ethiopia; which Cambyses afterward named "Meroc," after the name of his own sister.

The place was to be besieged with very great difficulty, since it was both encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers, Astapus and Astaborus, made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them; for the city was situated in a retired place, and was inhabited after the manner of an island, being encompassed with a strong wall, and having the rivers to guard them from their enemies. Having great ramparts before the river, they had much, that when the waters come with the greatest violence it can never be drowned; which ramparts make it next to impossible for even such as are gotten over the rivers to take the

This history of Moses, as general of the Egyptians against the Ethiopians, is wholly omitted in our Bible, but we learn from Jerome, in his notes, that he wrote on this subject after his own age. "Josephus says, that when Moses was assassinated in the king's palace, he was appointed general of the Egyptian army, and conquered them; when he married that king's daughter, because, out of her affection for him, she delivered the city up to him." See the Fragments of Jerome, ed. Grash. p. 472. Nor perhaps did St. Stephen refer to any thing else, when he said the Egyptians to kill him, were not astonished now to own their want of his help.

2. So Moses was the instrument both of Thermuthis and the king himself, cheerfully undertook the business; and the sacred scribes of both nations were glad; those of the Egyptians, because they had the advantage of their enemies by his valour, and that by the same power of management, Moses would be slain; but those of the Hebrews, that they should escape from the Egyptians, because Moses was to be their general. But Thermuthis, who was not only to the prediction of the same thing, by his trembling upon thy government, and treasuring upon thy diadem, took him therefore out of the way, and delivered him to the merchants, who sold him in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him." But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him; God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was therefore educated with great care. So the Hebrews depended on him, and were of good hope that great things would be done by him; but a king ordained, that all his servants, who followed this education. Yet because if Moses had been slain, there was no one, neither akin or adopted, that had any oracle on his side for protection; in the land of Egypt, and likely to be of greater advantage to them, they abstained from killing him.
city. However, while Moses was uneasy at the army's lying idle, (for the enemies durst not come to a battle) this accident happened: Tharbis was the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians; she happened to see Moses as he led the army near to the walls, and fought with great courage, and admiring the subtlety of his undertakings, and believing him to be the author of the Egyptian success, when they had before despaired of recovering their liberty, and adorning her with the certain of her safety, she promised to marry him if he would let his generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and when the king heard of their discourse, he said, he, that Moses had bestowed such assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the superintendent over his cattle, for all old the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses.

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

2. For that country having but little water, the shepherds used to seize on the wells before others came, lest their flocks should want water; and lest it should be spent by others before they came. But now came seven wells, well seven sistent that were virgins, the daughters of Raguel, a priest, and one thought worthy by the people of the country of great honour; these virgins, who took care of their father's flocks, which sort of work it was customary and very familiar for women to do in the country of the Trogodytes, they came first of all, and drew water out of the well in a quantity sufficient for the flocks to drink in the troughs, which were made for the reception of the water. But when the shepherds came upon the maiden, and drove them away, that they might have the command of the waters themselves, Moses thinking it would be a time to show his power, he overtook the young women under unjust oppression, and should suffer the violence of the men to prevail over the right of the maidens, he drove away the men, who had a mind to more than their share, and afforded a proper assistance to the women; who, after having received such a benefit from him, came to their father, and told him how they had been assaulted by the shepherds, and asked that he would let this generous action be done in vain, nor go without a reward. Now the father took it well from his daughters that they were so desirous to reward their benefactor; and bid them bring Moses into his presence, that he might be rewarded as he deserved. And when Moses came, he told him what testimony his daughters bare to him, that he had assisted them; and when the king heard of their discourse, he said, he, that Moses had bestowed such assistance on persons not insensible of benefits, but where they were both able and willing to return the kindness, and even to exceed the measure of his generosity. So he made him his son, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage; and appointed him to be the superintendent over his cattle, for all old the wealth of the barbarians was in those cattle.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Burning Bush, and the Rod of Moses.

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

2. But Moses was astonished at what he saw, and much more at what he heard; and he said, "I think it would be an instance of too great madness, O Lord, for one of that regard I bear for thee to overlook such a thing, and more, and know that it has been made manifest to my progenitors; but I am still in doubt how I, who am a private man, and one of no al-
BOOK II.—CHAP. XIII.

Moses should either persuade my own countrymen to leave the country they now inhabit, and to follow me to a land whither I lead them: or, if they should be persuaded, how can I force Pharaoh to permit them to depart, since they 118

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

4. Moses having received these wonders, that assured him of the truth of these promises of God, had no room left him to disbelieve them: he entreated him to grant that power when he should be in Egypt; and because there he would be in the sight of all men, and be named by his own name, and since he had heard and seen him, that he would also tell him his name, that when he offered sacrifices, he might invoke him by such his name in his obligations. Whereupon God said, 9: And Moses was not only run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to set him free like the same, that all the people of the Egyptians might be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, 10: king, I do not myself believe the babble of the priests. I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as divine power exceeds the power of man; but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of God." And when he had said this, he cast his rod upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all; it then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

4. However, the king was no more moved when this was done, than before; and being very angry, he said, 11: That he should gain nothing by his cunning and shrewdness against the Egyptians. And he commanded him that was his chief taskmaster to cast him into the sea; but God resolved to give them no relaxation from their labours, but to compel them to submit to greater oppressions than

* This superstitious fear of discovering the name with few letters, which of late we have been used falsely to pronounce Jheebek, but seems to have been originally Jehebkh, and was derived from the Semitic, Jeheb, meaning the chief of the Sheebeen, as in the passage of Josephus; and this superstitious, in not pronouncing that name, has continued among the Rabbinical Jews to this day, (though whether the Samaritans and Carthaginians have it so exact does not appear.) Josephus also durst not set down the very words of the ten commandments, as we shall see hereafter, Antiq. B. lii. ch. vi. sect. 4, which superstitious silence, has yet not been discontinued, even by the learned. But there seems no doubt but both these cautious concealments were taught Josephus by the Pharisees, a body of men at that time very wicked and very superstitious.
before. And though he allowed them chaff before for the making of their bricks, he would allow it then no longer, but he made them to work hard at brick-making in the daytime, and to gather chaff in the night. Now when their labour was doubled upon them, they laid the blame upon Moses, because their misery was on his account become more severe to them. But Moses did not let his courage sink for the king’s threatenings; nor did he abate of his zeal on account of the heavy complaints but he supported himself, and set his mind resolutely against them both, and used his own utmost diligence to procure liberty to his countrymen. So he went to the king, and persuaded him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai, and there to sacrifice to God, because God had enjoined them so to do. He persuaded him also, not to counterwork the designs of God, but to esteem his favour above all things, and to permit them to depart, lest, before he be aware, he lay an obstruction in the way of the divine commands, and so occasion his own suffering such punishments as it was probable any one that counterworked the divine commands should suffer, since the most afflicting things are from every object, to those that provoke the divine wrath against them: for such as these have neither the earth nor the air for their friends; nor are the fruits of the womb according to the mercy of God, but are unfriendly and adverse towards them. He said further, that the Egyptians should know this by sad experience; and that besides, the Hebrew people should go out of their country without their consent.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Ten Plagues which came upon the Egyptians.

§ 1. BR. when the king despaired the words of Moses, and had no regard at all to them, grievous plagues seized the Egyptians; every one of which I will describe, both because no such plagues did ever happen to any other nation as the Egyptians now felt; and because I would demonstrate that Moses did not fail in any one thing that he foretold them, and because it is for the good of mankind, that they may learn this caution, not to do any thing that may destroy the good God has given us to work in, and announce their iniquities upon men. The Egyptian river ran with bloody water, at the command of God, insomuch that it could not be drunk, and they had no other way to refresh themselves; nor was there any other than the following which yet had so generally afflicted them: for their bodies had terrible biles, breaking forth with bilious, while they were already inwardly consumed; and a great part of the Egyptians perished in this manner. But when the king was not brought to reason by this plague, hail was sent down from heaven; and such hail it was, as the climate of Egypt had never suffered before, nor was it like to that which fell in other countries; for the hail was not larger that than which falls in the middle of spring to those that dwell in the northern and northwestern regions. This hail broke down their barns laden with fruit. After this a tribe of locusts came; there was no field or fruit of food which was not consumed by the locusts. This lasted for a whole month, which was not the case with the Egyptian monarchs; and the people could not use it when they would. At this time the vessels in the houses which they used, and were found among what they ate, and what they drank, and came in great numbers upon their beds. There was also an ungrateful smell and stink arose from them, as they were born, and as they died therein. Now, when the Egyptians were under the oppressions of these destroying plagues, they turned to Moses and the Hebrews with him, and be gone. Upon which the whole multitude of the frogs vanished away, and both the land and the river returned to their former states. But when they were freed from this plague, he forgot the causes of it, and retained the Hebrews; and, as though he had a mind to try the nature of more such judgments, he would not yet suffer Moses and his people to depart, having given them liberty rather out of fear, than out of any good consideration.

3. Accordingly, God punished his faithlessness with another plague, added to the former; for he caused out of the bodies of the Egypt a innumerable quantity of lice, by which, wicked as they were, they miserably perished, as not able to destroy this sort of vermin, either with burning, or with cold. At which terrible judgment, the king of Egypt wept upon the fear into which he reasoned himself, lest his people should be destroyed, and that the manner of this death was also reproachful, so that he told Moses that he was the one against whom he would show upon no man but himself, and from his wicked temper to a sound mind, for he gave leave for the Hebrews themselves to depart. But when the plague thereupon ceased, he thought it proper to require that they should leave their cattle, and wives behind them, as pledges of their return, whereby he provoked God to be more vehemently angry at him, as if he thought to impose on his providence, and as if it were only Moses, and not God, who punished the Egyptians; and that the sake of the Egyptians he enabled for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

4. But when the king saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; it was a pestilence. The king ordered Moses to take all the country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was desolated by the bandsmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

5. But when the king saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; it was a pestilence. The king ordered Moses to take all the country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was desolated by the bandsmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.

6. But when the king saw that he was ungrateful, and upon the ceasing of the calamity would not grow wiser, he sent another plague upon the Egyptians; it was a pestilence. The king ordered Moses to take all the country full of various sorts of pestilential creatures, with their various properties, such indeed as had never come into the sight of men before, by whose means the men perished themselves, and the land was desolated by the bandsmen for its cultivation; but if any thing escaped destruction from them, it was killed by a distemper, which the men underwent also.
advantage. But Pharaoh, led not so much by his folly as by his wickedness, even when he saw the cause of his miseries, he still contested with God, and wilfully deserted the cause of virtue; so he bid Moses take the Hebrews away, with their wives and children, but to leave their cattle behind, since their own cattle were destroyed. But when Moses said, that what he desired was unjust, since they were obliged to offer sacrifices to God of those cattle; and that the next day they would journey out of all the land, into a desert, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and tasted how hot was the fiery wrath and judgment by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after three days and as many nights, was dissipated, and when Pharaoh did not still repent and let the Hebrews go, Moses went to him and said: "How long wilt thou be disobedient to the command of God? for he enjoins thee to let the Hebrews go; nor is there any other way of being freed from the calamities you are now under than by this. Now, thou art angry at what he said, and threatened to cut off his head, if he came any more to trouble him about these matters. Hereupon Moses said, he would not speak to him any more about them, for, saying, the women and children, was not to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand. 2. They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and forty years after the birth of Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. It was the eightieth year of the age of Moses, and that of Aaron three more. They also carried out the body of Joseph with them, as he had charged his sons to do. 3. But the Egyptians soon repented that the Hebrews were gone; and the king also was mightily concerned that this multitude had escaped by the means arts of Moses; so they resolved to go after them. Accordingly they took their weapons, and other warlike furniture, and pursued after them, in order to bring them back, if once they overset them, be it at any rate. But now they ever after they had made haste in their pursuit, and asked of every one they met which way they were gone; and indeed, that land was difficult to be travelled over, not only by armies, but by single persons. Now Moses and the Hebrews went on before the armed army of the Egyptians, and in case the Egyptians should repent and be desirous to pursue after them, they might undergo the punishment of their wickedness, and of the breach of those promises they had made to them. As also led them this way on account of the Philistines, who had quarrelled with them, and hated them of old, that by all means they might not know of their departure, for their country is near to that of Egypt; and hence it was that Moses led them, not along the road that tended to the land of the Philistines, but he was desirous that they should go through the desert, that so after a long journey, and after many affections, they might enter upon the land of Ca-

**CHAP. XV**

How the Hebrews, under the Conquest of Moses, left Egypt.

§ 1. So the Hebrews went out of Egypt, while the Egyptians wept, and repented that they had treated them so hardly. Now they took their journey by Lotopolis, a place at that time desertaed, but where Babylon was built afterward, when Cambyses laid Egypt waste; but as they would not pass by the sea, they went away from Egypt by a place called Basalisephon on the Red Sea, and when they had no food out of the land, because it was a desert, they ate of leavies kneaded of flour, only warmed by a gentle heat; and this food they well have made use of for thirty days; for what they brought with them out of Egypt would not suffice them any longer time; and this only while they dispensed it to each person, to use so much ones as else served for necessity, but not satiety. Whence it is, that, in memory of the want we were then in, we keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of the unleavened bread. Now the entire multitude of those that went out, including the women and children, was not to be numbered, but those that were of an age fit for war, were six hundred thousand.
ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEWS

Another reason of this was, that God had commanded him to bring the people to Mount Sinai, that there they might offer him sacrifices. Now when the Egyptians had overtaken the Hebrews, they prepared to fight them, and by their multitude they drove them into a narrow place, for the number that pursued after them was six hundred chariots, with fifty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand footmen; all armed. They also seized on the passages by which they might escape, so that they might have nothing to slip up between inaccessible precipices and the sea. For there was [on each side] a ridge of mountains that terminated at the sea, which were impassable by reason of their roughness, and obstruction of sight; which therefore was pressured upon the Hebrews with their army, where the ridges of the mountains were closed with the sea, which army they placed at the close of the mountains, so that they might deprive them of any passage into the plain.

4. When the Hebrews, therefore, were neither able to bear up, being thus, as it were, besieged, because they wanted provisions, nor saw any possibility of the enemy's flight; and they being so far, as they had thought of fighting, had no weapons, they expected a universal destruction, unless they delivered themselves up voluntarily to the Egyptians. So they laid the blame on Moses, and on the Lord, and on the people, that had been wronged by God for the recovery of their freedom; and so far that, their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them, and promised them deliverance; and that the people would provide an escape up to the Egyptians. So there was sorrow and lamentation among the women and children, who, as God's witnesses, determined no way of flying from them.

5. But Moses, though the multitude looked strongly on him, did not, however, give over the care of them, but despised all dangers, of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the several steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty, which he had foretold them, would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, and he himself being there. And standing in the midst of them, he said, "It is not just for us to distrust even men, when they have hitherto well managed our affairs, as if they would not be the same men hereafter. But when the better was at hand, and the time to despair of the providence of God, by whose power all those things have been performed which he promised, when you expected no such things: I mean, all that I have been concerned in for your deliverance, and escape from slavery. Nay, when we are in the utmost distress, as you see we are, we ought the rather to hope that God will succour us, by whose operations it is that we are now encompassed within this narrow place, that he may not remove us out of such difficulties as are otherwise insurmountable, and out of which neither you nor your enemies expect you can be delivered, and may at one demonstrate his own power, and his providence.

6. Take the main part of Reland's excellent note here, which greatly illustrates Josephus, and the Scripture, in what he says. The following of Exod. 14: 11, is from the Hebrew, and is not found in the Greek. "whose name was Exemana, when he returned out of Egypt, told me that he went the same way from Egypt to Mount Sinai, which he had not before told. I answered, and said, This is a very excellent history of a remarkable event; and that I found several mountains, that run down towards the Red Sea. He thought the Israelites had found the desert by sea, and said, "When you were commanded by God to return back, Exod. xiv. 2, and to pitch their camp between Migdol and the sea, which they were not able to fly unless by sea, they were shut in on each side by mountains. He also thought we might evidently learn hence, how it might be said that the Israelites were in Exhem before they went over the sea, and yet might be said to have passed over the sea also. Besides, he gave an account how he passed over a river in a boat near the city Seba, which he says mood need be the He-"
and destruction of their enemies; now indeed supposing themselves firmly delivered, when they were themselves the first to force them, they were destroyed, and when they found they had God so evidently for their protector. And now these Hebrews having escaped the danger they saw they were in, and while their enemies, seeing their enemies punished in such a way as is never recorded of any other men whomsoevers, were all the night employed in singing of hymns, and in mirth. Moses also composed a song unto God, containing this praise and thanksgiving for his kindness, in hexameter verse.

5. As for himself, I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the sacred books; and if I wonder at anything in that part of the narration, if a way were discovered to those men of old time, who were free from the wick
edness of the modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while, for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedon, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian sea retired; and afforded them a way when they had no other way to go; I mean, when, when P. was the first who resolved to destroy the monarchy of the Persians: and this is confessed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to these events, let every one determine as he pleases.

6. On the next day Moses gathered together the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews, by the current of the sea, and the force of the wind re-

Strabo, Arian, and Apian.—As to Callisthenes, who himself accompanied Alexander in this expedition, Callisthenes in his notes upon the third Ilion of Homer, (as Dr. Bernard here informs us,) says, That "this Callisthenes wrote, how the Pamphylian sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but, rising and levating its borders, made a way him homoeo as its king."—Strabo's account is this, Greg. B. xiv. p. 606. "Now about Pausilius, is that narrow passage, by the sea side, through which Alexander led his army. There is a mountain called Climax, which adjuts to the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow passage on the shore, which in calm weather is bare, so as to be passable by travellers, but when the sea overflowing, it is covered to a great depth by waves. Now then, the ascent of the mountains is steep, and steep in such a manner, that they make use of the road along the coast. But Alexander fell into the winter season, and committing himself chiefly to fortune, he advanced both the bower retired, and so it happened that they were on their way, they had not finished going over it, and were under water up to the mouth."—Arian's account is this, B. i. p. 72, 73. "Whan Alexander removed from Pausilius, the sea sent certain storms to the mountains to Perge, which road the Thraces showed him. A difficult way it was, but short. However, he himself conducted those that were with him by the sea-shore. This road is impassable at any other time than when the north wind blows; but if the south wind prevails, there is no passage by the shore. Now at this time the north south winds, a north wind blows, and that without the Divine Providence, (as both he and they that were with him supposed,) and afforded him an easy and quick pas-

B. in the days of Josephus, as he ascribes to all the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account that he had not the providen-

tial going back of the waters of the Pamphylian sea, for that he had been with his army to destroy the Persian monarch, which the forenamed authors now remaining fully confirmed, it is impossible to say where to blame, some of these writers, for quoting these an-

N. B. Since, in the days of Josephus, as he ascribes to all the more numerous original historians of Alexander gave the account that he had not the providential going back of the waters of the Pamphylian sea, for that he had been with his army to destroy the Persian monarch, which the forenamed authors now remaining fully confirmed, it is impossible to say where to blame, some of these writers, for quoting these ancient authors upon the present occasion. Nor can the reflections of Ptolemy, or any other author later than Jo-
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

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they, he led them to Mount Sinai, in order to offer sacrifices to God, and to render oblations for the salvation of the multitude, as he was charged beforehand.

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

BOOK III.

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

CHAP. I.

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

§ 1. We are told that the Hebrews had obtained such a wonderful deliverance, the country was a great trouble to them, for it was entirely a desert, and without water. All this was for the want of exceeding little water, so that it not only was not at all sufficient for the men, but not enough to feed any of the cattle, for it was parched up, and had no water to drink to water the vegetables; so they were forced to travel over this country, as having no other country but this to travel in. They had indeed carried water along with them from the land over which they had travelled before, as their conductor had hidden them: but when that was spent, they were obliged to draw water out of wells, with pain, by reason of the hardness of the soil. Moreover, what water they found was bitter, and not fit for drinking, and this in small quantities also. And as they thus travelled, they came late in the evening to a place called Marah, which had this name from the bitterness of its water, for Marah denotes bitterness. Thither they came afflicted, both by the tediousness of their journey, and by their want of food, for it entirely failed them at that time. Now here was a well, which made them choose to stay in the place, where they were not sufficient to satisfy so great an army, did yet afford them some comfort, as found in such desert places; for they heard from those who had been to search, that there was water to be found, they travelled farthest. Yet was this water bitter, and not fit for men to drink in; and not only so, but it was intolerable even to the cattle themselves.

When Moses saw how much the people were cast down, and that the occasion of it could not be contradicted, for the people were not in the nature of a complete army of men, who might oppose a manly fortitude to the necessity that distressed them; the multitude of the children, and of the women also, being too weak capacities to be persuaded by reason, blunted the courage of the men themselves. Moses therefore was in great difficulties, and made every body's calamity to be his own: for they ran all of them to him, and begged of him; the women begged for their infants, and the men for the women, that he would not overlook them, but would procure some way or other for their deliverance. He therefore betook himself to prayer to God, that he would change the water from its present badness, and make it fit for drinking. And he went to Saul, who had taken the top of a stick that lay down at his feet, and divided it in the middle, and made the section lengthwise. He then let it down into the water, and it was not changed by the water, nor did he hearken to his prayers, and had promised to render the water such as they desired it to be, in case they would be subservient to him in what he should enjoin them to do; and this after a remiss or negligent manner. And when they asked, what they were to do in order to have the waters changed for the better, he bid the strongest men among them that stood there, to draw up water; and told them that when the greatest part was drawn up, the remainder would be fit to drink: so they laboured at it till the water was so agitated and purged as to be fit to drink.

3. And now removing from thence, they came to Elim; which place looked well at a distance, for there was a grove of palm-trees; but when they came near it, it appeared to be a bad place, for the palm-trees were no more than seventy; and they were ill grown and creeping trees, by reason of the heat that was upon the ground, and no moisture sufficient to water them, and make them hopeful and useful, was derived to them from the fountains, which were in number of thousands, but were rather a few moist places than springs, which not breaking through the ground, nor running over, could not sufficiently water the trees. And when they dug into the sand, they met with no water; and if they took a few drops of it into their hands, they found it to be useless, on account of its mud. The trees also were too weak to bear fruit, for want of being sufficiently cherished and enlivened by the water. So they laid the blame on their conductor, and made heavy complaints against him; and said, that this their miserable state, and the experience they had of adversity, were owing to him for that they had journeyed an entire thirty years of his omission of any accounts of such miracles derived from Gentiles, he did not think proper to censure any. For Josephus sometimes relates, he does not give any other accounts of the kind; and others, more ancient authors, that we know of. Had Josephus written them his Antiquities for the use of Jews, he would hardly have given them in such very probable circumstances; but writing to Gentiles, that they might not com-
days, and had spent all the provisions they had brought with them, and, meeting with no relief, they were much concerned. And one of them, laboring under the necessity of being addicted to his duty, by fixing their attention upon nothing but their present misfortunes, they were hindered from remembering what deliverances they had received from God, and those by the virtue and wisdom of his servant Moses, who was their conductor, and were zealous in their attempt to stone him, as the direct occasion of their present miseries.

4. But as for Moses himself; while the multitude was assembled and bitterly set against him, he cheerfully relied upon God, and upon the consciousness of the care he had taken of these his own people: and he came into the midst of them even while they clamoured against him, and had cast stones in their hands in order to despatch him. Now he was of an agreeable presence, and very able to persuade the people by his speeches; accordingly, he began to mitigate their anger, and exhorted them not to be overmindful of their present adversities, lest they should thereby suffer the benefits that had formerly been bestowed on them to slip out of their memories; and he desired them by no means, on account of their present miseries, to neglect, but to use with care and diligence, the favours and gifts, which they had obtained of God, out of their minds, but to expect deliverance out of those their present troubles, which the Lord should meet to bring to pass by the means of that divine Providence which watched over them; seeing it is probable, that God tries their virtues, and exercises their patience by these adversities, that it may appear what foundations the heart, and what merit they may retain of his former wonderful works in their favour, and whether they will not think of them upon occasion of the miseries they now feel. He told them, it appeared they were not really good men, if they were unable to preserve in their minds what had been successfully done for them, sometimes by contending God and his commands, when by those commands they left the land of Egypt, and sometimes by beholding themselves ill towards him who was the servant of God, and this when he had never deceived them, either in what he said, or had ordered them to do by God's commands. He also put them in mind of all that had happened to the Egyptians, which they attempted to detain them, contrary to the command of God; and after what manner the very same river was to the others bloody, and not fit for drinking, but was to them food, and fit for drinking, and how there was a new road through the sea, which fed a long way from them, by which very means they were themselves preserved, but saw their enemies destroyed; and that when they were in want of weapons, God gave them plenty of them; and so he recounted all the particular instances, how when they were, in appearance, just going to be destroyed, God had saved them in a surprising manner: that he had still the same power; and that they ought not even now to despair of his providence over them: and accordingly he exhorted them to continue quiet, and to consider that help would not come too late, though it come not immediately. If it be present with them before they suffer any great misfortune; that they ought to reason thus, that God delays to assist them, not because he has no regard to them, but because he will first try them whether they will stand more in their freedom, that he may learn whether you have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of waters on his account; or whether you love to be slaves, as cattle are slaves to such as own them, and feed them liberal, but only in order to make them more useful in their service. That as for himself, he shall not be so much concerned for his own safety as the people; for he die unjustly, he shall not reckon it an injury to his nation, but that he is concerned for them, lest, by casting stones at him, they should be thought to condemn God himself.

5. By the means Moses pacified the people, and restrained them fromstoning him, and brought them to repeat of what they were going to do. And because he thought the necessity they were under made their passion less unjustifiable, he told them what he ought to appeal to God by prayer and supplication; and going up to an eminence, he requested of God some succour for the people, and some way of deliverance from the wrath they excited against him, and in him alone, was their hope of salvation: and he desired that he would forgive what necessity had forced the people to do, since such was the nature of mankind, hard to please, and very complaining under adversities. Accordingly, God promised he would take care of them, and afford them the succour they were desirous of. Now when Moses had heard this from God, he went to discourse to the multitude. But as soon as they saw him, they cast stones at him, for what they had received from God, they changed their sad countenances into gladness. So he placed himself in the midst of them, and told them he came again to confer with God, and had discovered to him the sins of his people, because of their present distresses. Accordingly, a little after came a vast number of quails, which is a bird more plentiful in this Arabian gulf than any where else, flying over the sea, and hovered over them, till the wood was filled with their laborious flight, and indeed, as usual, flying very near to the earth, they fell down upon the Hebrews, who caught them, and satisfied their hunger with them, and those who were afraid of this was what had been caused by God, who meant to supply them with food. Upon which Moses returned thanks to God for affording them his assistance so suddenly, and sooner than he had promised them.

6. But presently after this first supply of food, he sent them a second: for as Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew fell down; and Moses, when he found it stuck to his hands, supposed this was also a gift for food for them: he perceived that it was a dew, and by thinking that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed, and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he inferred thence, that this dew did not fall from heaven, but from the moisture which was contained, but came for their preservation and sustenance. So he tasted it, and gave them some of it, that they might be satisfied about what he had told them. They also imitated their conductor, and were pleased with the food, for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste, but like in its body to bdellium, one of the sweet spices, but in bigness equal to coriander-seed. And very earnest they were in gathering it: but they were obliged to gather it equally, the measure of a homer for each man every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share, by reason of the over-bearing of the strong in collecting it. However, these strong men, when they had gathered more than the measure appointed for them, they had no more than others, but only tired themselves in gathering it, for it was more than a homar apiece; and the advantage they got by what was superfluous was none at all, it corrupting, both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness. So divine providence furnished a food this way: it also supplied the want of did not putrify, was just so much as came to a homar apiece through the whole host of Israel, and no more.
other sorts of food to those that fed on it. And
now in all that place this manna comes
down in rain," according to what Moses then ob-
tained of God, to send it to the people for their
sustenance. Now the Hebrews call this food
"manna," for the partaking of it was a sign of the
latter rain, as was such as inhabited
Gogebith and Petra. They were called "Ama-
lekites," and were the most warlike of the na-
tions that lived thereabout; and whose kings ex-
horted one another, and their neighbours,
to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that
an army of strangers, and such a one as had run
away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in
wait to ruin them, which army they were not, in
common with others, to come to the aid of; and regard-
lessness, to overlook, but to crush them before they
gather strength, and come to prosperity, and
perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as
presuming upon our indolence in not attacking
them before; and that we ought to avenge our-
theselves of them for what they have done in the
wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done
when they have once laid their hands on our
cities, and got possession of those points, as to
encourage their proper; is wiser than
those that endeavoured to put a stop to its pro-
gress, when it is become formidable; for these
last seem to be angry only at the flourishing of
other nations; whereas the former do not leave
them for their enemies to become troublesome to them.
After they had sent such embassages to the
neighbouring nations, and among one another,
they resolved to attack the Hebrews in battle.
2. These proceedings of the people of those
countries occasioned perplexity and trouble to
Moses, who expected no such warlike prepara-
tions. And when these nations were ready to
fight, and all the multitude of the Amalekites were
obliged to try the fortune of war, there were
military disorder, and in want of all necessaries,
yet they were to make war with men who were
thoroughly well prepared for it. Then therefore
it was that Moses began to encourage them, and to
exhort them to have a good heart, and rely on
God's assistance, by which they had been ad-
vanced into a state of freedom, and to hope for
victory over those who were ready to fight with
them, in order to deprive them of what was
expected. They were to suppose their own army to be
numerous, wanting nothing, neither weapons,
rich men, nor provisions, nor such other conven-
iences as when men are in possession of, they
fight with more confidence; and to suppose that
themselves to have all these advantages in the
divine assistance. They are also to suppose
their enemy's army to be small, unarmed, weak,
and such as without those conveniences which they
know must be wanted, when it is God's will that
they shall be beaten. And how valuable God's
assistance is, they had experienced, in abun-
dance of trials; and those such as were more
terrible than war, for that is only against men,
but these were against famine and thirst; things
indeed that were in their own nature insuperable;
as also against mountains, and that sea which af-
forded them no way of escaping; yet had all these
difficulties been conquered by God's gra-

**CHAP. II.**

How the Amalekites, and the Neighbouring Na-
tions, made War with the Hebrews, and were be-
eaten, and put a great Part of their Army.

6. The name of the Hebrews began already
to be everywhere renowned, and rumours about

"This proposal, that the sweet honey dew, or manna,
as collected by ancient and modern authors, as falling
usually in Arabia, was of the very same sort with the
manna sent to the Israelites, savours more of Gentility...
"He was not impressed, that some ancient Gentile author, read by Josephus, preferred the thought
nor would be here contradict him, though just before, and
Antioch. iv. v. chap. iii. sect. ii. he seems directly to allow
the remark, as it is here before. However, some food from
heaven is here described to be 'like snow,' and in Arta-
eces, a heathen writer, it is compared to 'meal, like
to the cloud in the desert, or snow, rained down by God,'
the derivation of the word 'manna,' neither from Man,
which Josephus says they signified, what is it? or from

them ran abroad. This made the inhabitants
of those countries to be in no small fear. Accord-
ingly, they sent ambassadors to one another, and
exhorted one another to defend themselves, and
to endeavour to destroy these men. Those that
induced the Hebrews to this war were such as inhabited
Gogebith and Petra. They were called 'Ama-
lekites,' and were the most warlike of the na-
tions that lived thereabout; and whose kings ex-
horted one another, and their neighbours,
to this war against the Hebrews; telling them that
an army of strangers, and such a one as had run
away from slavery under the Egyptians, lay in
wait to ruin them, which army they were not, in
common with others, to come to the aid of; and regard-
lessness, to overlook, but to crush them before they
gather strength, and come to prosperity, and
perhaps attack them first in a hostile manner, as
presuming upon our indolence in not attacking
them before; and that we ought to avenge our-
theselves of them for what they have done in the
wilderness, but that this cannot be so well done
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BOOK III.-CHAP. III.

Moses exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies. He exhorted them not to fear; and with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, whom he desired to be set at ease and at rest, and to trust in their God. The young men who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. Then Moses exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies. He exhorted them not to fear; and with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, whom he desired to be set at ease and at rest, and to trust in their God.

3. And with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, whom he then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. The young men who then called together the princes of their tribes, and their chief men, both separately and conjointly. Then Moses exhorted them to be courageous at this time, and to look upon their entire prosperity to depend on the present conquest of their enemies. He exhorted them not to fear; and with these words did Moses encourage the multitude, whom he desired to be set at ease and at rest, and to trust in their God.

For their own private families, whereas all these they had not any sort of plenty, of every necessary food. The forenamed battle, when they had once got it, was the occasion of their prosperity, not only for the present but for the future ages also; for they not only made slaves of the bodies of their enemies, but subdued their minds also; and, after this battle, became terrible to all the world. Moses, however, they acquired a vast quantity of riches: for a great deal of silver and gold was left in the enemy's camp; as also brazen vessels, which they made of the spoils of the families; many utensils also that were embroidered, thereof of both sorts, that is, of what were veined, and what were the ornaments of their armour, and other things that served for use in the family, and for the house of the room; they got also the prey of their cattle, and of whatsoever uses to follow camps when they remove from one place to another. So the Hebrews now valued themselves upon their courage, and claimed great merit for their valour; and they perpetually indulged themselves to take pains, by which they deemed every difficulty might be surmounted.

Such were the consequences of this battle.

5. On the third day Moses stripped the dead bodies of their enemies, and gave them together the armour of those that were slain, and gave rewards to such as had signalized themselves in the action; and highly commended Joshua, their general, who had been most signal. An account of the great actions he had done. Now was any one of the Hebrews slain; but the slain of the enemy's army were too many to be enumerated: so Moses offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and built an altar, which he named, 'the Lord the Conqueror.' He also foresaw that the Amalekites should utterly be destroyed; and that hereafter none of them should remain, because they fought against the Hebrews, and against the Israel, in the wilderness, and in their distress also. Moreover, he refreshed the army with feasting. And thus did they fight this first battle with those that ventured to oppose them, after they were gone out of Egypt.

When Moses had celebrated this festival for the victory, he permitted the Hebrews to rest for a few days, and then he brought them out after the fight, in order of battle, for the plain was open; and going gradually on, he came to Mount Sinai, in three months' time after they were removed out of Egypt; at which mountain, as we have before related, so the vision of the bush, and the other wonderful appearances, had happened.

CHAP. III.

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

§ 1. Now when Raguol, Moses's father-in-law, understood in what a prosperous condition his affairs were, he willingly came to meet him; and was met by him, and was received with joy and pleasure himself with his coming. And when he had offered sacrifice, he made a feast for the multitude near the bush he had formerly seen which multitude, every one, according to their families, partook; and which seemed to me to have been the first organized feast in Israel. And his family took Raguol, and sung hymns to God, as to him who had been the author and procurer of their deliverance, and their freedom. They

* This eminent circumstance, that while Moses's hands were lifted up towards heaven, the Israelites prevailed, and while they were let down towards the earth, the enemy prevailed, seems to have been the cause of the intimation we have of the proper posture, used of old, in solemn prayer, which was the stretching out of the hands (and eyes) towards heaven, as the posture of Old Testament worship, which is to this day subservient to us. Nay, by the way, this posture seems to have continued in the Christian church, till the clergy, instead of learning their prayers by heart, read them out of a book, which is, in great measure, inconsistent with such an elevated posture of mind, and elevated posture of the divine beings as belong to the Hebrew hypostases of God's name, Patriarcha, Jew, eph-25

Christiania, in all the post ages.
also praised their conductor, as him by whose

viewings, as they say, things happened so

well with them. Raguel also, in his eucharis
tical oration to Moses, made great encomiums

upon the whole multitude: and he could not but
admire Moses for his fortitude, and that hu-

manity he had showed in the delivery of his friends.

CHAP. IV.

How Raguel suggested to Moses to set his People
in Order, under their Rulers of Thousands, and
Rulers of Hundreds, who lived without Order in
the Midst of their own People; and how Moses compli-

cated all things with his Father-in-law's Admonition.

1. The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the
midst of a crowd of business, (for he determined
the differences of those that referred them to him,
evry one still going to him, and supposing
that they should then only obtain justice if he
were the arbitrator; and, those that lost their
causes, thought it no harm, while they thought
they lost them justly, and not by partiality,) Ra-
guel, however, and integrity to an at least rulers
as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as
had a mind to make use of the virtue of their
conductor. But afterward he took him to him-
self, and when he had him alone, he instructed him
what he ought to do; and he recommended him
to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others,
but himself to take care of the greater, and of
the people's safety, for that certain others of the
Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine
causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take
care of the safety of so many tens thousands. Be
not therefore, says he, insensible of thine own
virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering
under the guidance of the people's presence. Permit
therefore, the determination of common causes
to be done by others, but do thou reserve thy-
self to the attendance on God only; and look out
for methods of preserving the multitude from their
present distress. Make use of the method I sugges-
ted to you as to human affairs; and take a
review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers
over tens of thousands, and then over thousands;
then divide them into five hundreds, and again
into the one hundred, and the fifty, and the
number; so be de-
nominated from the number of those upon whom
they are rulers, but these such as the whole mul-
titude have tried, and do approve as being good
and righteous men: and let these rulers decide
the causes they may be called to another. But
if any great cause arise, let them bring the
cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher
dignity; but if any great difficulty arise, that is
too hard for even their determination, let them
send it to thee. By these means two advantages
will be gained: that the Hebrews will have justi-
tice done them; and thou wilt be able to attend
constantly on God, and procure him to be more
favorable to his people. 2. This was the admo-
nition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend it to himself, but informed the multitude who was
invented it; say, he has named Raguel in

* This manner of electing the judges and officers of the
Israelites is such, as it is a model of the people as thinking it
right to give a true testimony to worthy persons, as
though he might have gotten reputation by as
prising to himself the inventions of other men.

Chap. V.

How Moses ascended up to Mount Sinai, and re-
cieved Laws from God, and delivered them to the
Hebrews.

1. Now Moses called the multitude together,
and told them he was going from them unto
Mount Sinai, to converse with God; to receive from him,
and to bring back with him a certain oracle; but he
encouraged them to pitch their tents near the
mountain, and prefer the habitation that was
nearest to God, before one more remote. When
he had said this, he ascended up to Mount Sinai, which
is the highest of all the mountains that
are in the country, and is not only very difficult
to be ascended by men, on account of its vast
altitude, but because of the sharpness of its precipi-
tices also; nay, indeed, it cannot be looked at
without pain of the eyes; and besides this, it
was not safe to go up there, because there was
rumour that passed about, that God dwelt there.

But the Hebrews removed their tents, as Moses
had bidden them, and took possession of the lowest
part of the mountain; and were in great dread in
their minds, in expectation that Moses would
return from God with promises of the good things
he had proposed to them: so they feasted, and
waited for their conductor, and kept themselves
pure. But when they considered with whom they
were joined, they had joined with Moses and his
wife with their wives for three days, as he had before
ordered them to do. And they prayed to God, that
he would favourably receive Moses in his
conversing with him; and bestow some such gift
upon them by which all the rest of the people
also lived more plentifully as to their diet, and
put on their wives and children more ornamental
and decent clothing than they usually wore.

2. So they passed two days in this way of
feasting, but on the third day, before the sun

The next day, as Raguel saw Moses in the midst of a crowd of business, (for he determined the differences of those that referred them to him, every one still going to him, and supposing that they should then only obtain justice if he were the arbitrator; and, those that lost their causes, thought it no harm, while they thought they lost them justly, and not by partiality,) Raguel, however, and integrity to an at least rulers as not desirous to be any hindrance to such as had a mind to make use of the virtue of their conductor. But afterward he took him to himself, and when he had him alone, he instructed him what he ought to do; and he recommended him to leave the trouble of lesser causes to others, but himself to take care of the greater, and of the people's safety, for that certain others of the Hebrews might be found that were fit to determine causes, but that nobody but a Moses could take care of the safety of so many tens thousands. Be not therefore, says he, insensible of thine own virtue, and what thou hast done by ministering under the guidance of the people's presence. Permit therefore, the determination of common causes to be done by others, but do thou reserve thyself to the attendance on God only; and look out for methods of preserving the multitude from their present distress. Make use of the method I suggested to you as to human affairs; and take a review of the army, and appoint chosen rulers over tens of thousands, and then over thousands; then divide them into five hundreds, and again into the one hundred, and the fifty, and the number; so be nominated from the number of those upon whom they are rulers, but these such as the whole multitude have tried, and do approve as being good and righteous men: and let these rulers decide the causes they may be called to another. But if any great cause arise, let them bring the cognizance of it before the rulers of a higher dignity; but if any great difficulty arise, that is too hard for even their determination, let them send it to thee. By these means two advantages will be gained: that the Hebrews will have justice done them; and thou wilt be able to attend constantly on God, and procure him to be more favorable to his people.

2. This was the admonition of Raguel; and Moses received his advice very kindly, and acted according to his suggestion. Nor did he conceal the invention of this method, nor pretend it to himself, but informed the multitude who was invented it; say, he has named Raguel in
3. When they were under these apprehensions, Moses appeared as joyful and greatly exalted. When they saw him, they were freed from their fear, and admitted of more comfortable hopes as to what was to come. This air also was highly clear and pure of its former disorders, upon the appearance of Moses. Whereupon he called together the people to a congregation, in order to their hearing what God would say to them: and with that he did open the mouth of God with an air of majesty and awe. Neither did this appear in a more eminent manner when they might all hear him, and said, "God has received me graciously, O Hebrews, as he had formerly done; and hath spake this day as he had spake before, in an order of political government, and is now present in the camp: I therefore charge you for his sake, and the sake of his works, and what we have done by his means, that you do not put a lower value on what I am going to say, because the commands have been given by me that now deliver them to you, nor because it is the tongue of a man that delivers to them: but if you have a due regard to the great importance of the thing, to the person of him who has spoken, and has not disdained to communicate them to us for our common advantage, for it is not too much said, Moses spake in the name of God; and Moses is barely Moses, the son of Amram and Jochebed, but he who obliged the Nile to run bloody for your sakes, and tainted the haughtiness of the Egyptians by various sorts of judgments: he was among the wise, among the great, and the rulers of the land; and I have thought it meet, that the memory of him who conveyed a method of sending us food from heaven, when we were distressed for want of it: he who made the water to issue out of a rock, when we had very little of it before: he by whose means the fruits both of the land and of the sea were plentiful: by whose means Noah escaped the deluge: he by whose means our forefather Abraham, of a wandering pilgrim was made the heir of the land of Canaan: he by whose means Isaac began to wax strong; and the birth of parents who were very old: he by whose means Jacob was adorned with twelve virtuous sons: he by whose means Joseph became a potent lord over the Egyptians: he is he that conveys these instructions to you by me as his interpreter: and let them be to you venerable, and controll'd for more earnestly by you than your own children, and your own wives; for if you do but follow the counsel of this life, you will enjoy the land fruitful, the sea calm, and the fruit of the wood born complete, as nature requires; you will be also terrible to your enemies; for I have been admitted into the presence of God, and been made a bearer of his incorruptible voice; so great is his concern for your nation, and its duration." 4. When he had said this, he brought the people, with their wives and children, so near the mountain, that they might hear God himself speaking to them about the precepts which they were to practice, that the energy of what should be spoken, might not be hurt by its utterance by a man, which might imperf eetly deliver it to their understanding. And they all heard a voice that came to all of them from above, insomuch that no one of these words escaped them, which Moses wrote in two tables; which it might seem to be removed down directly, but their import we will declare. 5. The first commandment teaches us that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only. The second commands us not to make idols, but rather to love and reverence to worship it. The third, that we must not swear by God in a false manner. The fourth, that we must keep the seventh day, by resting from all sorts of work. The fifth, that we must honour our parents. The sixth, that we must abstain from murder. The seventh, that we must not commit adultery. The eighth, that we must not be guilty of theft. The ninth, that we must not bear false witness. The tenth, that we must not admit of the desire of any thing that is another's. 6. Now the multitude, with the multitude, God himself giving those precepts which Moses had discoursed of, they rejoiced at what was said; and the congregation was dissolved: but on the following day Moses was brought to them, and commanded him to bring them, beside, other laws from God. Accordingly he appointed such laws; and after ward informed them in what manner they should act in all cases: which laws I shall make mention of in their proper time, but I shall leave most of those laws for another work, and make there a distinct explanation of them. 7. When matters were brought to this state, Moses went up again to Mount Sinai, of which he had told them he had told them, and was absent for so long a time, (for he was absent from them forty days,) Fear seized upon the Hebrews, lest Moses should no longer return unto them; for was there anything else so sad, and that so much troubled them, as this supposal that Moses was perished. Now there was a variety in their sentiments about it; some saying that he was fallen into the bottom of the sea, and the sea covered him; some that he was slain, and the Hebrews ignorant of him. And their opinion, were chiefly such as were ill-disposed to him; but others saying, that he was departed and gone to God; but the wiser sort were led by their reason to embrace neither of those opinions, but to consider the thing that sometimes happens to men to fall among wild beasts, and perish that way, so it was probable enough that he might depart and go to God, on account of his virtue; they therefore were quiet, and expected the event: yet were they exceeding sorry upon the supposal that they were deprived of a governor and a protector, such a one indeed as they could never recover again: nor would this suspicion give them leave to expect any comfortable event about this man, nor could they prevent their trouble and melancholy upon this occasion. However, the camp durst not remove all this while, because Moses had bid them afores to stay there. 8. But when the forty days, and as many nights, were over. Moses came down, having tasted nothing of food usually appointed for the nourishment of men. His appearance filled the army with gladness, and he declared to them what care God had of them, and by what manner of conduct of their lives they might live happily; telling them, that during these days of his absence, he had suggested to him also that he would have a tabernacle built for him, into which he would descend when he came to them, and how we should carry it about with us, when we should remove from this place; and that there would be no longer any occasion for going up to mount Sinai, but that he would himself come and pitch his tabernacle amongst us, and be present at our prayers; as also, that the tabernacle should be filled with such a quantity of much and wonderful things, as he had showed him, and that you are to fall to the work, and prosecute it diligently. When he had said this, he showed them the two tables, with the ten commandments engraved upon them, five upon each table: and the writing was by the hand of God.
Antiquities of the Jews.

Chapter VI.

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

1. Hereupon the Israelites rejoiced at what they had seen and heard of their conductor, and were especially triumphant at the sight of the people that assembled, according to the ordinances and the power and ability; but they brought silken, gold, silver, and brass, and of the best sorts of wood, and such as would not at all decay by putrefaction: camels' hair also, and sheep skins, some of them died of a hue, and some not; and when some of the flower of the purple that grew in the borders of the sea, and fine linen, and embroidered with many and divers sorts of figures, excepting the figures of animals. Within these gates was the hearsey laver for purification, having a basin beneath, of the same stone brought from the sea. All these were washed their hands, and sprinkled their feet. And this was the ornamental construction of the enclosure about the court of the tabernacle, which was exposed to the open air.

3. As to the tabernacle itself. Moses placed it in the middle of that court, with its front to the east, that when the sun arose it might send its first rays upon it. Its length when it was set up was thirty cubits, and its breadth was twelve [ten] cubits. The one of its walls was on the south, and the other was exposed to the north, and on the back part of it remained the west. It was necessary that its height should be equal to two of its cubits. Over the cubits it was made of wood, twenty on each side; they were brought into a quadrangular figure, in breadth a cubit and a half, but the thickness was four fingers; they had thin plates of gold affixed to their corners, with the outer side, and had each of them two tenons belonging to them, inserted into their bases, and these were of silver, in each of which bases there was a socket to receive the tenon. But the pillars on the west were six. Now all these tenons and sockets accurately fitted one another, inseparable, that the joints were invisible, and both seemed to be one entire and united wall. It was thus that Moses built it. The pillars were brought to me, and I set the tabernacle between them. As to the wall behind, there was one row of bars that went through all the pillars, into which row ran the ends of the bars on each side of the longer walls, the male with its female being so fastened in their joints, that they held the whole and did not slide up and down; and when there was all this joined so fast together, that the tabernacle might not be shaken, either by the wind, or by any other means, but that it might preserve itself quiet and immovable continually. In like manner the keruing was divided into three partitions. At the distance of ten cubits from the most secret end Moses placed four pillars, whose workmanship was the very same, and which were set on the rest, and these were like bases with them, each a small square distant from his fellow. Now, the rooms within those pillars was the 'Most Holy Place'; but the rest of the room was the Tabernacle, which was open in the middle. However, this workmanship and the arrangement of the measures of the tabernacle proved to be an imitation of the system of the world; for that third part thereof which was within the floor...
TABLE OF SHOW BREAD

ALTAR OF INCENSE
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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

ed. Before this tabernacle there was reared a
brazen altar, but it was within made of wood,
five cubits by measure on each side, but its
height was but three, in like manner adorned
with brass plates as bright as gold. It had also
a brazen hearth of network, for the ground un-
derneath received the fire from the hearth,
because it had no basis to receive it. Hard by this
altar lay the basons, and the vials, and the cen-
ters, and the candlestick, made of gold: but the
other vessels, made for the use of the sacrifices,
were all of brass. And such was the construc-
tion of the tabernacle; and these were the ves-
sels thereto belonging.

CHAP. VII.

Which were the Garments of the Priests, and of the
High Priest; concerning the Priesthood of
Aaron, with the Manner of the Purification
and Sacrifices; as also concerning the Festi-
vals, and how each day was then disposed of
with other Laws.

§ 1. There were peculiar garments appointed
for the priests, and for all the rest, which they
call 'Cahanaes' or 'priestly' garments, as also for
the high priest, which they call 'Cahanaes Rab-
bes,' or the high priest's garments. Such was
therefore the habit of the rest; but when the
priest approaches the sacrifices, he purifies
himself with the purification which the
law prescribes; and, in the first place, he puts
on what is called 'Mishma,' which means
'somewhat that is fast tied.' It is a girdle,
composed of fine twined linen, and is put
about the privy parts, the feet being to be in-
serted into them, in the nature of breeches; but
other half of it is cut off, and it ends at the
thighs, and is tied fast.

2. Over this he wore a linen vestment, made
of fine flax doubled: it is called 'Chethone,' and
denotes that line which we call line by the name of
'Chethone.' This vestment reaches down to
the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves
that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the
breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle often
running round, four fingers broad, but so loosely
woven, that you would think it were the skin of
a serpent. It is embroidered with flowers of
scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined
linen; but the warp was nothing but fine linen.
'Chethone' signifies service, for in that position
it appears in the most agreeable manner to the
spectators; but when he is obliged to assist at
the offering sacrifices, and to do the appointed
service, that he may not be hindered in his op-
erations by its motion, he throws it to the left, and
bears it on his shoulder. Moses indeed calls
this belt 'Abanath,' but we have learned from the
Babyloniom to call it Emia, for so it is by them
called. This vestment has no loose or hollow
part, nor any bare in it, but only a string
about the neck; and it is tied with certain strings
hanging down from the edge over the breast and
back, and is fastened above each shoulder: it is
called 'Nefuss.'

3. Upon his head he wears a cap, not brought
unto a conic form, or encircling the whole head, but
still covering more than the half of it, which is
called 'Musannemphi.' and its make is such that
it seems to be a crown, being made of thick
swathes, but the contexture is of linen; and it is
doubled round many times, and sewed together;
besides which, for the reason of decency, the whole
chaplet from the upper part, and reaches down
to the forehead and the seams of the swathes,
which would otherwise appear indecently: this
adheres closely upon the solid part of the head,
and is arranged in such a manner that it falls
off during the sacred service about the sacrifices.
So we have shown you what is the habit of the
generality of the priests.

4. The high priest, indeed, is adorned with the
same garments that we have described, without
abating one; only over these he puts on a vest-
ment of a blue colour. This also is a long robe,
reaching to his feet; in our language it is called
Meor, and is tied round with a girdle, embroide-
ered with the same colour and flowers as the for-
mer, with a mixture of gold interwoven;—to the
bottom of which garment are hung fringes, in
colour like pomegranates, with golden bells,* by
a benediction, or a benediction; so that the two
bells hangs a pomegranate, and between two
pomegranates a bell. Now this vesture was not
composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed toge-
ther upon the shoulders; but it was one long vestment so woven, as to have the con-
texture for the neck; not an oblique one, but parted
all along the breast and the back. A border also
was sewed to it, lest the aperture should look too
indecently bare: and it also parted where the hands
were to come out.

5. Besides these, the high priest put on a third
garment, which was called the Ephod, which re-
sembled the Epponis of the Greeks. Its make
was as a cap of taffeta: it was woven to the depth
of a cubit, of several colours, with gold inter-
mixed, and embroidered, but it left the middle
of the breast uncovered: it was made with sleeves
also; nor did it appear to be at all differently
made from a short coat. But in the void place
of this garment there was inserted a piece of the
bigness of a span, embroidered with gold, and
the other colours of the ephod, and called Essen
(the breastplate), which in the Greek language
signifies the Oracle. This-piece exactly filled
up the void space in the ephod. It is united to
it by golden rings at every corner, the like rings
being annexed to the ephod, and a blue ribbon
was made fast to the rings, so as to tie the rings;
and that the space between the rings might
not appear empty, they contrived to fill it up with
stitches of blue ribands. There were also two
white stones, or rather amethysts, set upon the
shoulders, to fasten it in the nature of buttons, having each
end running to the sardonyx of gold, that they
might be buttoned by them. On these were en-
graven the names of the sons of Jacob in our
own country letters, and our own tongue, six on
each side of the stones, on either side; and the
erdier sons' names were on the right shoulder.
Twelve stones also there were upon the breast-
plate, extraordinary in largeness and beauty;
and the stone of the midst of the twelve is
adorned by men, because of their immense value. These
stones, however, stood in three rows, by four in
a row, and were inserted into the breastplate it-
self, and they were set inouches of gold that
were themselves inserted in the breastplate, and
were so made that they might not fall out. Now
the first three were a sardonyx, a topaz, and an

* The use of those golden bells at the bottom of the high
priest's ephod garment seems to have been this, that by
shaking the ephod at the time of his offering incense in
the temple, the people might have notice of it, and
might fall to their knees, or at other proper periods of his sacred ministrations there, on the great festivals, the people might have notice of it, and
might fall to their knees, or at other proper periods; and so the whole congregation might at once offer "prayers jointly with the i
BOOK III.—CHAP. VII.

emerald. The second row contained a carbuncle, a Jasper, and a sapphire. The first of the third row was a figure, then an amethyst, and the third an agate, being the ninth of the whole number. The first of the fourth row was a chrysolite, the next was an onyx, and then a beryl, which was the last of it. Now we must know that all those sons of Jacob were engraven in these stones, whom we esteem the heads of our tribes, each stone having the honour of a name, in the order in which they are here on account of their value. And whereas the rings were too weak of themselves to bear the weight of the stones, they made two other rings of a larger size, at the edge of that part of the breast-plate, which reached to the head, for the purpose of the very rings, to receive chains finesly wrought, which connected them with golden bands to the tops of the shoulders, whose extreme turned back wards, and into the ring, on the prominent back part of the ephod; and this was for the security of the breast-plate, that it might not fall out of its place. There was also a girdle sewed to the breast-plate, which was of the forementioned gold, and the girdle of a buckle, which when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam, and hung down. There were also golden loops that admitted its fringes at each extremity of the girdle, and included them securely.

6. The high priest's mitre was the same that we described before, and was wrought like that of all the other priests; above which there was another, with swathes of blue embroidered, and round it was a golden crown polished, in seven rows, one above another; out of which arose a cup of gold, which resembled the herb by which we call 'saccharus,' but those Greeks that are skillful in the science of plants have called it 'orlygos,' that is, one that has seen this herb, but has not been taught its name, and is unacquainted with its nature, or having known its name, knows not the herb when he sees it, I shall give such a description of it. This herb is oftentimes inulkness above three spans, but its root is like that of a turnip, (for he that should compare it thereto would not be mistaken,) but its leaves are like to the leaves of mint. Out of its branches it sends out a cap, according to the branch, and a coat encompasses it, which it naturally puts off when it is changing, in order to produce its fruit. This calyx is of the bigness of the bone of the little finger, but the stalk of it is hard like an ear of corn, or like a cup. This I will further describe for the use of those that are unacquainted with it. Suppose a sphere be divided into two parts, round at the bottom, but having another segment that grows up to a circumference from that bottom; suppose it become narrower by degrees, and that the cavity of that part grow decemly smaller, and then gradually grow wider again at the brim, such as we see in the navel of a pomegranate, with its notches. And indeed such a sphere over this plant as renders it a hemisphere, and that, as one may say, turned accurately in a lathe, and having its notches extend above it, which, as I said, grow like a pomegranate, only that they are sharp, and end in nothing but prickles. Now the fruit is preserved by this coat of the calyx, which fruit is like the seed of the herb 'sideritis,' it sends out a flower that may seem to resemble

that of the poppy. Of this was a crown made, as far as from the hinder part of the head to ends of the temples: but this 'epheis,' for so this calyx may be called, did not cover the forehead, but it was covered with a "golden plate," which had inscribed upon it the name of God in sacred characters. Of such were the ornamentals of the high priest.

7. Now here one may wonder at the ill-will which men bear to us, and which they profess to bear to our holy places, or on account of our designs. And they pretend to honour; for if any one do but consider the fabric of the tabernacle, and take a view of the garments of the high priest, and of those vessels which we make use of in our sacred service, they will find that very honorably designed fit for a divine man, and that we are unjustly reproached by others; for if any one do without prejudice, and with judgment, look upon these things, he will find they were every one made in a way of imitation and representation of the universe. When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he separated the third, and the holy and sacred, which had general access to all; but he set apart the third division for God, because heaven is inaccessible to men. And when he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished from the months. By taking the candlestick into seventy parts, he secretly intimated the 'decani,' or seventy divisions of the planets; and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, he referred to the seven courses of the planets, of which number seven is the number. The walls, too, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements; for the plain linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grew out of the earth. The purple signified the sea, because that colour is died by the blood of a sea shell-fish. The blue is fit to signify the air, and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high priest being made of linen, signified the earth: the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of the bells resembling thunder. And for the ephod, it showed that God had made the universe of four [elements] and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breast-plate to be placed in the middle of the ephod to resemble the sun, that has the starry order of the world. And the girdle, which encompassed the high priest round, signified the ocean, for that goes round about and includes the universe. Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon, those being in the nature of buttons on the high priest's shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or whether we understand the like number of the signs of the zodiac circle which the Greeks call the zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. And for the mitre, which was of a blue colour, it seems to me to mean heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? and as it was also illustrated with a crown, and that of gold also, is because of that splendour with which God is pleased. Let this explication suffice at present, since the course of my narration will often, and at many occasions this the rather, because in the temple afterward there was a real distinct third part, which was called the 'porch,' otherwise Jerusalem would consist but of two days of Josephus, but of Origin: and that its inscription, Holiness to the Lord, was in the Samaritan characters. See also Sect. vii. sect. 4 of the Old Test. p. 154, and Reland, de Spol. Temp. p. 122.

† When Josephus, both here and chap. vii. sect. 4, supposes the tabernacle to have been parted into three temples, he is entirely mistaken. The three divisions are entangled by a third division, distinct from the holy and the most holy places, and
vations, afford me the opportunity of enlarging on the virtue of our legislator.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

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

The Hebrews were pleased with what was said, and they gave their approbation to him whom God had ordained: for Aaron was of them all the most deserving of this honour, on account of his own stock, and gift of prophecy, and his brother’s virtue. He had at that time for sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

2. Now Moses commanded them to make use of all the utensils which were more than were necessary to the structure of the tabernacle, for consecrating it, and making it itself, and altar of incense, and the other vessels, that they might not be at all hurt when they journeyed, either by the rain, or by the rising of the dew. And when he had gathered the multitude together again, he ordained that they should offer half a shchel for every man as an obligation to God; which shchel is a piece among the Hebrews, and is equal to four Athenian drachmes. Where

he wrote these Antiquities. In the mean time, it is not to be doubted, but in their education they must have both language translations, as well as the main with in the epistle of Rambam, in that to the Hebrews, and elsewhere among the old Jews. Accordingly, when Josephus wrote his books of the Jews, for the use of the Jews, at that time he was comparatively young, and was used to gentle books, we find one specimen of such a Jewish interpretation; for there (B. v. ch. sect. 5), he makes the seven branches of the candelstick, with their seven lamps, an emblem of the seven days of creation and rest, which are here emblems of the seven planets. Now this is a very ancient Jewish opinion, as Nino he explained any otherwise than according to ancient Jewish and Gentile notions. See Of the War, B. 1. ch. xxxix, sect. 8.

§ 2. It is well worth our observation, that the two principal qualifications required in this section, for the constitution of the high priest, viz. that he should have an excellent character for virtues, and also that he should have the approbation of the people, are here noted by Josephus, even where the nomination

upon they readily obeyed, what Moses had commanded, the number of the officers was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty. Now this money that was brought by the men that were free, was given by such as were above twenty years old, but under fifty; and what was called a hekhal, which was free to the poor. 3. Moses now purified the tabernacle and the priests: which purification was performed after the following manner; he commanded them to take five hundred shekels of fine gold, and put them in a vessel of brass, and half the weight of cinnamon and calamus, (this last is a sort of sweet spice,) to beat them small, and wet them with a hin of oil of olives, (a hin is an old measure, and the same as a hin in the Athenian choan (or congruities,) then mix them together, and boil them, and prepare them after the art of the apothecary, and make them into a very sweet ointment; and afterward to take it to anoint and purify the priests themselves, and all the tabernacle, as also the sacrifices. There were also many, and those of various kinds, of sweet spices, that belonged to the tabernacle, and each of them was brought to the golden altar of incense; whose nature I do not now describe, lest it should be troublesome to my readers. But incense was to be offered twice a day, both before sunrising and after sunsetting. But they were already purified for the lamps, three of which were to give light all day long, upon the sacred candelstick, before God, and the rest were to be lighted at the even. 4. The all was finished, Bezaleel and Aholiab appeared to be the most skilful of the workmen; for they invented finer works than what others had done before them, and were of great abilities in all those works, which they were formerly ignorant of; and these of Bezaleel was judged to be the best. Now the whole time they were about this work was the interval of seven months; and after this it was that was ended the first year since their departure out of Egypt. But at the beginning of the second year, on the month Xan-thicus, as the Macedonians call it, but on the month Nisan, as the Hebrews call it, in the new moon, they consecrated the tabernacle, and all its vessels, which I have already described.

5. Now God showed himself pleased with the work of the Hebrews, and did not permit their labours to be in vain; nor did he disdain to make use of his own people, and to have joined with them, and pitched his tabernacle in the holy house. And in the following manner did he come to it: the sky was clear, but there was a mist over the tabernacle only, encompassing it, but not with such a very deep and thick cloud as is seen in the winter season, nor yet in so thin a one as men might be able to discern any thing through it, but from it there dropped

belonged to God himself, which are the very same qualifications which the Christian religion requires in the choice of Christians of noble and eminent characters, as the Apostolical Constitution informs us, R. vii. ch. in.

This weight and value of the Jewish shchel, in the days of Josephus, equal to about 3S. 10d. sterling, is by the Jews reckoned as a curious and one of their old shchel; which determination agrees perfectly with the remaining shchel’s that have Samaritan inscriptions, coined generally by Simon the Maccabees, about 239 years before Josephus published his Antiquities, which never weigh more than 12d. and commonly but 11½d. Now, since Better our observation, according to Josephus’s opinion, before sunrising and at sunsetting. But in the reference to the same Josephus, the sacrifices were offered in the morning and at the evening hour. Anti. B. iv. ch. iv. sect. 3.

§ Hence we may correctly the opinions of the modern authors, and see that one of the sun’s hands is seen in the daytime, whereas Josephus, an eye-witness, says they were three.
were burnt to death. Now when the fire rushed upon them, and began to burn them, nobody could quench it, no, not by water or any other manner. And Moses bid their father, and their brethren, to take up their bodies, to carry them out of the camp, and to bury them magnificently.

Now this caused them and many others to be deeply affected at this their death, which they had not expected to befall them. But Moses entreated their brethren, and their father, not to be troubled for them, and to prefer the honour of God before all, and to let Aaron have already put on his sacred garments.

3. But Moses refused all that honour which he saw the multitude ready to bestow upon him, and to make him king, to be his servant and all his life to the service of God. He went not more to mount Sinai; but went into the tabernacle, and brought back answers from God to what he prayed for. His habit was also that of a private man; and in all other circumstances he behaved himself like one of the common people, and was desirous to appear without distinguishing himself from the multitude, but would have it known that he did nothing else than to obey the laws of God, and to bring them up to the government, by obedience whereof they would lead their lives so as to please God, and so as to have no quarrel one another among another. However, the laws which he ordained were all such as God himself gave; insomuch as I shall now discourse concerning that form of government, and those laws.

9. I will now treat of what I before omitted, the garment of the high priest: for it was [Moses] left no room for the evil practices of [false] prophets; but if some of that sort should attempt to abuse the divine authority, he left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and to do what when he pleased: for if he did so, to the glory of God, the note of this edition, the Hebrew, and many other authorities, in the text, nor by prophets, 1 Sam. xvi. 6. Nor did any of David's successors, the king of Judah that we know of, consult God by this oracle, till the religion and government itself, which he had himself at an end, they taking upon them, I suppose, too much of despot's power and royalty, and too little owning the God of Israel for the supreme king of the Jews: and therefore, though a few of them consulted the prophecies sometimes, and were answered by them. At the return of the two tribes, without the return of the king, the restoration of this oracle was expected. Neh. vii. 6; 1 Esd. v. 40; 1 Mac. iv. 46; xiv. 41; and indeed it may seem to have been restored for some time after the Babylonish captivity, at least in the days of that excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, whose Josephus esteemeth as a king, a priest, and a prophet, and who, he says, foretold several things that came to pass according to the time he lived, and which happened after the days of those kings. And it is observable how the prophecy of this oracle is suitable to the times of the reign of the high priest, as the prophecy of the above-mentioned king of Judah, which I have already endeavoured to mark the prophecy, John xi. 47-52, as two small remains or specimens of this ancient oracle, which properly belonged to the Jewish high priests. Now there is no doubt but in the private dream of our Josephus himself (one next to a high priest, as of the family of the Annasimæiæ, who enabled them to be the successors of the high priests in the old order of the Levites) which is said to have fallen to the lot of a certain Levite, while he was sitting in his chair at the feast of Tabernacles, that this dream appeared to him in the days of Nero, and before the fall of Gallus, Otho.
were sardonyxes, and (I think it needless to
describe their nature, they being known to every
body;) the one of them shined out when God was
present at their sacrifices; I mean, that which
was set on a button of the right shoulder, with
bright rays darting out thence; and being
ever seen by those that were most remote; which
splendour yet was not before natural to the stone.
Thus has appeared a wonderful thing to such as
have been meditated by the philosophers, as
to despire divine revelation. Yet will I mention
what is still more wonderful than this; for
God declared beforehand, by those twelve stones
which were set on their shoulders, on his breastplate,
and which were inserted into his breastplate,
when they should be victorious in battle; for so
great a splendour shone forth from them before
the army began to march, that all the people
were sensible of God’s being present for their
assistance. Whence it came to pass that those
Greeks who had a veneration for our laws, be-
cause they could not possibly contradict this,
called them the ‘Theoria.’ Now his breastplate,
and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book,
when God being diseased at the transgression
of his laws. Of which things we shall farther
discourse at the opportune season, and I will now
go on with my proposed narration.

10. The tabernacle being now consecrated,
and a regular order being settled for the priests,
the multitude judged that God now dwelt among
them, both by itself, and by themselves: divines
and preachers, divest their persons of all observa-
tions to God, as being now delivered from all
expectation of evils, and as entertaining a hope-
ful prospect of better times hereafter. They of-
ered also gifts to God, some as common to the
whole nation, and others as peculiar to them-
elves, and these tribeby tribe; for the heads
of the tribes combined together, two by two, and
brought a wagon and a yoke of oxen. These
animals they used in the tabernacle, and they carried the tabernacle
when they journeyed. Besides which, every
head of a tribe brought a bowl, and a charger,
and a spoon, of ten daries, fulof incense.
Now the charger and the bowl were of silver;
and together they weighed two hundred shekels,
but the bowl cost no more than seventy shekels;
and these were full of fine flour mingled with oil,
such as they used on the altar about the sacrifices.
There was also a young bullock, and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, for a whole
offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness
of sins. Every one of the heads of the tribes
brought also other sacrifices, called peace-offer-
ings, on the day of the new moons, and the first
day of the week, and five days, with lambs of a year old, for a whole
offering, as also a goat for the forgiveness
of sins. These heads of tribes were twelve days in
sacrilicing, one sacrificing every day. Now Mo-
ses went no longer up to Mount Sinai, but went
to the tabernacle, and learned of God what
they should do, and what laws should be made;
which laws were preferable to what have been
devised by human understanding, and proved to be
firmly observed for all time to come, as being
believed to be the gift of God, insomuch that the
Hebrews did not transgress any of those laws,
either as tempted in times of peace by luxury,
or in times of war by distress of affairs. But I
say no more here concerning them, because I
have resolved to compose another work concern-
ing our laws.

Chap. 9.
The Nature of our offering Sacrifices.

1. I will now, however, make mention of
a few of our laws which belong to purifications,
and the like sacred offices, since I am incidentally
posed to treat of them in my present exposition.
These sacrifices were of two sorts; of these one sort
was offered for private persons, and the other for
the people in general; and they are done in two dif-
f erent ways. In the one case, what is slain is burnt,
as a whole burnt-offering, wherein that name is
given to it; but the other is a thank-offering,
and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I
will speak of the former. Suppose a private
offers meat upon the altar, which name is
given to it; but the other is a thank-offering,
and is designed for feasting those that sacrifice. I
will speak of the former. Suppose a private
officer is about to offer a thank-offering, do in-
deed sacrifice the same creatures, but such as
are unblemished, and above a year old; however,
they may take either males or females. They
offer the altar with their blood, but they lay
upon the altar the kidneys and the caul, and
all the fat, and the lobe of the liver, together
with the rump of the lamb; then giving the
breast and the right shoulder to the priests, the
sacred offering for the sins of the people for two days; and what remains they burn.

3. The sacrifices for sins are offered in
the same manner as is the thank-offering. But those
who are unable to purchase complete sacrifices,
or who are weak in means, offer burnt-offerings of
which is burnt-offering to God, the other
they give as food for the priests. But we shall
manner more accurately about the obligation of those
deadly sins in our discourse concerning sacrifices.
If a person fall into sin by ignorance, they offer
what they think is a good offering for the same
sins of the people for two days; and what remains they burn.

4. Vitellius, were thought of to succeed him. Of the War, B. ili.
This, I think, may well be looked on as
the very last instance of any thing like the prophetic
Urим among the Jewish nation, and just passed
their full duration. But how it could possibly come to pass,
their name was as Sir John Mason, and Dr. Spen- upon the horoscope of Egyptians, which we never heard of till
the days of Diodorus Siculus, Xenan, and Maimonides, or
in any other nation. The highest, is are
most unaccountable; while the main business of the law
of Moses was evidently to preserve the Israelites from
the idolatry of the heathen practices. Some
hypothese demonstrate to us, how far inclination can
prevail over evidence, is even some of the most learned
part of mankind.

* What Roldwick observes here, out of Josephus, as compared with
the laws of Moses, Lev. vii. 15, (that the
same day it was offered, assuredly
meant only to be kept in mind of the same
day the sacrifice was made, in the latter part,
not the evening, but the morning, of the same
day, according to the Jewish reckoning) is greatly to be
observed. The occasion was, that in such cases, it seems,
that this was the day before the sabbath; and this appears to me to be the language both
of Josephus, and the ancient writers, and
of Roldwick. See Ansel, B. iv. chap. iv. sec. 4, and Roland’s note on B. iv.
BOOK III.—CHAP. X.

The high priest likewise presents a ram to God as a burnt-offering.

4. Upon the fifteenth day of the same month when the month is changing for winter, the law enjoins us to pitch tabernacles in every one of our houses, so that we preserve ourselves from the cold of that time of the year, and that we sit in a warm and comfortable place, for fear of suffering, that they are to bring for sacrifices a bull or a kid of the goats, both males.

4. Now the law requires, both in private and public sacrifices, that the finest flour be also brought; and in the sacrifice of a whole burnt-offering, the male of a month-old lamb, and a ram, and a bull of a year, and a goat, and a kid of the goats, all of them males; and for every offering it is necessary to have wine also, and oil, and salt, and all the other things which are necessary for the reasons already mentioned.

4. They consecrate upon the altar, when it is mingled with oil; for oil is also brought by those that sacrifice, for a bull the half of a hin, and for a ram the third part of the same measure, and one quarter of it for a lamb. This hin is an ancient Hebrew measure, and is equal to two Athenian chous (or coniques.) They bring the same quantity of oil which they do of wine, and they pour the wine about the altar; but if any one does not offer a complete sacrifice of animals, but brings fine flour only for a vow, he throws a lamb upon the altar with its first-fruit, which the priests take and offer to God for an expiation, and then give it to the person. And whatsoever it be that a priest himself offers, it must of necessity all be burnt. Now the law requires, that private men also observe the same day as the public; and in all cases, not till the eighth day after its birth. Other sacrifices there are also appointed for escaping distressers, or for other occasions, in which meat-offerings are consumed together with the animals that are sacrificed, of which it is not lawful to leave till the next day, only the priests are to take their own share.

CHAP. X.

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

§ 1. The law requires, that out of the public expenses, a lamb of the first year be killed every day, at the beginning and at the ending of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the Sabbath, they kill two, and sacrifice them in the same way as on the first. But on the second day, they perform the daily sacrifices, and bring two young goats, with seven lambs of the first year, and a kid of the goats also, for the expiation of sins; that is, if they have sinned through ignorance.

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

3. On the tenth day of the same lunar month, they fast till the evening; and this day they sacrifice a bull, and two rams, and seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, for sins. And besides these, they bring two kids of the goats; the one of which is sent alive out of the limits of the camp into the wilderness for the scape-goat, and to be an expiation for the sins of the whole multitude; but the other is brought into a place of great cleanness within the limits of the camp, and is there burnt, with its skin, without any sort of cleansing. With this goat was burnt a bull, not brought by the people, but by the high priest, at his own expense, and which was slain, he brought of the blood into the holy place, together with the blood of the kid of the goats, and sprinkled the ceiling with his finger seven times, as also its pavement, and again as often the walls of the holy place, and above that altar: he also at last brings it into the open court, and sprinkles it about the great altar. Besides this, they set the extremities, and the kidneys, and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, upon the altar.
cordingly, the law prescribes in them all, what kinds they are to sacrifice, and how they are to rest entirely, and must slay sacrifices in order to feed.

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

CHAP. XI.

Of the Purifications.

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

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

3. He also ordered that those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy, and that had a gonorrhoea, should not come into the city; nay, he required the women, when they had their natural menses, to keep seven days; after which he looked on them as pure, and permitted them to come in again. The law permits those also who have taken care of funerals to come in after the same manner, when this number of days is over; but if any longer than that number of days in a state of pollution, the law appointed the offering two lambs as a sacrifice; the one of which they are to purge by fire, and the other the priests' for themselves. In the same manner do those sacrifices who have had the gonorrhoea. But he that sheds his seed in his sleep, if he goes down into cold water, he has the same privilege with those that have lawfully accompanied with their wives.
provided for his countrymen. He also prescribed the following laws to them.

CHAP. XII.

Severar Laws.

4. As for adultery, Moses forbade it entirely, as esteeming it a happy thing that men should be as one flesh. He upheld both the family and the poor, that justice might be done to both cities and families, that children should be known to be genuine. He also abhorred men's lying with their mothers, as one of the greatest crimes; and the like for lying with the lechery which disturbed all the former order. He also forbade idolatry, which was the abominable wickedness of the Canaanites; and not to come near brute beasts, not to approve of the lying with a male, which was to hunt after unlawful pleasures on account of beauty. To those who were guilty of such insolent behaviour, he ordained death for their punishment.

2. As for the priests, he prescribed to them a double degree of purity; for he restrained them in the instances above, and moreover forbade them to marry harlots. He also forbade them to marry a slave, or a captive, and such as got their living by cheating, unless they kept their husbands; as also a woman parted from her husband by any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he did not think it proper for the high priest to marry even the widow of one that was dead, though he might be married to that woman, unless he left him only to marry a virgin, and to retain her. Whence it is that the high priest is not to come near to one that is dead, although the rest are not prohibited from coming near their brethren, or parents, or children, when they are dead, but they are to be unblemished in all respects. He ordered, that the priest who had any blemish, should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to eat any thing that was holy, to touch any thing that was holy, to touch any thing that was unclean, and enter into the holy house. He also enjoined them, not only to observe purity in their sacred ministrations, but in their daily conversation, that it might be unblemished also. And on this account it is, that these words from the sacred garments, are without spot, and eminent for their purity and beauty; nor are they permitted to drink wine so long as they wear those garments. Moreover, they offer sacrifices that are entire, and have no defect whatsoever.

3. And truly Moses gave them all these precepts, being such as were observed during his own lifetime. But though he lived now in the world, and delivered the law to the people, he ought to observe the same laws when they should have taken the land of Canaan: he gave then rest to the land from ploughing and planting every seventh year, as he had prescribed to them to rest from working every seventh day; and ordered, that then, what grew of its own accord out of the earth, should be common belong to all that pleased to use it, making no distinction in that respect, except in the case of the countrymen and foreigners: and he ordained, that they should do the same after seven times seven years, which in all are fifty years: and that fifty year is called by the Hebrews the Jubilee, wherein debtors are free from coming near their debts, and all tares are set at liberty; which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital, but they were punished by this method of slavery; and also restored the land to its former possessors.

* These words of Josephus are remarkable, that the heathens, as is natural to the persons of a lower degree of purity, in comparison of that required of the people: of which he gives several instances immediately. It was that of a man and woman, who was to take two as a witness.

4. But in the manner following: when the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land, and he that bought it, meet together and make an estimate, on one hand, of the fruits gathered, and on the other, of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he that sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the person that receives of the owner the former difference that was wanting, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received, and the expenses laid out, prove equal to one another, the present possessor is reproved in the form of a fine; and he must, of the money which he already have the same law obtain as to those houses also which were sold in villages; but he made a different law for such as were sold in a city; for if he that sold it tendered the purchaser his money again within a year, he was forced to restore it; but in case a whole year had intervened, the pursuer was to enjoy what he had bought. This was the constitution of the laws which Moses learned of God, when the camp lay under mount Sinai, and this he delivered in writing to the Hebrews.

5. Now when this settlement of laws seemed to be well over, Moses thought fit at length to take the hosts in review of their state, and to make it by the heads of the tribe, excepting the tribe of Levi, to take an exact account of the number of all those that were able to go to war; for as to the Levites they were holy, and had no share amongst all the rest. Now, when the people had been numbered, there were found six hundred thousand that were able to go to war, from twenty to fifty years of age, besides three thousand six hundred and fifty. Instead of Levi, Moses took Manasseh, the son of Joseph, among the heads of tribes; and Ephraim instead of Joseph. It was indeed a desire of Jacob himself to Joseph, that he would give him his sons to be his own by adoption, as I have before related.

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

6. Moreover, Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this: in length it was a little less than a cubit, and was composed of a mass of silver, somewhat thicker than a flute, but with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man's mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like common trumpets. Its sound was called, in the Hebrew tongue, Asora. Two of these being made, one of them was sounded when they required the multitude to come together to congregations. When the first of them gave a signal, the other immediately also was sounded; and to consult about the affairs to them

1 We must here note, with Reuchlin, that the meaning of the precise, not to drink wine, while they wore the sacred garments, is equivalent to their abstention from it all the while they ministered in the temple, because they then always, and then only, wore those sacred garments, which were laid up there from one time of ministry to another.
properly belonging: but when they gave the signal by both of them, they called the multitude together. Whenever the tabernacle was removed, it was done in this solemn order: at the first alarm of the trumpet, those whose tents were on the east quarter prepared to rise, when a second signal was given, and those that were on the south quarter did the like; in the next place, the tabernacle was taken to pieces, and was carried in the midst of six tribes that went before, and six that were behind. Lastly, the Last signal being given about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also gathered all these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover, in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.

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

§ 1. A LITTLE while afterward he rose up, and went from mount Sinai; and having passed through several degrees of the wilderness of Tophel, Azazel, and Hazeroth, he came to a place called Hazeroth, where the multitude began again to be mutinous, and to blame Moses for the misfortunes they had suffered, and that he had persuaded them to leave a good land, the city of which they had lost; and instead of that happy state he had promised them, they were still wandering in their present miserable condition, being seized with distress and famine. And in the meantime he saw the people, when he should have suffered that which should have happened to fail, they must then utterly perish. Yet while they generally spoke many and sore things against the man, there was one of them who exhorted them not to be unmindful of Moses, and of what great pains he had been as about their common safety; and not to despair of assistance from God. The multitude thereupon became still more unruly, and more mutinous against Moses than before. Thereupon Moses, although he were so largely abused by them, encouraged them in their despairing condition, and promised that he would procure them a great quantity of fresh meat, and that not for a few days only, but for many days to come. This they were not willing to believe: and when one of them asked, whether he could obtain such a vast plenty of what he promised? he replied, neither God, nor I, although we hear such opprobrious words from you, will leave off our labors for you, and this shall soon appear also. As soon as ever he had said this, the whole camp was filled with quails; and they stood round about them, and gathered them in great numbers. However, it was not long ere God punished the Hebrews for their insolence, and those reproaches they had used towards him, for no small number of them died. And still to this day the place retains the name of Kibroth-hattaavah, which is, the graves of lust.

CHAP. XIV.

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

§ 1. WHEN Moses had led the Hebrews away from thence to a place called Paran, which was near to the borders of the Canaanites, and a place difficult to be continued in, he gathered the multitude together to a congregation; and standing in the midst of them, he said, "Of the two things that God determined to bestow upon liberty, and the possession of a happy country, the more of them ye already have the one of you; by the gift of God, and the other you will quickly obtain; for we now have our abode near the borders of the Cannaites, and nothing can be more pleasing to him than the thinking about the tabernacle; when the third signal was given, that part which had their tents towards the west put themselves into motion; and at the fourth signal, those on the north did so likewise. They also gathered all these trumpets in their sacred ministrations, when they were bringing their sacrifices to the altar, as well on the Sabbaths as on the rest of the [festival] days. And now it was that Moses offered that sacrifice which was called the Passover, in the wilderness, as the first he had offered after the departure out of Egypt.

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

CHAP. XV.

How Moses was displeased at this; and foretold that God was angry, and that they should continue in the Wilderness for Forty Years, and not [during that time] either return into Egypt, or take Possession of Canaan.

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

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

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

* This great famine, in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. B.x.r. chap. ii. sect. 6; and Acts xi. 32.

BOOK IV.

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

CHAP. I.

The Flight of the Hebrews with the Cannanites, without the Consent of Moses, and their Defeat.

§ 1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, and they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with this determination from any human levity, or anger, but that he had judicially condemned them to that punishment. Now we are not to disbelieve that Moses, who was but a single person, pacified so many ten thousands when they were in anger, and converted them to a mildness of temper; for God was with him, and prepared the way to his persuasions of the multitude; and as they had often been disobedient, they were now sensible that such disobedience was disadvantageous to them, and that they had still thereby fallen unto calamities.

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

* This great famine, in the days of Claudius, is again mentioned in Antiq. B.x.r. chap. ii. sect. 6; and Acts xi. 32.
that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were with them, and paid for it, they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them; but, however, it was for their advantage to be under their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deprived of the liberty of living according to their pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the ancestor of all the knowledge we have, but we must still learn it from him: that it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who, on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering therefore the distressed state they were in at present, and that in these desperate circumstances they were, still, as he supposed, would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any command from their legal king.

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

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater advantage by attacking them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness, to a farther distance from the Canaanites; so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct; for they were sensible, that when he was at their head, they were invincible if they were in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

CHAP. II.

The Sedition of Corah, and of the Multitude, against Moses, and against his Brother, concerning the Priesthood.

§ 1. That which is usually the case of great armies, and especially of ill-disciplined ones, is, that it be hard to please, and governed with difficulty, did now harrass the Jews: for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry, both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then suffered, such as a sedition be in, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed; but were notwithstanding saved by Moses, who would not resolve upon the taking of their life, but had been almost stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator, and the laws, and the authority of the law, which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, with out his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So I will first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Now, Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,) was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, that it was a very sad thing that they should serve under Moses, when he had so much wealth, and paved the way to glory for himself; and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command; while, contrary to the laws, he had not made all the Israelites equal in the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne, than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did not now only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unappreciated of his contribu tions against them; for who soever is conscious to him who has no concern in anything, he knows how to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful; that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, and come into the possession of any dignity, since they do so by the aid of Moses, and his family; for what account, added he, is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, he would have given them the same, no less being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age; but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reuel might have it most justly; and Jethro, Dathan and Abiram, and (O, the son of) Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also.

Now Corah, when he had said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself; and it did, out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourage those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole multitude was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were sages, and of the priesthood taken away from Moses's brother, and to bring in, by their grace: say, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone Moses; and gathered themselves together after an impudent manner, with confusion and disorder. And how they all were, in a tumultuous manner
BOOK IV.—CHAP. III.

raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for, had it been God who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a wicked man to that dignity, and would not have produced such a one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case, he would have used the greatest moderation in that point.

4. Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calamity of Corah, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God, and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could, and being very skilful in making speeches, he satisfying many among the multitude, that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hundred men,) seem not to have this honour; nor do I pretend that but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity; although they may not be so rich or so great as you are: nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he was better in my sight; but thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth;* nor indeed because he was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal; nay, more, it is an impiety which, among this congregation, could not be borne; for even I cannot possibly exceed you both; nor indeed, unless I have bestowed this honour out of regard to God and to his laws, I had not paused by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having of closer intimacy with myself than I have with him: for surely, it would not be a wise thing for me, to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account, as it were, without any consultation with you. I am of opinion, nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seem himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what is being done to you; and therefore, he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God; I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been already preferred, and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He has been already thus in the assembly of the congregation, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God was the donor, yet do we not offend when we think of it to speak it with you; he was anointed; yet would it have been unseasonable or impious not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it; nay, it had been exceeding unreasonable, when God had thought fit to be with us, she should have refused to come, and he made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction and guidance in all those business, that are captive in the tabernacle, and under the care of the high priest, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it, to whom he pleases. Put an end therefore to your sedition and disturbance on this account; and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: and do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion; but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this question may be referred to the multitude, and the determination may receive determination. And I assure you we may admit Aaron, without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept shall he ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present charge against him." If I have granted him that favour because he was my brother.""}

CHAP. III.

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

2. But he went up and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that both the Jews and Mahommedans, as well as Josephus, are full of it.
it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which thou knowest best, they will not endure it, unjustly pretends to support, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father; I law, not gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now, in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself readily to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt: thou didst set me at that fire at mount Sinai, and madest me hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou, who commandedst me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people: thou, who didst give them thy estate at the Egytian bond, and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou, who didst make the seas dry land for us, when we knew not whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us: thou, who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were destitute of them; thou didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow forth to us as a place for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it: thou, who didst preserve our lives with [quail], which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground fail ed us: thou, who didst send us such food from heaven, as had never been seen before: thou, who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and the observance of them as the mark of our redemption: come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I have never admitted of any part in their cause, nor have I ever defended them with my voice; nor have I ever been acquainted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and the enemies by change of thy will, and thereby attains its end; as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews: demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and are overcome by my contrivance. This will thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, and so boldly come not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men; let that ground on which they tread upon, open about them, and consume them with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men; and this method of their suffering will be an instance of our wickedness, and that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calamities they have raised against me be true, let the destruction be on them, in order to remove the hindrance to peace, and bring all that destruction on me which I have impredicated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavored to do thee wrong, thou wilt be the best supporter of concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned, nor be mighty, thou wilt so order it, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment.

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in the waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted, and the ground that was about their tents sunk down at the great noise with a terrible sound, and covered ever the whole country with the sediments into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them in their midst was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And hereby we are taught not to be overborne only on account of this calamity that befall them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bear to them. And so they were not placed as a proof of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as perfidious men, they thought they perish ed as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that con tended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was most pleased with might be anointed with the most sacred oil. And the hundred and fifty men, who indeed were ho noured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others in the art of music, and also those that had offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither those eruptions out of the earth, that are caused by subterranean burnings, nor in such fires as rise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees, although that be very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose eruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were destroyed; and this so entirely, that their very bones were consumed up, and they lay alone preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon the memory of this judgment might not be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he com- from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burned with the Levites of his own tribe. See Essay on the Old Testament, p. 64, 65.
and Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be experimental to posterity of what these things suffered, for supporting that the power of God must be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God: and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterward.

CHAP. IV.

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

§ 1. However, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: for the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this happened, not so much because of the wickedness of those that were punished, as because Moses and his followers, after the death of Moses, had men been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship: as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many of them, and with whose followers those first met, after the death of Moses, had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, bil besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him: and thus it may be supposed, that Moses, who was so strict in the worship of God, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him. But Moses was such a man, that he could never be satisfied in the work of God, unless it were with entire success; and he never did forsake the cause of God, nor turn aside from the path in which he was directed by God, but as far as it was in his power, he continued the work of God, in the best manner he could.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sudden change would be the consequence; he called the multitude to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should embitter the multitude: he procured the thing that he wanted, by repeating to them the names of the tribes of Israel, with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them; and that he should receive the priesthood, in whose rod God should give a sign, and that he who should bring forth a rod of life out of the tribe of Levi should be their rod, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi on his rod. These rods Moses had up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses received them, in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of these rods, but those who had them received them as they were alomds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under the charge of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to inquire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peculiar to himself, and of the Israelites, on the same terms as if Aaron had been the head priest, as he had been the head priest, and he had retained him priest for three several times, and he retained that honour without further disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war, and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want, and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews, according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits, that they might be under no fear of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithe of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites, and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, particularly to the priests.

4. Accordingly, he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithe which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the earth, that should grow on the ground, and that of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in their stead; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the wholesome bread that was baked in the shape of bread, and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover, when they have made a sacred vow, I mean the sacred vow of those that are called the Nazarites, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair to the priests, (to be thrown into the fire.) Such also as dedicate whatever they possess to God, who dedicates what the Greeks call a gift, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministra tion, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels, if it be a woman, and fifty shekels, if it be a man, and if any be willing to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slain beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to pay the weight of an average check, [or breast] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice, to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, their sons, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as if they were themselves priests, and from those that were not priests, and from those that were out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for those none but the males of the families of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.
he would allow his army liberty to buy provi-
sions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay
double. He showed a very different aspect.
But the king was not pleased with this
embassage from Moses: nor did he allow a pas-
sage for the army, but brought his people armed
to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they
should lend themselves to force the peace. Upon
which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who
would not have him begin the war first; and so
withdrew his forces, and travelled round about
the land of Edom. 6.

6. Then it was that Miriam, the sister of Mo-

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

§ 1. The people moureared for Aaron thirty
days, and when this mourning was over, Moses
removed the army from that place, and came to
the river Arnon, which, issuing out of the moun-
tains of Arabia, and running through all that
wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltitis, and be-

the limit between the land of the Moabites
and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruit-
ful, is much inhabited, and is a region where
men with the good things it produces. Moses,
therefore, sent messengers to Sihon, the king of
this country, desiring that he would grant his
army a passage, upon what security he should
make no molestation to him, or whatsoever way
injured, neither as to that country which
Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and
that he would buy his provisions at such a price
as she should think it to their advantage, that
they should desire to sell them their very water. But
Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into
battle array, and was preparing every thing in
order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the great number of
his army was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult;
and determining to win the Hebrews from their
indolent temper, and prevent the disaster which
arose thence, which had been the occasion of
their former sedition; (nor indeed were they now
thoroughly easy in their minds;) he inquired of
God whether he would give him leave to fight ?
He learned that he should have the victory, which
by God's will, was given him the victory, he was himself very coura-
geous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accord-
ingly he encouraged the soldiers, and he desired
of them that they would take the pleasure of
fighting. He then placed his army upon the hill,
and they, when the Hebrews were ready to at-
tack him; but both he himself was affrighted at
the Hebrews, and his army, which before had
showed themselves to be of good courage, were
then so timorous; so that he could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the
Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this
would afford them a more likely way for their
escape than fighting; for they depended upon
their cities, which were strong, from which yet
they reaped no advantage when they were forced
to fly to them; for as soon as the Hebrews saw
them giving ground, they immediately pursued
them close; and when they had broken their
ranks, and had divided them, the best of them
broke off from the rest, and ran away to the
cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them
briskly, and obstinately persevered in the la-
bour; and after hours of almost incredible
troths of darting darts, or any thing else of that kind,
and also having on nothing but light armour
which made them quick in the pursuit, they
overtook their enemies; and for those that were
most remote, and could not be overtaken,
reached them by their slings and their bows, so
that many were slain; and those that escaped the
slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were
more distressed with thirst than with many of
those that fought against them; for it was the
summer season, and when the greatest numbers
of them were brought down to the river, out of
desire to drink, as also, when others that were
by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and
shot at them; so that, with what darts and what
with arrows, they made a slaughter of them all.
Sihon also their king was slain. So the Hebrews
spoiled the land; and divided, at this day, the
land also which they took was full of abund-
cance of fruits, and the army went all over it
without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and
the Latin copies say it was on the tenth, and so say
the Jewish calendar also, as Dr. Bernard assures us. It
is said here that this is still extant near Petra, the old cap-
tal city of Arabia Petraea, at this day; as also that of
Aaron, not far off.
BOOK IV.—CHAP. VI.

they took the enemies prisoners, for they could
noway put a stop to them, since all the fighting
men were destroyed. Such was the destruction
which overtook the Amorites, who were neither
sagacious in counsel, nor courageous in action.
Hebrews were on the southern part of their
land, which is a country situate between three
rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the
river Arnon being its southern limit; the river
Jabbok determining its northern side, which,
running into Jordan, bears its own name, and
takes the other; while Jordan itself runs along
by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og,
the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the
Israelites. He brought an army with him, and
came in haste to the assistance of his friend Si-
bon. But though he found him already slain,
yet did he resolve still to come and fight the He-
brews, supposing he should be too tardy for them,
and being desirous to try their valour; but fail-
ing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the
battle, and all his army was destroyed. So
Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and over-
ran those cities. He cleansed all the land of their
cities, and slew all their inhabitants, who yet ex-
ceeded in riches all the men in that part of the
continent, on account of the goodness of the soil,
and the great quantity of their wealth. Now Og
had a bed so large, that in the very centre of his
body, or handsomeness of his appearance.
He was also a man of great activity in the use
of his hands, so that his actions were not une-
qual to the vast largeness and handsome appear-
ce of his body. And men could easily guess
at his strength and magnitude, when they took
his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Amon-
ite; its structure was of iron, its breadth four
yards, and its length a cubit more than double the
breadth. This bed was brought to show his happy
situation, and very fit for producing palm-
trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began
to be very proud of themselves, and were very
care for fighting. Moses then, after he had of-
fered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving
to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of
armed men to lay waste the country of the Mi-
dianites, and to take their cities. Now the oc-
casion which he took for making war upon them
was as follows:

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who
had from his ancestors a friendship and league
with the Midianites, saw how great the Israel-
ites were grown, he was much affrighted, on ac-
count of his own and his kingdom's danger; for
he was not acquainted with this," that the He-
brews would not meddle with any other country,
but were to possess the land of Canaan, God hav-
ing forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than
wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them
by words; its own name, and

§ 1. Now Moses, when he had brought his
army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great
plain, a month, on the other side, the country of
the Amorites, was a very pleasant and happy
situation, and very fit for producing palm-
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casion which he took for making war upon them
was as follows:

2. When Balak, the king of the Moabites, who
had from his ancestors a friendship and league
with the Midianites, saw how great the Israel-
ites were grown, he was much affrighted, on ac-
count of his own and his kingdom's danger; for
he was not acquainted with this," that the He-
brews would not meddle with any other country,
but were to possess the land of Canaan, God hav-
ing forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than
wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them
by words; its own name, and
Antiquities of the Jews.

48. Balaam was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Be-
laam replied, "O Balak, if thou rightly con-
iderest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing about them but what is true; for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not our-

selves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyful-
ly besought me hither, and on that account this jour-
y. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you de-
sired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you; for those that of old were not so much as inhabiters, which are from their own abilities, are entirely un-
able to do it, or to forbear to utter what God sug-
gests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and enters into us, no nation can stay the hand, nor intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race, but since he was so favourable to them, and did not slope upon them a hea-
ny and eternal glory, is the declaration of those things to me. But now, be-

cause it is my desire to oblige thee thyself as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not my heart to be bent on, but that I should do my utmost to oblige thee a little, in order to get some assistance to make our own. To which Balak assented, and agreed to offer other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can per-

D. But Balak, being very angry that the Israel-
ites were not come; he sent a second time, thinking him worthy of any honour. Whereup-
on, when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the wish of God, to gratify you,) it is true no entire destruc-
tion can seize upon the nation of the He-
brews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor by scour.

Such a large and distinct account of these passages of Balaam is given by the Latin historians, than other copies give us but short intimations, Num. xxxii.

16: 9 Pet. ii. 15; Jud. ver. 11 Apoc. ii. 14, is preserved, as it is in the Samaritan, in Pesh. and in other writings of the Jews, as well as here by Jo-

sephus.
mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: do you therefore set out the handsonet of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and pour such a charm and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and let you decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp; and give them in charge, that when the young Hebrews have their company, they allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leave; and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them that their own laws, and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and the Moabites; for by this means God will be angry at them." Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested this counsel to him, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men went abroad after their beauty, and came to discourse with them there: and they were not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words pleasantly, and were glad of their own laws; and were not only many gods: and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that they knew of, that the women would have them do, those in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed, that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former of the Samaritans, and instigated them to forsake their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them; and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted with the rest.

8. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, companion with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was their daughter of the same authority in that country: and being desired by his wife to disregard the law of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different, and holding his wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair, who, by lying concealed might come to repentance; but he said, "That they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will; that it was fit they should change their courses, while their affairs were still in a good state; and think that to be true fortitude which offers not violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they had suffered God to be angry with them to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had litan-
those that had transgressed perished by the magnanimous valor of these young men: the rest all perished by a plague, which destroyed them over night. And even thus it was that those had been punished; but that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were as speedily put to sudden death as the others. And this Bidaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curze the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing so by divine Providence, did still suggest that advice to them by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his name and his achievements as if he claimed his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave him his name, and indeed did not like to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

CHAP. VII.

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

§ 1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their command er, of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceiving beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them, they dispersed their army together, and fortified the entrances into their countries, as there awaited the enemy’s coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense number of the Midianites fell, nor were there present with them in number any less than them, and among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Rebin, Hur, and Rekem, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is till now so called by the whole Arabian nation, ‘Areem,’ from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called ‘Petra.’ Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the multitude of their men, and cut off also the women; only they let the virgins alone, as Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no harm, that a good deal of prey; fifty-two thousand beeves, and twenty-five thousand sheep and dheed sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses for things that were so exceedingly fine and they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided

* The mistake in all Josephus’s copies, Greek and Latin, which have here 14,000 instead of 24,000, is so patent, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Houben, have put the latter number directly into the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.
BOOK IV.—CHAP. VIII.

the prey into parts, and gave one-fiftieth part to Eleazar and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily the rest of their days, being inspired by the revelations from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the people was committed. Moses had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of God and Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, ascended in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds of prosperity, since they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to lead them to the land of the Amorites, which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses, supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and that it was easier to make them believe their part, instead of some excuse for avoiding that war, called them ardent cowards; and said, "That they only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, were falsifying their misfortunes, which they had obtained the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan and overcome the enemy, which God had showed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes, when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not persuade him to leave his dangerous design, at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that "it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they were persuaded, after they had obtained peace and safety, and might be more expeditious, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added this also, that "when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and live in peace and safety, if he would bestow upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army. Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said: so he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen in the war, until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children, and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches. And at the end of these forty-eight years, there were to be of the number of the forty-eight for the Levites; three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the daughter and flight happened, after which death, the permit the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain may, by this law, kill the manslaughter, and that the son of the father of the Levites, to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities which were set apart for this flight were these; Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Mahanaim in the land of Gilead. There were to be also, by Moses's command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

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

CHAP. VIII.

The Polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among Mankind.

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

2. "O you Israelites and fellow-soldiers who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the counsel and good pleasure of God, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off entirely my office of a father, and my care of your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity; come, therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world: and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. O children of Israel! there is none of all mankind so wise, or of all mankind, the favour of God; for he alone is of his former cruelty; as thy sword hath made (the Hebrew women children), so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews." In the last place, the apostles, or their ancestors Clement, gave this reason of God's change of heart: "That the former wickedness of the cannibals, and sacrifice of babies, and the cooking of men, and the occasions of their destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction, and perhaps at the very same time that the princes and kings of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, than occasioned their extinction. See Gen. xvi, 16; 1 Sam. xvii, 15, Ex. xx. 11, 19, 21; Deut. xx. 11, 18, 19; which plainly shows the reason of the delay of the punishment of the Amorites is given, because their iniquity was not yet full. In the second, Saul is ordered to go and destroy all the Amorites, and the reason is given, because they were therefore to be destroyed because they were sinners, and not otherwise. In the third, the reason is given, why king Agag was not to be spared, viz., because of his former cruelty; as thy sword hath made (the Hebrew women children), so shall thy mother be made childless among women by the Hebrews." In the last place, the apostles, or their ancestors Clement, gave this reason of God's change of heart: "That the former wickedness of the cannibals, and sacrifice of babies, and the cooking of men, and the occasions of their destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction, and perhaps at the very same time that the princes and kings of the nations of Canaan, and...
able to give good things to those that deserve
them, and to deprive of those of them that sin
against him; towards whom, if you behave your-
selves according to his will, and according to
what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort
you, to know how to govern, if you are blessed, and
will be admired by all men; and will never come
into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will
then preserve the possession of the good things
you already have, and will quickly obtain those
that are present in warranty; only do you not be
obedient to those whom God would have you to
follow. Nor do you prefer any other constituti-
on of government before the laws now given
you; neither do you disrelish that way of divine
wisdom which you now have, and that you judge it for
any other form: and if you do this, you will be
the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the
fatigues of war, and will not be easily con-
quered by any of your enemies; for while God
is present with you to assist you, it is to be ex-
pected that you will be able to despise the oppo-
sition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue
are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue
through your lives. Virtue is indeed the prin-
cipal and the first reward, and after that it
bestows abundance of others; so that your ex-
raise of virtue towards other men will make
your own lives happy, and render you more glo-
rious hereafter, if you can, and procure you an
undisputed reputation with posterity. These
blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you
hearken to and observe those laws which, by di-
vine revelation, I have ordained for you; that is,
and it will be most advisable for you to endow
yourself in the wisdom that is in them. I am going from you myself,
 rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I
recommend you to the wise conduct of your law,
to the becoming order of your polity, and to the
virtue of your chief commanders, who take care
of what is for your advantage; and that God, who
has been till now your leader, and by whose good-
will I have myself been useful to you, will not
put a period now to his provision over you, but
as long as you desire to have him your protector,
in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you en-
joy his care over you. Your high priest also,
Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and
court of your elders, will go on and suggest
the best advice to you: following which advices,
you will continue to be happy; to whom you
do give ear without reluctance, as sensible
that all such as know well how to be governed,
will also do the same as himself, and be governed
by the authority themselves. And do not you es-
tem liberty to consist in opposing such direc-
tions as your governors think fit to give you for
your practice, as at present indeed you place
your liberty in nothing else but abusing your be-
nefactors; which error if you can avoid for the
time to come, your affairs will be in a better con-
tion than they have hitherto been: nor do you
so indulge such a degree of passion in these
matters, as you have been wont to do when you
have been very angry with me; for you know
that I have been oftener in danger of death from
you than from our enemies. What I now put
you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach
you, and I still do so, for I think it proper to say
that my departure from the world, to bring this to your remem-
brance, in order to leave you offended at me,
since at the time when I underwent those hard-
ships, I was not angry at you, but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter; and to
teach you that this will be for your security; I
mean, that you never be injurious to those that
preside over you, even when you become rich,
as you will be to a great degree when you
have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of
the land of Canaan. Since, when you shall have
once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a
contempt and disregard of virtue, you will pos-
se the favour of God; and when you have
magnificence, you will be adored by all men,
and will have the land which you possess taken
away again from you by your enemies, and this
with great reproaches upon your conduct. You
will be scattered over the whole world, and will,
not only entirely fill both the earth and the
heavens, but when once you have had the experience of what
I now say, you will repent, and remember the
laws you have broken, when it is too late.
Whence I would advise you, if you intend to
preserve your present happiness, which is so
many alive when you have conquered them,
but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy
them all, lest, if you permit them to live, you
taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your
own proper Virtue. I also further exhort you,
to overthrow their altars, and their groves,
and whatsoever temples they have among them,
and to burn all such, their nation, and their very
memory, for fear that they may appear along the
safety of your own happy constitution can be
firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent
your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of
your nature into vice, I have also ordained you
laws that should preserve the happy govern-
ment, which are so good, that if you regularly
observe them, you will be esteemed of all men
the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the
constitution of government, written in a book.
Upon the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the
sense that they should have a great want of their con-
ductor, because they remembered what a number of coun-
manders, with the care he had taken of what he had taken of their
preservation; they desponded about what would come upon
them after he was dead, and thought they should
never have another governor like him; and fear-
ed that God would then take care of them when Moses was gone, who used to intercede for
them. They also repented of what they had
said to him in the wilderness when they were
angered and terrified, and offered him such prayers as
were worthy of him, being so universally
adored, that the whole body of the people fell into
 Tears with such bitterness, that it was past the
power of words to comfort them in their afflic-
tion. However, Moses gave them some consola-
tion, and told them that he who was so highly
esteemed by them, had on his departure asked
himself to keep that form of government he
had given them: and then the congregation was
dissolved at that time.

4. According to what I shall now first describe this
form of government, which was agreeable to the
dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby
inform those that read these antiquities what our
original settlements were, and shall them pro-
amc and reform, as it was the means to which
those settlements are still in writing, as he left them; and
we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor
any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall
confer as to innovate as to digest the several kinds
of law which are at present in use among us, to
those which Moses left us, and which were
left him in writing as they were accidentally
scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inqui-
ry had learned them of God. On which account
they have been too frequently altered, and on ob-
servation beforehand, lest as of my own con-
trarymen should blame me, as having been guilty of
an offence herein. Now part of our constitu-
tion will include the laws that belong to our poli-
cial state. As for those laws which Moses left
concerning our common conversation and inter-
course one with another, I have reserved that
for a discourse concerning our manner of life,
and the occasions of those laws which I prepare

remembrance both by Jews and Christians: "O children
of Israel: there is but one source of happiness for all man-
kind, the favour of God."
BOOK IV.—CHAP. VIII.

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

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

12. When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon a high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him make as a sacrifice or offering, or both, and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no, nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out; for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them, as the foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinted in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that attention to the laws which they have despised and broken, and have been the cause of their own as well as others mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let there be one government before God, the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every day; both when the day begins, and when the deep evening, grace being in its own nature a just thing, now serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future, favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them on their arms; as also they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good-will towards them, that God's name may be mentioned whenever any thing appears everywhere conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtues and righteousness. Let there be one judge over such a city, that he may drive him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them.

* * * * *

* This law, both here and Exod. xx. 35, 36, of not going up to God's altar by ladder steps, but on an ascending, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1, nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by ladder steps. The ladder was an instrument of any considerable altitude and magnitude; as also probably in Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as the place of ascent. Thus that aslant and upward ascent, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. ix. 1. and 2 Kings. vii. ch. iii. sect. 7. The reason why these temples, and those only, were to have this ascent on an ascen
dancy, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, Jacob could not otherwise be provided for in the house garments which the ladder ascending had not. See Lam. iv. 19. 1 b

† The horn of public or secret harlots was given to Ve

na in the sacrificial oracles, as a remembrance of the

the same mode of worship of the old idolaters this law seems to have been made.

‡ The Apostolical Constitutions, B. ii. chap. xxvi. sect. 14; and of the Sacramentary of Rome, chap. xxviii., 35. of such liturgical observations among the Jews, though their real or mystical significance, i.e. the constant association of these streets, as they are formed by Moses, be frequently insinuated in all the sacred writings.

§ As here as elsewhere, sect. 32; of his Life, sect.

III. in the following chapter, sect. 11; and of his judg

IV. in the above chapter, sect. 29; of his work appointed for small cities, instead of twenty-three, in the modern rabbinic, which modern rabbinic are always but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus.
being natural, that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have been an unjust judge, or a deviation of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the advantage of none, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by that means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those, the dread of whose power has occasioned them to be just; for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, (which case is not uncommon in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrim, determine it as it shall be expedient. 

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

16. If the murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any who will discover him: but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase a heifer, and bring it to a valley, and to a place wherein there is no land ploughed, and planted with vineyards, to the sixh of the heifer; then the priests and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer, and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid act may any more be done in that land, and the actions according to them; for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you desire a king, let him be one of your own nation; let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues, and let him imitate the law, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest, and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained, lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

17. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, nor to set them out anew. If God be displeased with us, we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away, which, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself; last for ever, since this ground, on which you now live, is not of your own right; others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

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

19. If a piece of land with a seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen; and not to oblige them with any engine, but only to cut the land with the tithes of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

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21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn, be reap'd, gather in the gleaning also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive-trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly supply them with all for which there is the payment of its fruits, in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen, when they tread the ears of corn; let them eat of corn, if they need it, but you shall not restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labour. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill any a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the in the days of Joseph.
book iv.—chap. viii.

themselves full of what you have, and this whe- ther they be of your own country, or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the winepresses, restrain those whom they meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that de- serve'to make use of them, nor to cast them into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hasten- ing away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of benevolence and desire to make them happy in this world, let them be encouraged to take of them, I mean those that are Israelites, as if they were them- selves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them. Nay, let them marry men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God enables him so to act that it is not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of this nation, how he by his kindness communicates good to them, while they abundantly communicate, out of their great superfluities, to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be regarded as one of those who act contrary to public execution: * let him undergo this punish- ment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is improper for you, women, to have by the experience of the afflictions in Egypt and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and power of God, to distribute the same plenty, by the like sympathy, to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides those two tithes, which have already said you are to pay every year, the one for Levites, the other for the festivals; you are to bring every third year a third tithe to be distributed to those that want; to women also that are widows; and to children that are or- phans, and to the Levites, and for breaking up the land that is ripe first of all unto the temple; and when they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sac- rifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first-fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first-fruits which were for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is able to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good home, and a land to dwell in; let them enjoy the possession thereof; and when he hath openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues], according to

* This penalty of forty stripes save one, here men- tioned and sect. 23, was five times inflicted on St. Paul him- self by the Jews, 2 Cor. xi. 24.

† These tokens of virginity, as the Hebrew and Septu- gent style them, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, 30, seem to have very

the law of Moses, let him extol God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath al- ready given them, and by his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not marry a maid or an old woman; but if a woman marry by, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do; for it is decent, and right, and for the public safety, that they should govern their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry a harlot; whose matrimonial omissions, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means, the dispensations of the children are not virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards take care to make her so to him by action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished with, let the father or the bro- ther of the woman, and that nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any further power over her at all to punish her, but let her be set free on great occasions for suspicion, and such as can be noway contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving the forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to his father. But if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virgini- nity till she was lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father, let his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, (for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,) let not this be permitted; for it is unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a dam- sel espoused to another man, in case he had con- sented, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock; the woman, because she saw fit to yield herself to be corrupted, either for plea- sure or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where different from what our late interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married. But before this, the Levites, and even the Levites, were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. See these Antiq. B. viii. ch. viii. sect. 1; 2 Sam. xiii. 18; Isa. iv. 1. Josephus here, and knows nothing what were those particular tokens of virginity, or of corruption; perhaps he thought he could not easily describe them to the bre- thren, without giving what he might have thought a breach of modesty; which seeming breach of modesty laws cannot always wholly avoid.
theirs stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee and brought the son with great care and raised for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee that the son of so good a man is left thee, and let him bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayst thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproof which their former errors deserved, for they are young, and promise well, and their parents be good, and parents happy, while they never be hold either a son or a daughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them, in order to rescue their parents from the consequences of the offender renders the laws irremediable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be brought forth by these very parents, that he may bear to his father, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury whome the laws condemn, as we do on all others. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above the ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

28. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten, or what is drunken; for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been his assistant, and hast of thy own pocket alleviated his trouble, that he may give vent to his sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and marriage, for it is good for him that the woman should have pleasure in order to love him, and to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient, to prudent persons, for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his power to make her a slave, but let her live as she will please, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to them young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they: in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, (for they are by nature of authority, authority of age, changing their masters,) and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both

* Those words of Josephus are very like those of the Tharsission to our Stavion upon this very subject, Matt. vii. 4. Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?*

* Here it is supposed that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, would have been, or rather was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been anodyne in him that married her.*

1. See, R. d'the Great meeting on the execution of this law, with relation to two of ours, before the judges at 17: 42, Antiqu. B. xvi. chap. xi. sect. 2.
8. If any one find gold or silver in the road, let him remove the same, and if he find it again, let him set it free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year. He is in the land his portion, and when he shall be in the land, he shall not make enmity, as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man, or a servant, let him be stoned, and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which killed, be burned, and the owners of them divide their price between them.

37. Let those who dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over it, and so keep them shut up, not in upon them, and let him not be in the water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them: but if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let them also be put to death round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing, and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether it be a man's own woman, no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is a fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always set so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can be concealed; but if it be in the truth that he has been wholly innocent of his own, lose what he is intrusted with, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing has been lost willingly, or with a wicked intent, and that he has used the use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in those trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wage to him instead of land, and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, and therefore he that smote him; but if he be carried home, he lie sick many days, and then let him see the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman miscarries, let him pay a fine in money as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb; and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

40. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the posca was prepared.

35. He that mutilateth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same number of fingers which he hath deprived the other, unless he that is mutilated will accept of money instead of it, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate, unless he will be more severe. If he permit the ox to run away with the corn, and the ox pusheth with his horn, kill him; but if he pushes and gores any one in the thrashing-floor, let him be put to death by stoning, and let him not be thought fit to live: but if he have slain his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free; but if he have a son by a woman-servant in his purchaser's house, and if, on account of his good-will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year. He is in the land his portion, and when he shall be in the land, he shall not make enmity, as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned, and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which killed, be burned, and the owners of them divide their price between them.

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26. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing, and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether it be a man's own woman, no, not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is a fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always set so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can be concealed; but if it be in the truth that he has been wholly innocent of his own, lose what he is intrusted with, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing has been lost willingly, or with a wicked intent, and that he has used the use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in those trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wage to him instead of land, and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

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39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own actions; for in punishing them, you would be acting unjustly, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves evil examples to others, consider. For if you avoid any conversation with them, who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transgressed that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you not cast all that is of a woman from the house, if it is looked on; nor it lawless to geld either man or any other animals."

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful to you in time of war, as not to suffer you to be free from disturbance. And may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either unprepared or unprovided, or unexpectedly, or in times of war, let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprized beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when occasion offers, and not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby preserve the land without war, which neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established: And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you not in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your children, be done out of your borders: but when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of them before you come to war: and they shall, with your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be our gain, but what will they have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a line of conduct how to be greatest quarrels among you; for these different commanders, besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body, and hardness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the sight of the enemies, and be made in war the instruments of your enemies. Do you also give leave to those who have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those who have planted vines, or reared, or made them fruit, or wine vessels, or given to them the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked, by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if the vine, for instance, they would have a just plea against you; because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your children, you must not be afraid to beat your wives. For you and your wives have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the Cannanites, for as to that people, God has destroyed the whole nation. And when destroy the city, slay the inhabitants, and cut off their line of posterity, and put them to the sword, so as to reduce them to nothing. They are a countenance to the others living in the land. And if you are not in war with them, let them help you in time of war, and observe the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he rend them to a poise, to be the Israelites, and left it to them in the holy book. It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereo all things have happened all along; and do still happen to us; and let us be fit to take advantage of all. Accordingly he delivered these books to the priests; with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He wrote, and left it to them to write, when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them, for what mischief they did them, when they were in the wilderness: and that when they had got possession of the land of the Cannanites, and when they had destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to have done, they should not forget the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the army should be so divided, between the tribes should stand, and each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses said to have no oxen which are sold, but only bulls and cows in Judea.

* This law against castration, even of brutes, is said to be so rigorous elsewhere, as to inflict death on him that does it, which seems only a Pharisitical interpretation in the days of Josephus of that law, Lev. xxii. 30. and xxiii. 39; only we may hence observe, that the Jews could then...
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them, while the other wished them all manner of happiness also; and when these last put up the like prayers, the former prayed for them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of them, that they might have the blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the backs of some of the leaves of the book, to say also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt-offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the considerations which the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children, to a congrega-
tion, as so the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of any other motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be deferred to these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dis-semble of the gifts of the land, or of the fruits of the earth, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and, if possible, should not leave the least footstep of unkind-ness: but that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses took to him also by what means their sacrifices might be most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of the stones [in the high priest's breastplate] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also, prophesying that they should have no more rain, when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars and in peace, and had composed them a table, according to the multitude of the people, he foretold, as God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be without fruit, yet with the most abundant of their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would repent, when that repentance would never profit them under their sufferings. Yet (said he) will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not coining, and returning to the former form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him, "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be without fruit, yet with the most abundant of their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would repent, when that repentance would never profit them under their sufferings. Yet (said he) will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not coining, and returning to the former form of government,"

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had composed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my forefathers, and God has determined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered you from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the ministrations I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on several occasions showed himself favourable to us: or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to a happy conclusion, by making me use of all the means I could, and by his own special intercession for you. I shall therefore be ready to depart, and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if so, continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly a human legi-
slator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the measure of the crimes of one of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you!"

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, he added, what would befall to every one of their tribes afterward; and in addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch that even the women, by beating their breasts, made manifest the deep concern that was amongst the people. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue, and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strong reason to think that they would he much for him. The old grievous, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but the same reason, that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the people, when Moses himself was the legislator himself; for although he was always persuade that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, he lamented his departure for himself, and trusted that he left himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him, weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bade them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart accord-
ing as he had commanded, seeing that he had himself enjoined them, though weeping still toward one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua his commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called 'Abarim,' (which is a very high mountain situated over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a Scripture Politics, p. 55, 56; and this matter were brought in, because they "did not ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord."—Josh. ix. 16.

16. Since Joshua was in the nature of a military, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, Dom. xxxiii, 6; that Moses blessed every one of the tribes of Is-
rael, it is evident that those names were as it were the military titles of the tribes, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Latin versions, copies.
ANTTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate: and as he was going to embrace Elenazar and Joshua, and was still discoursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all one hundred and twelve years, with a very long and strong life; and on one month, he was the people's ruler: and he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians 'Odystrus,' but by us 'Adar,' on the first day of the month. He was one of all men that lived all his days, in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking; in addressing the multitude, and, as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army, as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days; nor did any among them so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses; nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those that were not so; for the laws were so severe, and indeed inscrutable, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only the strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whether they went to eat their supper: which supper when they had done, and considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come from the Hebrews' camp, to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered; so he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and get from them the business as soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under the stalks of flax which were laid to dry on the top of her house. So they were brought before the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sunsetting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king; so these messengers being thus deluded by the woman, and sus-
BOOK V.—CHAP. I.

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

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

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

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were affrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the way, and others by falling on the wall, and the rest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, and by their going in, the river, as strong as the Hebrews were come out of it, arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude or before.
laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened heretofore we shall speak of hereafter."

It is remarkable how much silver and gold, and besides those of brass, etc., that was heaped together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage; what Josephus delivers to the priests to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. But there was one 'Achar,' the son of 

11. Now, the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called 'Gilgal,' which denotes 'liber-

12. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take a city situated near him, which was called Jarmuth, and they put upon the fight of the people of Ai with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, 'it made them very sad, and exceedingly disconsolate; but so much beheld, but from himself also.

13. Now, a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take a city situated near him, which was called Jarmuth, and they put upon the fight of the people of Ai with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, 'it made them very sad, and exceedingly disconsolate; but so much beheld, but from himself also.

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face; whereupon God answered him, "That he should rise up, and pun-

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them back to Ai; and having laid an ambush round about the city, he attack the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them out a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despoised them as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle; after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front: he then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, and killed all of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly, these men took the city, and slew all that they found; and Joshua, who had come against him, to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away; and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched, as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about the fields in a scattered condition, and were noway able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this ca

* Upon occasion of this deviation of Jericho to destruction, and the exemplary punishment of Achar, who broke that 'charem,' or 'sanctum,' and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, II. 1. 1 Kig. x. 54. as also of the punishment of Saul, for breaking the like charem, or sanctuary, and of the destruction of the Amalekites, I. 1. 1 Sam. xv. 24. it was a matter not what the true meaning of that law, Lev. xxvi. 85. "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be consumed; but he shall be burnt with fire." I. e. whatever any of the Jews' public enemies had been, for their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction, according to the law, they were either generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those nations were all consumed, 1 Sam. xv. 18. It was utterly unlawful to permit those enemies to be redeemed; but they were to be utterly destroyed. See also Num. xxii. 2, 3.

* That the name of this thief was not 'Achar, as in the common copies, but 'Achaz, as here in Josephus, and in the army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what them hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we in the past with such difficulties have our first at-

* Here Dr. Bernard very justly observes, that a few words are dropped out of Josephus's copies, on account of the repetition of the word 'objection,' and that it ought to be restored. I. e. I said that weighed the weights, and one of silver that weighed 500 shekels," as in our other copies, Joshua vi. 31.

* Dr. Bernard, and apprever of Josephus's interpretation of Gilgal for Jericho. See Josh. v. 8.
family was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country, and it upon their return, they had divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to Jerusalem, when they saw what mischief had been done, were not under any notion of making peace to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him; for as he made war to destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cephear and Kirihjeirim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them; so when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the fury of this great camp at the head of all the Hebrews: when they had obtained an agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing well for the city, were sent by those of the Canaanites. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger; namely, by saying that they bare no relation to the city, and that they fell upon them by surprise, and they were far distant from them: and they said farther, that they came a long way on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of their trust in what they said, he had the habit they were in; for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey, for indeed they took torn garments on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumcised cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, that they were friends of the Hebrews; and that they inhabited among them, and on such occasions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of all Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak, and, showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly, Joshua believing what they said, and that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, swears to them, that they would esteem them their friends and associates; and would attempt nothing that should be saecular against them, the multitude also assent at last to the league. And, by the advice of these men, having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home; but when Joshua led his army to the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had practised; but it upon their return, they had divided all the spoils among the soldiers, that they might not break the oath they had made to them; and ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security, even in the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua; so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join together, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their tents near Gilgal, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those who were under the league of friendship with the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly, Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he overtook them as they were going up to the siege, and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. This place is called Bethhoron. When the king of Jerusalem saw himself assisted, he declared by thunders and thunderbolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover, it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might not come to too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch, that Joshua took the kings, who were hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, the Israelites cried out in the temple.

18. Those kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, returned into their own contiguous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people, of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of people were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it; so the kings that lived about mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philitis, pitched their camp at Ieroh, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. The number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself and the Israelites confirmed by Isaiah, xxvii. 1 ; by Habakkuk, iii. 11, and by the son of Sirach, Ecclus. xiv. 4. In the Wisdom of Solomon, he is said to have had a dream of the division, so double, to this and the like miraculous standing still and going back; in the days of Joshua and Hosiah. They have better reasons for the expression than the Canaanites in them; they have not forsaken their ways from ancient generations, unless it were when God enjoined them [so to do] by the command of his servants. See Anaheim, Res. cons., part 1. p. 12.

* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon was physical and real, by the handwriting of Solomon, but to be understood more of a manner of speech, so that the sun and moon had about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by several philosophers, believing the sun and moon as stationary, while white clouds and the light did the revolutions, so that the intervened clouds occurring among the stars, the philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Joshua now lost, Josh. xii. 13; and in the books laid up in the temple, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. 1. sect. 7.
together with them. As also, he thought it reason-
able that they should send one man out of
every tribe, and be such as had the testimony of
for the faithfulness of the land, and
without any falsehood or deceit
should inform them of its real

21. Now Joshua, when he had said to
them, found that the multitude approved of
his proceeding. He therefore assembled the
whole nation, and sent with them some
the country, and sent with them some geometrical
who could not easily fail of knowing the truth,
on account of their skill in that art. He also
gave them a large amount to estimate the
length of that part of the land that was most
fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the
nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large
palmis, and such as are exceeding fit to produce
fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other
parts of the country, might be reckoned exceed-
ningly fruitful, yet if they be compared with the
fields about Jericho, and to those that belong
to Jerusalem, it will appear to be of no account at all.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar and the
senate, and with them the heads of the tribes,
and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and
to the half tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimen-
sions of the land, and gave a portion to the half
of that tribe which was in all number ten,
travelled all about, and made an estimation of the
land, and in the seventh month came to him to
the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the ta-
bernacle.

23. Now in the fifth year was now past,
and there was not one of the Canaanites remaining
any longer. They that had retired left the
regions of great
strength. So Joshua removed his camp to
the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle
in the city of Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for
it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such
time as the Israelites would build a temple; and from thence he went to She-
chem, together with all the people, and raised an
altar where Moses had before directed; then
did they all come, and place on the
mount Gerizzim, and the other on mount Ebal," on which mountain the altar was; he also
placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests.
And when they had sacrificed and denounced the
[the future] city of Ephraim, that is, Bethel,
which lay upon the
altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that
the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be
taken, not only because they were situated in such
strategic positions, but also because the walls themselves, which being built round about
the nature of the strength of the places on which the
cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their
enemies from besieging them, and of making
those who attempted their capture a sacrifice to
the Canaanites had learned, that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them,
and they were wary all that time in making their
captious, and gathered them together to a congrega-
tion at Shiloh; and when they, with
the Israelites, came thither, he ob-
served to them, what prosperous success they
had already had, and what glorious things had been done,
and those such as were worthy of that God
who enabled them to do those things, and worth of
the virtue of those laws which they followed.
He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings
that ventured to give them battle were overcome,
and forty kings that had reigned in the land,
that confided in their own power, and fought
with them, was utterly destroyed, so that not too many as any of their posterity remained.
And as for
these cities, since some of them were taken,
but the others were not, he said that it was their fault;
that they had undergone, being their own kindred,
should now be dismissed and sent home, and
should have thanks for the pains they had taken

* Of the situation of this altar, see Euseby on the Old
Testament, p. 170, 171.
BOOK V.—CHAP. 1

28. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the names of the sons of Cañas, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and a half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of its inhabitants, who being the last of the Canaanites to be possessed, as we have showed already: but the part about Sikan, as also those that belonged to the Arkites and the Anathites, and the Ardmanites, were not yet regularly disposed of.

29. And Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do, (as did those that succeeded him in the government,) took little care of what was for the advantage of the public; so he gave it in charge to every tribe, to leave no remainder of the race of the Amorites in the land that was divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, that they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and the observance of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover, he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he gave to the tribe of Joseph on both sides of Jordan, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitious that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were, of the tribe of Judah, Hebron; and of that of Ephraim, Shechem; and of the tribe of Manasseh, the place of the Upper Gilead. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an abundance of great riches, both in general, and every one in particular, and this is a grand augmentation of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

29. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan; for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them: "Since God, who is the Father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has given us this land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as we have for ever; and since you have with alacrity followed me, and have not been afraid of that assistance, on all occasions according to my command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should tarry on your altars; for when, upon the completion of the work, we again stand in need of it, we may readily have it for any future emergency, and not tire you out any more now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks, for the dangers you have undergone with us; and we do not it at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from you, and how you have put off the enjoyment of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good-will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity before you have assisted us. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of great riches, and will carry home with you much profit with gold and silver, and, what is more than all these, our good will, and our love to you, which will enable you to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required you to do, and in which he himself was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyfully to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, that because this river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he had ordained, and are most carefully to observe; because while you are in this situation, you shall also show yourself merciful and assisting to us, for if you imitate the other nations, and break those laws, he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in number according to the tribes, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes; and indeed they hardly knew how to part from one another.

30. Now when the tribe of Reubel, and that of God, as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the other side of Jordan, at the place of Beth-abridah, in the country of Gilead. The posterity of Joseph also had built an altar on the other side: but when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not tarry to hear what Joshua had enjoined them to do, they were disposed to it by the way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking this defamatory report, as if it were built for divine worship, was not a little surprised in spirit, and they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar, and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country, for they did not think it fit to regard it in the light of a work of the fury or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped: so these men put themselves in array for war; but Joshua, and Eleazar the high priest, and the scribes, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterward, if they found that their intention was not wicked, that they should at once go and build an altar upon the banks. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, who, when, upon their arrival, they saw that they had built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phinehas stood up and said, "That the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not so look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to make the battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an embassy to their kindred, that we might learn, if there be any persons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too harsh in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and that your intention was not wicked; and this accusation prove true: for we can hardly suppose that you who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which give the angels a greater advantage over us, who are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that
ARK, and that after which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime, if you remember that you have no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind, the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over Jordan and destroy you. You shall defend God; when all the ten tribes of you as of men nowaying differing from the Canaanites, shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine, that because you are got over the river, that God has forgot you? Wherever you are you every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to overrun his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby; but if you think otherwise, you will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your fathers, and learn to let off the new crime for which you are so justly blamed, and we beseech you, by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take, therefore, such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of the whole part of Israel, are the business you are therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue in your purpose, and to experience deeds and war thereafter.

29. When Phineas had discourse thus, the governors of the assembly and the whole multitude began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what they were accused of, and they said: "The more they either would not depart from the resolution they bare to them selves, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation; and they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices; that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a command to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country; but not a handle for transgressing them, as you suspect; and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: what we have done is only that which every one of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the porter of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices." 

30. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received: now Joshua was glad that this was under no necessity of God, and them his array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly, he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same: so Joshua after that

* Since not only the Prophecies and Seidras, but an earlier author, Moses Cressen, p. 28, 33, and perhaps from his original author, Moses Canon, as old as Alexander the Great, sets down the famous inscription at Tanger concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, which must convince that author's words: "The people of those cities who were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua the robber, and are conquered now." See the above passage. Nor is it to be found worthy of our notice, what Moses Cressen, p. 31, 33, and this upon a diligent examination, viz. that "one of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the sacrifice of his son, and offered himself and his family or tribe, and that this was confirmed by the manner of the same family or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites." 

1 By prophesying, when spoken of a high priest, Josephus, both here and frequently elsewhere, means me more converting God's will, they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites: for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God in this matter. But we can see the opinion of the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2 But the authors of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezeck, having put the government into the hands of Abdielbezek, which name denotes the lord of Bezek, and who is called the lord, because he is called lord. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: but when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes above men-
BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

No other text provided.
lem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodging somewhere nearer together before they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodgings among strangers, for the city belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take his wife with him in some friendly city. Accordingly, he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, who he was! and for what reason he came thither so late? and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, that he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was going home, but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim, an old man, and because of their kindness, as they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, came and found the woman, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contending the weakness and fear of the man's family, and whatever the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: and when they prevailed, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous submission, and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon, when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them suffer, he delivered his own daughter to them, and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests; supposing that he himself suffered no great injury to himself. When they had despatched with those women, they went away, and went to Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crime committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, not only to him, but also for what had been done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them, wanting themselves to be now ready to lay in war, neither in their number, nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparations for war, for they were so insidiously mad, as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would stand in their way, nor would they make war, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was twenty thousand and six hundred; five hundred of whom were excellent at striking stones with their left hands, inasmuch that when the battle was joined at Gibeah, the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to their camps with great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain, and the rest deserted the field, the rest of them turning back towards their cities. So they came to Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day; and besought God by Phineas, the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and the tabernacle was ever at Bethel; only so far it is true, that Shiloh, the place of the tabernacle in the days of the Judges, was not far from Bethel.
BOOK V.—CHAP. III.

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

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts; they laid the one-half of them in ambush about the city of Gibeon by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by way of ambush to destroy them entirely from the city, and the other followed the way they came as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city, as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as a general rout. But when their parents came, and endeavored to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell thee, but they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over angry to the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise to too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, the two hundred Benjamites lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could be concealed. Accordingly, the virgins came along playing, and sung, desiring to know what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so that they lay scattered in the road rose up and caught hold of them: and this was done by this mean proceeding following, and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned. For the Israelites, and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAP. III.

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

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

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unrea-
dy of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged them-
selves farther in living according to their own pleasures, and going to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were com-
mon among the Cannanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost their happy state, which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by which the Chusians, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, as well as the people of many other nations, were subdued. When they were conquered, they were taken by force; and there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner. The king, whose name was Othniah, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, an active man, and of great courage. He had an admoni-
tion from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a state, that they were made a torment to him. He therefore boldly revolted against them, and when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstance, or from affection to the king, did not come,) he prevailed on to assist him, who was the first of all destroy-
ed that garrison which Chusian had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so that joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Ephra-
mites. Hereupon Othniah, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people, and when he had re-
rulled them forty years, he died.

CHAP. IV.

How our People served the Moabites eighteen Years, and were then delivered from Slavery by one Ethud, who retained the Dominion Eighty Years.

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

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Ben-
jamin, whose name was Ethud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage and bold under-
takings, and of a very strong body, fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with the king, and by that means he was received into his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, whereby he was also be-
loved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, he perceived that the king had a sort of weapon, a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and the mid-
dle of the day, when the guards were not strict-
ly on their watch, both because of the heat, and the people were going to dinner. The king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways, because he had a mind to talk with Ethud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ethud lest he should miss his opportunity, and therefore, as soon as he was raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream; so Ethud smote him to the heart, and bent him with his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's ser-
voats were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ethud informed the people of Jer-
icho what he had done, and exhorted them to re-
cover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messen-
gers over the country, that should sound trump-
ets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. The attend-
ants of Ethud being ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour, and when they found him dead they became in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them fell slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and many of them killed at the ford, and one of them, among the rest, made his way to the city of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, and sick one of them out of their hands; and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from slavery under the Moabites. Ethud also was on this account disgraced with the government over all the mul-
titude, and died after he had held the government eighty years. He was a man worthy of com-
mandation, even besides what he deserved for the formentioned act of his. After him Shamin-
gar, the son of Athan was dead for their gov-
ernor, but died in the first year of his govern-
ment.

* It appears by the sacred history, Judges i. 10; iii. 12, that Ethud's pavilion, or palace, was at the city of palm-
trees, at the place where Jericho stood is called after its name, Jericho, that is, at the foot of the demolish-
ed city. Accordingly, Jerome says, it was at Jericho, either in that fine country of palm-trees, upon or near to the same spot of ground on which Jericho had formerly stood, or on the same spot where it was rebuilt by the Israelites. Our other copies that avoid its proper name, Jericho, and call it the city of palm-trees only, speak here more accu-
rately than Josephus.

These 80 years for the government of Ethud are neces-
sary to Josephus's usual large numbers between the eras and the building of the temple, of 592 or 612 years, but not to the smallest number of 480 years, 1 Kings, vi. 1, which lesser number Josephus seems sometimes to have followed. It was at length, no doubt, intimated, it is said by Josephus, that here was hardly a breathing time for the Israelites before Jabin came and enslaved them. This agrees with Judges v. 25., where a king was thought to have reigned only 8 years instead of 80; as had that of Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autop. L. iii. and this must probably from his copy of Josephus.
How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under Slavery for twenty years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty Years.

§ 1. And now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their ways and be not afraid of future misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: so when they were at length become penitent, and were determined to learn that those misfortunes arose from their contempt of the laws, they beheld Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a Bee,) to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to avenge their own wrongs upon them by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali (now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies lightning.)

2. Now for Barak, about ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be their general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not return to this enterprise, unless thou uphast and pitched their camp at mount Tabor, where, at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites and Barak himself were so afraid as to depart; but as they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy, that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance. The battle began; and when they were come to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the men in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much inconvenice the Israelites as the Canaanites, on account of their horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was Jael, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, Jael took an iron nail and drove it through his temples with a hammer into the floor: and when Barak came, a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor: and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years.

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

§ 1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead, whose deaths happened about the same time, afterward the Midianites called the Amalekites and Aramains to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off of the prey. But now they were much more than three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsaking the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved there within whatsoever they could lay up of those enemies, the Midianites made expeditions in harvest time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, so that when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed, there was a famine, and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

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

3. Now therefore, as Gideon was relating this to some you men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God spake by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, "That man kinds were too foul of themselves, and were enemies to such as exulted in virtue: now, that they might know that God was with him, and about to give him this victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, and he prayed to God to send his assistance about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that went down on their knees, and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously; so God bid him take these men and attack the enemy. Accord-
lingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

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

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

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garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophrah, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon, that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of comeliness, and of comeliness, he obeyed, said, "That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning that made him attack the enemy without them, but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as to himself, and so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: he thought he saw a barley cake, such a one as could hardly be eaten by men, it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers.

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

chap. vii.

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

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, but he had also one that was spurious, by his concubine Dinah, which when she was old, he sent out of his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham; for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, inflicted of obeying the laws, and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now, when on a certain time there was a public quarrel with Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city of Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the people; and said: 'If you desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from another source; and who can be thought to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and said: 'I will deliver the kingdom, it is a sort of wood good for firing.' This was the way the government, and to be a new-born in the exercise of it, but that then they must sit down under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, what that he said to him, laughing matter: for that when they had experienced
BOOK V.—CHAP. VII.

Many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he overruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren: and that he was no better than a fire himself. So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repeated themselves of having slain the, Gideon, drove Abimelech, who was one of them, out from their cattle, and the tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the grapes, lest they should fall upon and be ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the Magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech’s followers, and destroyed them.

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

5. Now Abimelech, when he had defrightened the Israelites with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority. He now took a hundred men of his own, and no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly, he marched to Thebez, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereinunto the king fled, he sent to the gates, and commanded them to besige it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of millstone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down, and desired his armour-bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman; who did what he was bid to do. So he underwent his death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brother, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the Magistrates, who were the Shechemites, was according to the prediction of Jotham. However, the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to the Philistines.

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

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God and the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines hadthem, and laid down the land of them, with their cities, and were as a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest: but the Hebrews being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was returned to his former kindness.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but were vanquished. Now one of the Ammonites who was a powerful man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance: his name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father’s virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man; the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assistance, and promised him dominion over them all his lifetime. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and could make no use of it, as is related, so they returned, and the Ammonites and the Philistines entered into Gilead, and carried away away the inhabitants, and they were pressed to flee into the desert, and the desert to the sea; and so they were delivered into their hands, and so the Israelites were again pressed into the sea.
this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the son, but only a sister, as a mother, that was not introduced among them by his father's kindness, and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself]. So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and sware that they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war. 9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city of Mispeh, and sent amissage to the Ammonites, [King] to give him possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him. He charged his paternal possession with their land. But Jephtha returned this answer, That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them, since they had taken it in battle; and that neither would he rescind from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had not inhabited above three hundred years, but would fight with them about it. He had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had vowed to perform sacred offices; and if he came home in safety, he vowed to-march towards the enemies. As soon as he should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minth. He then passed over to the land of Gilead, and Ammonites, and overcame many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people, from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back, he fell into a calamity noway correspondent. He sent for the wives that lived there with him, and was angry at finding them there. He took them all alive, and had them put to death. The children which they had had by him were brought up in the army, and were trained in arms. He then proceeded to the Ammonites, and fought with them, and gained the victory. He then took all their cities, and hard measures with them. He had forty sons, and they left thirty grand-children, and marched in state with these seventy, who were their grandsons, and made them all alive after him. He died an old man, and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon. 10. When Izbaz was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon. 11. When Jephtha was dead, Izbaz took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethelium. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country. 14. When Izbaz was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon. 12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country, Sebex, which is a place in the land of Gilead. 13. When Jephtha was dead, Izbaz took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethelium. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country. 15. When Izbaz was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon. 16. When Jephtha was dead, Izbaz took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethelium. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all of whom he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.
diffusely contended with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home, of what the angel had said; and she showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of his astonishment, he asked his wife, in the words of Samson: "What was he, how tall was he, how excited by that passion: but she was desirous of having her husband’s unreasonable sorrow taken away accordingly, she entertained God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel, on the seventh day after his departure, appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that, in the being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel, he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform of all that he had told his wife: but when he said, it was sufficient that she alone knew it, he desired him to tell it to the young man, to tell him to tell him to tell him to tell him to him who was, that when the child was born they might return thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, but that he did not desire the gift of the birth of a son out of the want of anything. And when Manoah had entertained him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, and he said: ‘Nothing shall be more free from the stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality: so he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready, the angel enjoined him to set the loaves and the flesh; and he went to the vessels, upon the rock which, when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed together with the loaves. And the angel ascended, openly, in the sight of the heavens, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bid him to be of good courage, for that God appeared to them so graciously.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her: and they called the child, when he was born, "Samson," which means the one by whom that light on, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Samson made this rejoinder: "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that deceived me, my temptation to you." Accordingly, he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askalonites as he met upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match with them.

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

8. Now when Samson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Eton, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Samson’s going to the Philistines, by which they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Samson, and put him into their power. So they, being desirous not to be blamed themselves, came to the people of Timnath, armed with all the help of the Philistines, and complained to Samson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him, that they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so that they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly extraordinary commission and strength from God for the judging and avenging his people Israel, without any proper prophetic revelations at all.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

ally, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his enemies. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines: and when they came to a certain place, which is now called 'The Jaw-bone,' on account of the great adsorbed by Samson, he was bold it had no particular name at all, the Philis-
tines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet him with joy, and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired. But that, when he fell to catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

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

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

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines; her name was Delilah, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines came to her, and with promises induced her to get out of Samson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire the actions he had done, and endeavored to get out of him by subtlety by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Samson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not lost his senses, replied, that he thought he was so strong as to be able to break with his teeth a green wither of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house, and when he was disordered in drink, and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withes, and then, upon her awakening him, she told him none of the people were upon him; but he broke the withes, and endeavored to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Samson had with her, pretended to be his lover, but Samson, though of confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and said, that if she would bind him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third time, that his hair should be woven into a web; but, even upon doing this, she was not able to overcome him. At last Samson, upon Delilah's prayer, (for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,) was desirous to please her, and told her, that 'God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that he made it a test, that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair.' When she had heard all this, and that he was deprived of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not strong enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among the Philistines.

12. But in process of time Samson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together (now they were in a tower, and supported by two pillars;) so they sent for Samson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not add to his revenge. At first whose he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired that he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to the table, he seized both of the supports of the house, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing its pillars, with the three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Samson with them. And such was the end of Samson, who had ruled over the Philis-
tines twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being enamored by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to such sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But thus went away his body, and was buried in the same name in all the past ages. See Antiqu. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 6.

* This fountain, called Lehi, or the Jaw-bone, is still in being, as travellers assure us, and was known by this very name at the days of Josephus, and has been shown by the same name in all the past ages. See Antiqu. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 6.

CHAP. IX.

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

§ 1. Now after the death of Samson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support

1 See this justly observed in the Apostolical Constitution. B. vii. ch. xxxvii. that Samson's prayer was heard but that it was before this his transgressions.
his family under so sore a distress, took him to Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in a few years after, of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons, died: and Naomi, being very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dead had left her, and there had been none to help her, she was that she had gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a nourishing condition. Elimelech died, and his sons died; but Naomi, that she might think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her, she could not persuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also; and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were, and not to think of leaving their own country, and parted with them, and inquired of them how long she might expect to see them. And as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here, “He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take her to wife, he shall say, he or she, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee according to the law.”

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now, about noon, Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also; and when he was come, he said, “Dost not thou know that this is my brother Elimelech’s son?” He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, “Thou must not remember this thy father-in-law’s fields, according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the laws, in case thou wilt retain their fields.”

So the man yielded up both the field and the woman to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and sit down in his place, according to the law; and when this was done, Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year’s time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women called him Obed, as being to he brought up in order to be sufficiency to her in her old age, for Obed, in the Hebrew dialect, signifies a servant. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and had dominion over the land of Israel, and of Judah twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate this history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who, without difficulty, can raise those that are of low estate, and in the lowest condition, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Birth of Samuel; and how he foretold the Calamity that befell the Sons of Elah.

§ 1. And now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. Now this occasion was that a priest had two sons, Hophni and Phinehas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men and of impietiy towards God, and abstained from no kind of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had, others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God, and of their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their life was no better than tyranny. Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to
ANTIOCHQUES OF THE JEWS.

pection of the pardon of his sons, but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, as being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly."

CHAP. XI.

Herein is declared what befell the Sons of Eli, the Ark, and the People; and how Eli himself died miserably.

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

2. So the Hebrews, being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate of young men; and when they desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had conceived to deliver the ark to Phineas was of greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest with it, having received a charge from their father, that when they perceived that they were too near the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him, by reason of the great age of his parent. So when the Hebrews were full of courage, supposing that by the coming of the ark they should be too hard for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; and thought that the ark, and the power of God that was with it, was all in the ark, but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

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

4. On this occasion his son Phineas's wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However, she bore a son at seven months, who lived, and to whom they gave the name of Ichabod, which means Signification from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as he saith, are not prophesying in the spirit and power of Samuel, spoken, have been told of these days. See Acts xiii. 32; the others were rather sometimes called righteous men, Matt. xx. 17.
BOOK VI.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OFThirty-two Years.—From the Death of Eli to the Death of Saul.

CHAP. I.

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

§ 1. When the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by the door of the temple, as a sign of contempt on their spoil; but when they went into their temple, the next morning, to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark; for he lay along, as having fallen down from the house where he had stood on the night before; but they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to Dagon, and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were the more astonished; and in the months of that year, at a feast which they held, they sent him to Gaza, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said, they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of those calamities to it, because they could not have such a power and force upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: so they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them; for although there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel of the Philistines was well advised, as was described—was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said, it was not right either to send the ark away, or to detain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice, and put them in the place of those that destroyed their country, to put them in a bag, and lay them upon the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch kine to it, but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove a hindrance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive those milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it as it were without their ways met, and still to yoke the cart to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their calamities; and if they turned into another road, they said, “We will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it.”

*Drogue, a famous maritime god or idol, is generally supposed to have been a man above the narwhal, and like a fish beneath it.*

1 Spenheim informs us here, that upon the coins of Tanais, and of other cities, a seated man is engraved, together with Apollo Sinthicus, or Apollo, the driver of the chariot, as account of his being supposed to have fixed certain tracts of ground from those mice; which mice show how great a judgment such mice have sometimes been, and how the deliverance from them was then esteemed the effect of a divine power; which observations are highly suitable to this history.

*This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Sanchoniathon’s account, under his ninth generation, that Aegyptus, or Aegyptus the husbandman, had a much-worshipped white horse, carried about by one or more yoke of oxen, or kine, in Phœnicia, in the north of the island of the Philistines, See Cambriand’s Sanchoniathon, p. 37, 374, and REW on the Old Testament. Appendix. p. 172.*
3. So they determined that these men speak well; and they immediately made them their officers accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there, and went their ways; but the king went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the true Israelites not far from this, named Bethshemesh, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village who were very grieved; for it being then summer time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gathering in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart; and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and fasted, they placed the ark and the images there. And thus this thing offered blessings it is not possible you should attain, neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the multitude of your assembling; but by the multitude of your assiduousness, and by the presence of God with you, in these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises. When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called Mizpeh, which signified, the watchtower, and there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. But in their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they were scattered, they might take them by surprise. This thing afflicted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, "that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received; and that we, as we have hitherto been in war with them, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths, (to be obedient,) our enemies are making an expedition against us, when we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hence of him he said to them, they will be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought the Lord to show his protection to them when they should fight with the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly, God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, as much as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled as in order to take part in the battle, they had those things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body; for in the first place, God disturbed the enemy's army out of their march and made that ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, so much that, by its trembling, he made some un-
as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the proper manner, he recommended him to be begoggled of him, and intreated him to appoint some person to be over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions. These words greatly affected Samuel, and he had a constant innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingling government, for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a wise and happy disposition: nor could he either think of eating, or sleeping, or doing any work, for the torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and resolved these notions in his mind.

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

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what government would proceed from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle: "For know ye (said he) that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will make them judges, and make them officers, and captains of their armies, and of their war chariots, and of their war horses, and of their war chariots; they will make them their king's counselors, and their officers for all sorts of work, which women slave, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will, besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants; and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become noway superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereupon be suborned by him to return him repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, nor you, any person to suffer the punishment of your evil conduct has deserved."
anted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter; for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and such an one as they should always have under kingly government, that they should have the same form of government also. So when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from the evil that they had determined, and that they would not make choice, but the king, he said, "Go thou every one home for the present; when it is fit, I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God who it is that he will give you for your king."

CHAP. IV.

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

§ 1. There was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son, a young man, of fair visage, and goodly appearance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him; they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she-asses that were under one of the pastures near them, and feared they would be molested with them, and he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had; so he sent out his son, and one servant with him, to search for the beasts; but when he had found them, they came to the tribe in which he was. When he saw that they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they would know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had still the fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that; for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward. So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they lit upon certain maidens going to fetch water; and when they asked them which was the prophet's house? They showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had gathered many together to feast with him on this very account; for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin, about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that there being some-one come; and when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to take him to him, and he brought him to the upper house; for he said he was a stranger, and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he was himself the person, he led him in to receive him, and assured him that the asses were found where he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe so small to have been made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellst me this in jest, and maketh me object of laughter, when thou dost discover me to be of greater matters than what I am." For ever after, the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were seventy in number; and he gave him the cup to drink to the went to seek the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, all the night.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but not to tell him whom he was; but as for him to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the man whom he had given to him, and said, "Be thou a king by the ordination of God, against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by these; of this thou shalt have a sign: that this day shall be a sign to thee, and as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of whom wilt see carry three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goat, and the third carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves; which thou shalt accept of. And thense thou shalt come to a plaster of Rachel's Monument, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the divine Spirit, and prophets among them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, 'Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness?' And when these signs shall be fulfilled, then shall thou know that thou art the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel. 3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than any of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel, and how it pleased God that the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy; and when such things are heard, they are not easily forgotten by any of those to whom they are told, and those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above that he was not a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these 71 members of the Jewish Sanhedrim upon all occasions, which yet we never read that he took any notice of. An instance of this divine fury we have after this in Saul, chap. v. sect. 2, 3; 1 Sam. xii. 6. See also the 2 Sam. Judg. iv. 10; xvi. 34; xxii. 35; and xiv. 6.
the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a true friend, neither are among our intimate and kind friends, nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mizpeh, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: That “when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies to the walls of Jericho, he was not satisfied with the jubilation of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be preserved over by the hands of all the kings of the earth; for God is the rest of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavour to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, that the Lord should be your King, I will not prevail over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and scribes, and cast lots.”

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, and the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called Matri was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the Saul was taken, he was the only child of his family, and immediately went away, and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he would not have it supposed of concern to himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not in the least show any sign of it, of any sort, he was appointed to be the lord of so many great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made his appearance not as a king, immediately availed himself, and made no signs of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they went to look for him, and they could not find him, and when he was, he set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, God gives you this man to be your king: see how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion. So as soon as the people had made acclamation, God was the king! the prophet took down what was written on the book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born: and many good men there were who paid him the greatest respect, two of his chief lieutenants were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did he in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

* Take here Theodore's note, cited by Dr. H. Mor. : "So that enquires his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: he therefore that plucks out that eye makes man useless in war."
beast the emasures of his crew, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were未经授权，请勿将古文内容直接移动至其他文件。
How the Philistines made another Expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his body, and abode in the city of Bethel; but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of Philistines that was not considered, and the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had fortified themselves to carry away every instrument of iron, or all to make use of any instrument of any sort, whatsoever.

And on account of this prohibition it was, that the husbandmen, if they had occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it was an axe, or a cleaver, or an edge, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it.

Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and looking on this contempt as a terrible thing, they sent therefore a great garrison against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses, and they pitched their camp at the city of Michmash.

When Saul, the king of the Hebrews, heard of this, he gathered together all the people of the city of Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising what they did, and thought it as nothing, but so great, but that they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were afraid of a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves under the ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reuben.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war, and the public affairs: so he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices, and then join battle with their enemies. So he waited, as the prophet sent to him to do, yet did not he, however, observe the command that was given him; but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices, and offered them; and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and said not till his command, wherein being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed divine offices for Saul and the Israelites, and the Philistines in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said, "That he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so slow in offering his sacrifices, because of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that he and his son, and Abinadab the high priest, were said to have been taken by the Philistines; to which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly, if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present business, and the salvation of thy people, and the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel, being grieved at what had happened, returned home; but he left a great part of this store, and of the property of the whole king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, as no more than six hundred men were with them. But as he and his son, and Abinadab the high priest, and the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go out to meet the Philistines, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in tra Apion, B. ii. sect. 30, where Josephus speaks of that matter; though it must be noted, that it seems, at least in these instances, that good men did not always immediately approve of such divine severity. There seems to be one instance, 1 Sam. vi. 19, 20; another, 1 Sam. xi. 3; and a third, 2 Sam. vi. 8, 9; 1 Kings. vii. 2 to 6; though they all at last acquiesced in the divine counsel, as knowing that God is with them men.

1 By this answer of Samuel, and that from a divine command then is fuller in 1 Sam. XIII. 14; and by that parallel note in the Apostolical Constitutions just now quoted, concerning the great wickedness of Saul in starving, even under the seeming necessity of affairs, to usurp the priest's office, and offer sacrifice without the priest, we are in some degree able to answer that question, which I have ever observed, whether there were a city or country of lay Christians without any clergyman, it was lawful for the laity alone to baptise, or celebrate the eucharist, &c. or indeed whether they alone could ordain others in the same; for the due performance of such ecclesiastical ministrations or, whether they ought not rather, till they procure clergymen to come among them, to confine themselves within those bounds of piety and Christianity which belong alone to the laity? such particularly as are recom- mended in special to these, especially those of the laity, which peculiarly concern the laity, and are instan- ted in Clement's undoubted epistle sect. 40; to which latter opinion I incline.
the attempt, Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice, which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, and the greater part of the country round about was covered with wood, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the camp itself; but because they thought it a great impossibility, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon, therefore, as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack the enemy; and if, when they see us, they bid us come up to them, that they may give us a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approaching to the enemy's camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves!" and they said to one another, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately set the people in motion, that they might be seen by their enemies; so he changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength: from thence they crept out with great labour and difficulty, and they thereby excited their enemies with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them were away from their entire army and fled, but the greatest part not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up, and so they fought one against another; and some of them died in battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.  

4. So it came to pass, that the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. But he did not give any answer: "And not without some cause," said Saul, "does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired before him." To be sure there is some sin against him, that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by Him himself, that though he hath commanded this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him to do so, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan, who stood by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or prophaneness! his answer was this: "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without been informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before unsanctifying; so he left off eating, and said, "His father shall curse me," for in their country, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. But he did not give any answer: "And not without some cause," said Saul, "does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired before him." To be sure there is some sin against him, that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by Him himself, that though he hath commanded this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him to do so, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan, who stood by his father what sin he had been guilty of, and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or prophaneness! his answer was this: "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without being informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before unsanctifying; so he left off eating, and said, "His father shall curse me," for in their country, because, had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies.

6. This rash vow or curse of Saul's, which Josephus says was made to the people, and yet not executed, I suppose principally because it was not done before the sanctuary of God, or in the course of sacrifice, after the manner of the ceremonial law, and in the presence of the people, in the name of the Lord, the supreme God of the universe, and in the name of the Jews.
BOOK VI.—CHAP. VII.

knowing of the cause and oath they had de-
ounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I
tasted of a honeycomb." But Saul swears that
he would slay him, and prefer the observation of
his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature.
And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threaten-
ing of death, but offering himself, and the greatest
consolation to me, that I leave the Hebrews vic-
torious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the
people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for
Jonathan, and they swears that would not
overbear his death; and when he had joined battle
with the enemy, he beat them, and, pursuing them as
they fled, he slew them all. And when that undertaking
agreed to by the king, he set upon the cities of the
Amelekites; he besieged them, and took them by force, partly
by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under
ground, and partly by building walls on the outs-
ides. Some they carved out with furze, and
some they gained by other methods, and after all,
he betook himself to slay the women and the chil-
dren, and thought he did not act therein either
barbarously or inhumanly; first, because they were enemies to
him that was so in love, and in the next place, because it was done by the command
of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He
also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the
beauty and the valor of Agag. And, as he discovered
much, that he thought him worthy of preserva-
tion; yet was not this done, however, according
to the will of God, but by giving way to human
passions, and suffering himself to be moved with
the desire of victory. For he returned to the Heb-
rean a great deal of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other na-
tions: and he made such of the young men that
were remarkable for tallness and comeliness, the
guards of his body.

CHAP. VII.

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

§ 1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to
"That he was sent by God to put him in
mind that God had preferred him above all others,
and that, as a prince, he ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his au-

thority, as considering, that though he had the
domination over the other tribes, yet that God had
the dominion over him, and over all things. That
therefore, and also that he, his uncle's son, for the
Amelekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mis-
chief while they were in the wilderness, and
when, upon their coming out of Egypt, they
were making their way to that country which is
now their own, I ensign thee to punish the Ame-
lекites, by making war upon them, and when
they had subdued them, to leave none of them
alive, but to pursue them through every age, and
to slay them, beginning with the youngest,
infants, requiring this as punishment to be
inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to
our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither assis-
tor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for
your own advantage and possession, but to devote
them literally to God, and, in obedience to the
commands of Moses, to blot out the name of
Ameleak entirely."  

2. But Saul promised to do what he was com-
manded, saying that his obedience to God
would be shown, not only in making war against
the Amelekites, but more fully in the readiness
and quickness of his proceedings, he

The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam.
v. 18: "Go and utterly destroy the sinners the Amelek-
ites." Nor indeed do we ever meet with these Amelekites
but every man and bloodly people, and particularly
seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Is-
made no delay, but immediately gathered to-
gether all his forces: and when he had numbered
them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four
hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the
tribe of Judah, for that truce contained by itself
thirty thousand. Accordingly, Saul made an ir-
ruption into the country of the Amelekites, and
set many men in several parties in ambush at the
river, that so he might not only do them a mis-
chief by open fighting, but might fall upon them
unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby
compass their destruction: and this was the reason
why he set upon the cities of the Amelekites: he
believing them, and took them by force, partly
by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under
ground, and partly by building walls on the outs-
ides. Some they carved out with furze, and
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be gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that an hour man, a mere man, could not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, and indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was not confounded, and he besought God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him; but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, and not deeming it a fit thing to grant him, and to destroy the posterity of (such an) enemy of his, on account of injuries which do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought greater than God willed, before they are aware they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God, who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, that if it pleased God to accept of the meeting of the sheep, and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp!" Saul made answer, that "the people had reserved them for sacrifices; but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, they were entirely exterminated, for he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said that "the king should rejoice with what could be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is worse than these men, when he commands them: that he then looks upon himself as afflicted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be obdurate to him. But that from those who do not offer their sacrifices, whether they were made of gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind the will of God, and that he does not like that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean obligation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, thou art not despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will accept a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction! unless perhaps thou dost imagine that God is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such iniquious behaviour, as in contempt, to let pass by who beseeched thee, Saul. Thee did Saul confess that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said, that it was out of a dread and fear of the king; but he dared not say that he did so of the word of God. And whereas he did not say that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose for their king;"
And when God said it was none of them, he asked why; and he told him, because the king was so beseeching them: and when he said that he had one more named David, but that he was a shephard, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was come they could not possibly have a king. As soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp snout, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to Jesse, as he sat with his other sons; after which he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and with his hand put oil upon his head, and put his hand upon the king, and exorted him to be righteous, and obedience to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would endure for a long time, and that he should be of great splendor, and celebrated in the world: that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nation soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror; and when the two armies were in the field, while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these assurances, sent away: but the divine power depended upon this, that he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and that the two armies should be in the field, while he lived, and he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war: and when David was sent away, Saul said to his sheepe and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing; and when he came again, he challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reproved him, and said that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother’s words, and went away, but still he spoke to some of the soldiers, that he as willing as any to help him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him. And when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, I will not go in body, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great...
3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age: but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was such a match in point of age. So he undertook this enterprise, said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion, and a bear, and took away a lamb from them, and I smitten the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who yet will reduce him unto thy poor."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go then, be thy figment. So he beheld about him his breastplate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet to his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let me put on my armour like a man.

The vengeful spirit is aroused in Saul against David, who has been praised by the Philistines. This provokes Goliath to anger, who threatens to slay the young warrior. Saul provides David with armour, but David prefers to fight in his usual attire.

§ 1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and to dance before the Lord on high. So Saul determined, through envy and hatred, that he would slay him; for he was a young man, and Saul's son Jonathan was dead. Thus Saul said, "That Saul hath slain his many thousands of the Philistines."

The virgins replied, that "David had slain his ten thousands."

Now, when the king heard them singing and praising the Lord, he was exceeding angry, and gave them out in their commendations, and that the greater number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself that there was nothing wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly, he removed him from the station where he was in his presence, and gave him a sword, a spear, and a breastplate, and said, "Doest thou take me not for a man, but a dog? To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog."

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible armament, who was no other than God himself. And taking courage of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slung it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sunk into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath, the Philistines were confounded, and fled before him. And when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and fled in such a manner that they were worse savages from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and chased the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle].

CHAP. X.

Saul envies David for his glorious success, and makes a plan of entrapping him under the promise he made of giving him his daughter in marriage. But this upon condition of his bringing six hundred heads of the Philistines.

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This provoked Goliath to anger, who threatened to give his flesh to the hearts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breastplate, but I have God for my armour, in coming against thee, who will deliver thy life into my hand; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his providence, and that, without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power are useless."

So the Philistine, being terrified by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as though he didn't dare; and when David told him he should slay him, who was both unarmed, and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible armament, who was no other than God himself. And taking courage of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into his shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slung it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sunk into his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned, and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath, the Philistines were confounded, and fled before him. And when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and fled in such a manner that they were worse savages from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and chased the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle].

But David had gone along with him with the utmost confidence, and Saul, accordingly, was greatly surprised in his undertakings. It was impossible that he had not before him, and Saul's daughter was one of the greatest, and most admired ones in the kingdom, and his affection was so great, and so deep, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him, if he will bring me six hundred heads of my enemies." And when David expressed this desire, the example was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by undertaking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines and Arabians.
care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that has done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been brought before him; and I will then inform thee of my father's resolution.

David complied with such advantageous advice, and kept himself thus out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul at a very early hour, and entered in a cheerful and composed manner and began to introduce a discourse about David: "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines?—a man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and deflection, which they underwent for forty days together, when he was not only able enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as was appointed to bring, and had, in the same, my witness, and spouse, so insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation, for thy daughter must be injured at the same time that he is slain; and would be obliged to divide her widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and do not mischief to a man, who, in the first place, hath the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out, and procured rest to thy soul from their inward, and in the second place, hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words; and swore to his son that he would do no harm; for a righteous man doth not discourse properly for the king and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was, that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; with whom he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, ordered him, to come in and play on his harp, and with singing hymns; which, when David did at his command, he was aware of it before it came, and minded it, and fled to his own house, and abode there at that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest should be asleep while he might come to the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her...
own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun see thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity; and may God lengthen it for thy sake: for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she set him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: and after this, so she fitted a bed of his if he was sick, and put under the bed-clothes a goat's liver; and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and then when it was covered, and she made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was athoemic. So when those that were sent told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, and to the king and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick upon him himself, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she left him, to make a sacrifice to the Lord for his preservation; out of fear, for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, (said she,) I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill me as I was, that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him all that his father had done unto him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been noway guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeed- ed well in them by his assistant, and the thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

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

6. And David went thence, and came to Zona than, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what ares were laid for him by his father; and said, "That though he had been guilty of no evil, we had offended against him, yet he was very want- ful to get him killed." Hereupon Jonathan ex- horted him not to give credit to his own suspi- cions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but that if he had heard anything of it, and his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted in other cases, and thus he knew his father's heart and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would be- sure what was said, when he should acquaint him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore to him.

7. Hereupon, when Jonathan found that this in- tenttion of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "What he would have him do for him." To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou maketh me a very envious man, and procume me what I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of thy presence, and come into the field where I was in the case of friends that are gone abroad. It is well that he went, 'then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hands: but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that thou hast sowed damnation. Accordingly, thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the service of mine. And I will write thee some assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wicked- ness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me not." 8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might not more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and sware that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I ap- peal to God, who, as thou seest, is dispersed every where, and knoweth this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking

Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word used here, Cohen; and since the LXX. as well as Josephus, render it the liver of the goat, and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are bore so much to their and probability than of those of others, it is almost unaccountable that our copy of the master of Saul's should be so much as attestate its true interpretation.
1 These violent and wild irritations of Saul seem to me to be founded rather than described by the ancient demons which used to seize him since he was forsaken of God, and which the divine hymns and psalms which were sung to him and by him, were designed to dis- appoint his intentions against innocent David, but to ex- press the terror and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of those his agitation, made violent and wild agi-
dismember in the secretest parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether he be guilty or perversly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, till I make thee a mother of nations, and of kings; whether my father be one of them, or whether myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do: and if it fall out that I die, and meeke children; nor any harm; but thou must not forget what I have desired thee, in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children.

Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way; and the sun was set.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper, and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and his second son Jedidiah on his left hand; other hand, he saw David's seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that his brother had accompanied with the king, he asked Jonathan his brother, whether he had inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, that "he was gone, according to the commandment of the king, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifices; and, (says Jonathan,) if thou wilt give me a command, I will go thither. David saith that the king would be the good-will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but proceeded with him to the uttermost. What was this? He ranagate, and an enemy; and said, "He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them: yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished." And when Jonathan said, in answer, "What had he done, that thou wilt take it so?" He answered, "He is a barren man to express his anger in bare words, but matched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was his own friends; but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

Now, when it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being not able to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both because he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined; but as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to reform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do.

And when Jonathan had done what he had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared, and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and cried in his ears, saying, [200] Be of good courage, [201] man of the Lord; but he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and their death, which such envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So, recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exclaiming one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted sadness.

CHAP. XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterward to the Kings of the Philistines, and of the Moabites; and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his Family.

§ 1. But David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city of Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of him the cause wherefore there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had not had any occasion for any one to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and accompany him to the place he had now shewed: and when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said, that he had no such weapons, but he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hast slain the Philistine, didst thou not take with thee?"

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

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

The king granted him this favour, and paid great respect to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's command ing him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complained to Ahimelech, and came with him to Harath, which was in that tribe, he remained there.

Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble; but as he knew that David had counselled and advised him upon that matter, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends and his commanders, and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called Araura, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body being with him, he spoke thus to them: "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders of thousands, and captains of thousands upon you, and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? For I know that you are able to be faithful to me, no more than your master Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and per-
suades you to be of the same; for I am not unac- quainticed with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counselor and assistant to those that conspire against me; and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and watch to see what will be the upshot of these things."

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for the priest of Nob, and said to them: What terms is this orrible or ungrateful thing hast suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was conspiring to get the kingdom? And furthermore, why dost thou lie to me concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family. But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with those things, not to gratify David, but Saul himself: and he said, "I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, whom thou sentest to thee, and that he was a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these, thy son-in-law and kinsman. Men do not use to confer such favours on their adver-
saries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good-will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have prophesied for him, and for them, and for Men, and to them as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he de-
sired, I should not have given it him. And it is not for the construction to thee than to him, wherefore do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of the great plot and conspiracy which David and his friends had designed against thee him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary."

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul; his fear was so prevalent, that he would not for credit to an approach that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syran to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, who were in all three hundred and five persons, and caused many of them to fall in the city of the priests, and slew all that were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was Abia-

7. Now when the king saw this, he was amazed, and did not know what to pass to God as had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgressions of his two sons.

8. The king therefore, by perpetrating so bar-
barous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infant, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which had been a sanctuary for the priests and for the support of the priestly and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are pri-
vate persons, and in a low condition, because it is, not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is honest and the means which are best suited to their ends, and are not of that temper which is tyrannical, to such men, who are then dread of them."

9. This section contains an admirable refe-

1 This section of 1 Samuel 20:30-39; 2 Samuel 5-10; 1
re Joseph concerning the general wickedness of men in great
answer, and the danger they are in of rejecting that
author, and the danger they are in of rejecting that

3 1 Sam. ii. 6-11; 1 Sam. xiv. 7-15; 1 Sam. xvi. 9-13.

4 1 Sam. ii. 6-11; 1 Sam. xiv. 7-15; 1 Sam. xvi. 9-13.
or were afraid of them because of their power; and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the remords they bear, or they hate by in¬
dignation, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing; but when you go to God, and when you will come hereafter, they have not the least re¬
gard to it. They raise those to honour indeed who had been at a great deal of pains for them, and not for the good of themselves; and when they have brought them to high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also, on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked usages, and such as are generally accounted grievous ones.

They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calamities and accusations without examina¬
tion; and this extends not only to such as de¬
serve to be punished, but to as many as are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were dissolved; and Saul had assembled a hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this was the first time that the king commenced to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute, both of priests and prophets, which endeavoured he show¬
ed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so the people might not continue in the friendship of the king.

8. But Abishar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David, and informed him of the calamity that had befalled their family, and of the death of his brother and the king. And the prophet said, “He was not unprovided of what would befall with relation to them when he saw Dugar there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be so vitiated by his in¬
toxicated talk, about the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune.” But he desired him to stay there and abide with him, as a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

CHAP. XIII.

How David, when he had twice the Opportunity of killing Saul, did not kill him. Also concerning the Death of Samuel and Nahal.

§ 1. About this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God, when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said, that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah, till they had securely gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king, that David was with the Philistines, and his enemy of blood. But the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fame it stood, and the matter of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, “God hath now put him into my hands, and I will not let him go, but I will take him off, and cut off the head of my enemy, and that of his father's house.” So he commanded all the people to set upon Keilah suddenly, and when they had beset and taken it, to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men, and retired into a desert that was over against a city called Engedi. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedi¬
tion against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the New Place, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and soluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to reconcile himself to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness was to come with great labor and pains; that they would all their lives long continue in good-will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what executions he had upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary beha¬
vour. So Jonathan left him there, having render¬
dered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gra¬
tify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [saw] Jonathan with him; and if he came to them, they would deliver him up, so that if the king could seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commanded them, and told them, that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he prom¬ised them that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to be prepared to receive him, as he should come thither. He also acquainted them, that he himself would follow them. Accordingly, they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavours, not only to show their good-will to him, by not giving him up; but also his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they undertook no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up, a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and one that no nation, people, or nation, could conceiv, and this out of flattery, and expecta¬
tions of gain from the king; for when David was apprized of the malignant intention of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the side of the rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon, Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion into the country of the Hebrews, called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose these Philis¬
tines, who were naturally their enemies, as judg¬
ing it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy that was not in his way; and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly es¬
cape out of the danger, he was in, and came to the straits of Eagedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines within the bounds of Eagedi, one thousand and three thousand men were armed, and made their way there, they sent into the straits to him, and came near to him, and saw some messengers, who told him that David abode within the bounds of Eagedi: so he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made his way there, and came near to him, and saw a deep and hollow cave by the way side; it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When there¬
fore he had occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one
of David's companions, and he that saw him, saith to him that "he had now, by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he arose up, and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But soon he repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; for the people were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behave me to be so disposed towards him." But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and de- sired Saul to hear him; whereupon, the king turned his face back, and David, according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to bearken to wicked men, nor to as such forge calamities, and nor make use of such an opportunity as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions, for calumny deludes men, but men's sins show forth their clearness of their kind- ness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these, therefore, it will be for thee to believe me, and to turn thy regard to thee and thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing my life, and have no care or concern to gratify them, or to do them any wrong; nor to return his love to them for this to save his own life, and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly persecute. For how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, and art determined to kill me? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wistest thou couldst kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it, nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done thy head. And when he showed him the piece of his garment, and desired him, he agreed to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from tak- ing a just revenge upon thee," yet art thou not to believe me, and show me just hatred and displeasure against me. May God do justice, and determine about each of our dispositions." But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposi- tion of the young man, he grumbled: and when David had done the same, the king answered, that "he had the justest occasion to grow, for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I had been the author of calumny to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day that thou posses- sedst righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies, though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the king- dom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dom- inion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assur- ances upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, nor, out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my family, but save it, and preserve it." So David swore as he

The phrase in David's speech to Saul, as set down in Josephus, that he had obtained a book in the age, and saith, as is in mind of the like words in the Apocryphal Constitu- tions, B. vii. chap. ii. that "revenge is not evil, but par- don achievable.

The number of men that came first to David, are di- stinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but four

desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Merotheth.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for they made no man to reign for him, and this during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observance of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature, and on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve years, and eighteen years together Saul the king; and thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Bethel, from whom he had bought a great number of cattle: for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and did not be suspicious of them. But after this he was troubled with great uneasiness, not because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered; but to esteem freedom from injustice above all other motives, and to lose the confidence of his men. This was the case of Naab, that for this was his name, a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynec in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good charac- ter, wise and handsome. To this Naab, there- fore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him: and also wished he might do what he had done years before, and he had done for him to make a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds, that he had done them no in- jury, but had been their guardian a long time. And so the shepherds offered to come to him, and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messen- gers had carried this message to Naab, he ac- ceded to them after an humain and rough man- ner; for he asked them, who David was, and when he heard that he was the son of Jesse, "Now is the time, said he, that fugitives grow in solace, and make a figure, and leave their mas- ters." When they told David this, he was wrath, and said he would send ten men to cut off his head from him; left two hundred and to take care of the stuff, (for he had already six hundred,) and went against Naab: he also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the king, and that his sep- tum of Naab: for that he was grievous, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had shown him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.
she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife; having preserved all the dignity of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour, partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, whom he had married from the court of Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti the son of Laish, who was of the city of Gallim.

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul, that David was come again into their country; and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of night he caught his account of a certain place called Hachilah. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at Hachilah, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul's camp, having with him Abishai, his sister Zeruiah's son, and Aimelech. Now Saul was now overtook by those armed men, with Abner their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was in his hand, nor let it go by him, nor turned aside to Abishai, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it, so to do: for he said, "It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man: for he that gave him the crown hath power in time instant punishment upon him." So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him, he took from him the spear, and the cruse of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any of the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of a hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to Abner and his commanders, that he laid them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander heard him, and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whose name is known to all the people of Israel. What is the matter? Dost thou, that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is a sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, may, as far as to the king himself, and all the rest of you. If thou look for the king's spear, and his cruise of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing of it." Now Saul was very much taken in, and understood that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not kill him, but spared

* In this, and the two next sections, we may perceive how Josaphat, as, how Abigail herself would understand the 'not avenging ourselves,' but keeping coats of fire on the naked; and how Abigail's heart was, and how David's was, and how David's heart was, in the case of the king's appointment; for we see how Josaphat's heart was, and how Abigail's heart was, and how David's heart was, in the case of the king's appointment; but as we commonly do now, of melting them into kindness, but of leaving them to the judgment of God, in whom we are to trust, and to whose appointment we are to be content, and who will take vengeance on the wicked. And since all God's judgments are just, and all fit to be approved and all at length for the good of the persons puni-
him when he might justly have put him off, he said, that he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, and not to be afraid of sudden mischance from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded, that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him; and that there might be many dissimilitudes of his good-will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kingdom, that he was still afraid of him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing. So David made them send for the spear and the cruse of water, and take them back; adding this withal, that "God would be to the joy of both their dispositions, and of the actions that flowed from the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee, I abstained from it." 10. Thus Saul, having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: but David was afraid, that if he stayed there he should be caught by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly, he came to Gibeah; which was a town that was with him, to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to abide; and he had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this, he took no further care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, guilty to him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that, since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favor, and let him take some part of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, by living in the city, to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called Ziklag; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader farther information elsewhere. Now the time that Saul was in Ziklag, the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took many beasts and the like; and when he returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish, yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay on the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he said, for he hoped David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the flight with the Philistines, desired a necromancer to raise up the soul of Samuel to him; and how he died, with his Sons, upon the Overthrow of the Hebrews in Battle.

§ 1. About the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent out against them a great multitude: and now the king of Gath, at the sight of Saul, and the son of his father, fell to the ground, and saluted, and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up, he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, That his enemies pressed heavily upon him; that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what
was coming, neither my prophets nor dreams, and that these were the reasons why he recourse to thee, who always took care of me." But Samuel, seeing that the end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is vain for thee to desire to learn of any thing further, when God hath hidden these things from thee. Behold, the king is not that which David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the thing that he spake to thee." David, the king of the Amorites, was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle-to-morrow, and be slain by the sword of thine enemies. Saul said, "What is this that was coming upon me, that he was not to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life, as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity; but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better for his sons and posterity, that he should show the courage of their fathers, than to be driven from their uncertain conduct afterward, while, instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation. And the prophet bid him to be a just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honoured with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they have performed some glorious action, I do not think those do justly deserve some commendation also; but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul; for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not fail in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and yield the fear that is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good from themselves, and they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be afflicted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is that I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly, this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead, are so to act as they may obtain the same: this effectually concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient; but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

* This history of Saul's composition, not with a witch, as we render the Hebrew word here, but with a necromancer, is evidently what they supposed. We may, therefore, with the greatest probability, suppose that the persons who went to consult the recognitions of Clement, B. ii. chap. v. at large, and more briefly, and nearer the days of Sm- amon, Elisha, who knew he should die before his time, and lifted up his voice from the earth in prophesy, to blot out the wickedness of the people. Nor does the knowledge of the accomplishment of this, and of any imposture upon Saul in the present history, or to do so
5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an accosting stand with their nation, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the king whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, that "It was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained me; and that since then he was willing to make me a requisit for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate." The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate; and therefore gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him, out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; and this was that David had been the king's public guest. The Philistines celebrated in their hymns, having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spoke well; so he called David, and said to him: "I know that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it. I have put the best part of my assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion, and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it: and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, who were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were carried away; and also that David's only vestige of all his former clothes, were his mantle and his coats, were left with him; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears fell from his eyes, and he fell down in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly affected at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacred garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, "With regard to what would grant, that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he would take them by the power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round, and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Meleah; but when a can of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines p. ex., in upon them. But Saul himself fled from the Amalekites. And when he and the Philistines sent after him those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had received so many wounds, that he was not able to
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hear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself; but he hid his armoure-bearer drew his sword, and ran him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armoure-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and therefore to procure him an armoured man. The young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul’s arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul’s armoure-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king’s guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called Gilboa. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain of Jezreel, heard of this, and saw the chariots, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them now.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip those enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and stripped them, and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint weather in the Adriatic Sea, as ver. 37, and that on this fourteenth day they had continued fasting, and had taken nothing before the evening. The mention of their long abstinence, ver. 37, inclines me to believe the former of the two; even the truth, and the distressing with which a fast was kept, in such a case as that, although one would have thought he was in a fortuitous state that was here for a week, that they kept all those days entirely as fasts till the evening, but not long.

See Judg. xx. 20; xxiii. 16; 1 Sam. xiv. 34; 2 Sam. i. 19; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 22; Tit. ii. 1.

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

CHAPTER I.

How David reigned over one Tribe at Hebron, while the Sini of Saul reigned over the rest of the Multitude, and how he had his own Civil War, which then arose, Amlek and Abner were slain.

§ 1. This event proved to be on the same day when David was come back to Ziklag, after he had overcome the Amalekites. Now when he had been already two days at Ziklag there came to him the man who slew Saul, which was the third day after the fight. He had escaped out of the battle which the Israelites had with the Philistines, and had his clothes rent, and sabres upon his head. And when he had made his escape, he hid himself in the wilderness, whence he came. He replied, from the battle of the Israelites: and he informed him, that the end of it was unfortunate, many ten thousand of the Israelites having been cut off, and Saul together.

He also said, that he could well give him this information, because he was present at the victory gained over the Hebrews, and was with the king when he died. Nor did they let him have himself slain the king, when he was ready to be taken by the enemy, and he himself exhorted him to do it, because, when he was fallen on his sword, his great wounds had made him so weak that he was not able to kill himself. He also produced demonstrations that the king was slain, which were the golden bracelets that had been on the king’s arms, and his crown, which he had taken away from Saul’s dead body, and had brought him to them. So David having no longer any room to call in question the truth of what he said, but seeing the most evident marks that Saul was dead, he rent his garments, and continued all that day with his companions, in weeping and lamentation. This grief was augmented by the consideration of Jonathan, the son of Saul, who had been his most faithful friend, and the occasion of his own deliverance. He also demonstrated himself to have such great virtue, and such great kindness for Saul, as not only to take his death to heart, though he had been frequently in danger of losing his life by his means, but to punish him that slew him: for when David had said to him that he was become his own accuser, as the very man who had slain the king, and who had understood that he was the son of an Amalekite, he commanded him to be slain. He also committed to writing some lamentations and funeral commendations of Saul and Jonathan, which have continued to my own age.

2. Now when David had paid these honours to the king, he left off his mourning; and inquired of God by the prophet, which of the cities of the tribe of Judah he would bestow upon him to
dwell in? Why answered, that he bestowed upon him Hebron. So he left Zilchah, and came to Hebron, and took with him his wives, who were in number two, and his armed men; whereupon all the people of the forementioned tribe came to him, and ordained him their king. But when he heard that the inhabitants of Ja- besh-Gilead had buried Saul and his sons, [honourably,) he sent to them and commanded them, and took what they had done kindly, and pro- mised to make them amends for their care of the dead. And at the same time he also informed them, that the tribe of Judah had chosen him for their king.

3. But as soon as Abner, the son of Ner, who was a captain of Saul's army, was informed by intimation of what he had heard, he went to David, and took away with him the remaining son of Saul, whose name was Ishobeth, he passed over the land beyond Jordan, and ordained him the king of the whole multitude, excepting the tribe of Judah; and made his royal seat in a place called in our own language Mahanaim, but in the language of the Canaanites, The Camp of Sarah. And Abner made haste with a select body of soldiers, to fight with such of the tribe of Judah as were disposed to it, for he was angry that this tribe had set up David for their king. But Joab, whose father, and who was a captain of Saul's army, and his brother Abishai, who was the commander of all the valiant men. Now when he met Abner at a certain fountain, in the city of Gibea, he prepared to fight. And when Abner said to him, that he had a mind to know which of them had the most valiant soldiers, it was agreed between them that they should fight together. So those that were chosen out by both the generals for this fight, came between the two armies, and throwing their lances one against the other, they drew their swords, and fought one another by the head, they had one another fast, and ran each other's swords into their sides and groins, until they all, as it were by mutual agreement, perished together.

When these were fallen down dead, the rest of the gods came to battle with Abner to meet David, who were beaten; and when they were beaten, Joab did not leave off pursuing them, but he pressed upon them, and excited the soldiers to follow the flesh, and not to grow wearied in killing them. His brethren also pursued them with great alacrity, and especially the younger, Asahel, who was the most eminent of them. He was very famous for his swiftness of foot, for he could not only be too hard for men, but is reported to have overrun a horse, when they had a race together. This Asahel ran violently after Abner, and would not turn in the least out of the straight way, either to the one side or to the other. However Abner turned back, and attempted artfully to avoid his violence. Sometimes he bade him leave off the pursuit, and take the armour of one of his soldiers; and sometimes, when he could not persuade him so to do, he exhorted him to remember the king, and not to grow wearied in his flight, and that by a back stroke, and gave him a deadly wound, so that he died immediately; but those that were with him pursuing Abner, when they came to the place where Asahel lay, they stood still.

* It ought here to be noted, that Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, were all three David's nephews, the sons of his sister left off the pursuit of the enemy. However, both Joab himself and his brother Abishai went past the dead corpse,* and making their anger at death of Asahel an occasion of greater zeal against Abner, they went on with incredible haste and alacrity, and pursued Abner to a certain place called Ammon; it was about sundown. Then did Joab ascend a certain hill, as he stood at that place, having the tribe of Benjamin with [before] him, whence he took a view of them and of Abner also. Hereupon Abner, when he saw himself in the wrong, when he saw that he could not prevent him any further, which was the occasion of his wounding and death,* So Joab consented to what he said, and accepted these his words as an excuse about (Asahel,) and called the soldiers back with the sound of the trumpet, as a signal for their retreat, and thereby put a stop to any further pursuit. After which, Joab pitched his camp there that night: but Abner marched all that night, and passed over the river Jordan, and came to the city of Gibea. On the next day Joab counted the dead men, and took care of all their funerals. Now there were slain of Abner's soldiers about three hundred and sixty, but of those of David nineteen. Asa- hel. But the king of David, Abishai, carried to Bethlehem; and when they had buried him in the sepulchre of their fathers, they came to Da- vid to Hebron. From this time, therefore, there began to be kings over Israel, and kings over Judah; while, in which the followers of David grew stronger in the dangers they underwent, and the servants and subjects of Saul's son did almost every day become weaker.
these six hundred heads of the Philistines which he had brought to Saul her father. So Abner took him to himself alive, and fed him in his own house, and sent her to David, Ishbosheth himself affording him his assistance, for David had written to him that of right he ought to have this his wife restored to him. Abner also called together the elders of the tribe of Benjamin, and the captains of thousands, and spake thus to them: that, he had formerly dissuaded them from their own resolution when they were ready to forsake Ishbosheth, and to join themselves to David; they had stood in arms, with their swords, and opposed him; if they had a mind to it, for they knew that God had appointed David to be king of all the Hebrews, by Samuel the prophet: and had foretold that his kingdom, and his dignity, and his days, were written in the book of the Lord, and nothing could come them, and bring them under. Now when the elders and rulers heard this, and understood that Abner was come over to those sentiments about the public affairs which they were of before, they changed their measures, and came in to David. When these men had agreed to Abner's proposal, he called together the tribe of Benjamin, for all of that tribe were the guards of Ishbosheth's body, and he spoke to them to take arms, and join themselves to David, for he did not in the least oppose what he said, but resigned himself up to his opinion, he took about twenty of his friends, and came to David, in his camp. They were but few, and unnoticeable, and wanted not a word from him: for we may justly esteem those things to be firmer, which every one of us do by ourselves, than those which we do by another. He also gave him an account of what he had said to the tribe of Benjamin, and how he had received the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

5. When David had sent Abner away, Joab the general of his army, came immediately to Hebron, and when he had understood that Abner had been with David, and had parted with him a little before, under leagues and agreements that the government should be delivered up to David, he determined, that he meant not to give up the government to him, when David himself was present, and a spectator of what was done.

6. When David heard that Abner was slain, it grieved him; and he called for his sword, and stretching out his hands to God, and crying out, that he was not partner in the murder of Abner, and that his death was not procured by his command or approbation. He also wished the heaviest curses might light upon him that slew him, and upon his whole house; and he devoted those that had assisted him in this murder to the same penalties on its account; for he took care not to appear to have any hand in this murder, but to excuse himself, and to declare that he had given, and the oaths he had taken to Abner. However, he commanded all the people to weep and lament this man, and to honour his dead body with all the honours befitting such a man, clothing his body, and putting on sackcloth, and that this should be the habit in which they should go before the bier, after which he followed it himself, with the elders and those that were rulers, lamenting Abner, and by his tears demonstrating his good-will to him while he was alive, and his sorrow for him now he was dead, and that he was not taken off with his consent. So he buried him at Hebron, in a magnificient manner, and with proper funeral elegies for him: he also stood first over the monument weeping, and caused others to do the same; nay, so deeply did the death of Abner disorder him, that his companions could not persuade him to take any food, for he affirmed with an oath that he would taste nothing till the sun was set. This procedure gained him the good-will of the multitude: for such as had an affection for Abner, were not thereby reconciled with the reputed motives when he was dead, and the observation of that faith he had pledged to him, which was showed in his vouchsafing him all the usual ceremonies, as if he had been his kinsman or his friend, and not such as he had so unrighteously and unjustly betrayed with a dishonourable burial, as if he had been his enemy; insomuch that the entire nation rejoiced at the king's gentleness and mildness of disposition, every one being ready to suppose
that the king would have taken the same care of them in the like circumstances, which they saw he showed on the burial of the dead body of Absalom. And indeed David principally intended to gain a good reputation, and therefore he took care to do what was proper in this case; whence none had any suspicion that he was the author of Abner’s death. He also said this to the multitude, that “he was greatly troubled at the death of so good a man; and that the affairs of the Hebrews had suffered great detriment by being deprived of him, who was of so great abilities to preserve them in his excellence, and by the strength of his hands in war. But he added, that God, who hath a regard to all men’s actions, will not suffer this man (Job) to go unrewarded; but know ye, that I am not able to do any thing to these sons of Zeruiah. Job and Absalon, who have more power than I have, but God will require their insolent attempts upon their own heads:” and this was the fatal conclusion of the life of Abner.

CHAP. II.

That upon the Slaughter of Ishbosheth by the Treachery of his friends, David received the whole Kingdom.

§ 1. When Ishbosheth the son of Saul had heard of the death of Abner, he took it to heart to be deprived of a man that was of his kindred, and almost him in his interest. He was greatly afflict ed, and Abner’s death very much troubled him; nor did he himself outlive any long time, but was treacherously set upon by the sons of Saul, as the names were the kindred of the tribe of Judah, who bare shields and spears for their weapons, for these had [till now] continued with Saul’s son, when the rest of the tribe of Judah had forsaken him. After these came Zadok, and Benaiah, and the men that were the kindred of Simeon, and the tribe also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Levi came four thousand and seven hundred, having Jebus da for their leader. After these came Zadok, and Benaiah, and the men that were the kindred of Simeon, and the tribe also seven thousand and one hundred out of the tribe of Simeon. Out of the tribe of Benjamin the army men were four thousand, but the rest of the tribe continued, still expecting that some one of the house of Saul should reign over them. Those of the tribe of Ephraim went twenty thousand and eight hundred, and these mighty men of valour, and eminent for their strength. Out of the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand and seven hundred, and of the most potent men of Issachar three thousand two hundred, who foreknew what was to come hereafter; but of armed men twenty thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulum fifty thousand chosen men. This was the only tribe that had not armed themselves, and they had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad. Out of the tribe of Naphtali the eminent men and rulers were one thousand, whose weapons were shields and spears, and the tribe itself followed after, being, in a manner, innumerable [thirty-seven thousand]. Out of the tribe of Dan there were of chosen men twenty-seven thousand, and six hundred. Out of the tribe of Asher were four thousand. Out of the two tribes that had the same weapons with the tribe of Gad, there were forty thousand, and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh, such as used shields and spears, and head pieces, and swords, were a hundred and twenty thousand. The rest of the tribes also made use of swords. This multitude came together to Hebron to David, with a great quantity of corn, and wine, and all other sorts of food, and established David in his kingdom with one consent. And when the people had rejoiced for three days, and for seven days the people removed and came to Jerusalem.
CHAP. III.

How David laid Siege to Jerusalem; and when he had taken the City, he cast the Canaanites out of it, and brought in the Jews to inhabit therein.

4. Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in a way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance. And the king of David, not able to show his greatness of his power, and as depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged, and began the siege of Jerusalem, and employed his utmost diligence and care to take it, by wading by the taking of this place to demonstrate his power, and to intimidate all others that might be of the like [evil] disposition towards him: so he took the lower city by force, but the citadel held out still;" whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditch that were beneath the citadel, and should accept of the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they all were ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend this, and the number of legitimated persons in it was multiplied. However, Josh, the son of Zeruniah, presented the rest; and as soon as he was got up to the citadel, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command.

5. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it 'The City of David,' and abode there all the time of his reign: but for the time that he reigned over the tribe of Judah only seven years and six months. Now when he had chosen Jerusalem to be his royal city, his affairs did more and more prosper, by the providence of God, who took care that they should improve and be augmented. Hiram also, the king of the Tyrians, sent ambassadors to him, and made a league of mutual friendship and assistance with him. He also sent him presents, cedar trees and mechanics, and men skilful in building and architecture, that he might build him a royal dwelling in Jerusalem. Now David made buildings round about the lower city: he also joined the citadel to it, and made it one body: and when he had encompassed all with walls, he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name the City of David; for under our forefather Abraham it was called [Salem or] Solyma: but after that time some say that Heber mentions it by that name of Solyma, [for he named the temple Solyma, according to the Hebrew language, and this was an entrance from the whole time from the warfare under Joshua our general against the Canaanites, and from that war in which he overcame them, and distributed the land among the Hebrews, (nor could the Israelites ever posses it,) until this time, when David took it by siege, this whole time was five hundred and fifteen years.

3. I shall now make mention of Aramah, who was a wealthy man among the Jebusites, but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself, which I shall take a more reasonable opportunity to speak of a little afterward. Now David married other wives over and above those which he had before: he had also concubines. The sons whom he had by these were in number twenty-three, with the names of Ahithophel, Amnon, Ennom, Ethan, Nathan, Solomon, Jehan, Ellen, Phina, Enuaphen, Jense, Eliphale, and a daughter, Tamar. Nine of these were born of legitimate marriages, and eight of concubines: and Tamar had the same mother with Absalom.

CHAP. IV.

That when David had conquered the Philistines, who made War against him at Jerusalem, he removed the Ark to Jerusalem, and had a mind to build a Temple.

§ 1. When the Philistines understood that David was made king of the Hebrews, they made war against him at Jerusalem; and when they had seiz'd upon that valley which is called the valley of the Giants, and is a place not far from the city, they pitched their camp therein. But the king of the Jews, who never permitted himself to do any thing without prophecy, and the conformation of God, and without despising them as a security for the time to come, bade the high priest foretell to him what was the will of God, and what would be the event of this battle. And when he foretold that he should gain the victory, and the dominion, he led his army out

and others Hierosolyma or Jerusalem. The latter best agrees to what Josephus says elsewhere, Otfed ch. 2.; that this city was called Solyma or Salem before the days of Melchisedec, but was by him called Hierosolyma or Jerusalem. I rather suppose it to have been so called after Abraham had received that oracle Jehovah Jirsh, "The Lord will see or provide," Gen. xxii. 14. The latter word Jirsh, with a little alteration, prefixed to the old name Salem, Peace, will be Jerusalem. And from that expression, "God will see," or rather, "God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering," ver. 8. 14, as there said to have been till this seems to me the most probable derivation of that name, which will then denote, that "God would provide the peace by that Lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world." Hence that which is put into double brackets can hardly be supposed the genuine words of Josephus, as Dr. Hudson well judges.

1. Inasmuch as it has been already observed that Saul very rarely and David very frequently, consulted God by Urim; and that David aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence or shrewdness, but on the direct direction, counsels of God. Now Mr. Otts has truly observed, that in the means, Josephus's explanation of the lame, and the blind, and the maimed, as not to keep this city or citadel, seems to be the truth, and give the best light to the meaning of that passage. Mr. Otts truly does see, as Haymson, p. 265, that Josephus never mentions Mount Zion by that name, as taking it for an appellative, as is supposed. He says, "the citadel or the upper city; nor do I see any reason for Mr. Otts's evil suspicions about this procedure of Josephus.

1 Some copies of Josephus have here Solyma or Salem.
against the Philistines, and when the battle was joined, he came himself before, and fell upon the enemy on the sudden, and slew some of them, and put the rest to flight. And let no one suppose that it was a small army of the Philistines that came against the Hebrews, as guessing so from the multitude of their dead, and from their having performed so great an action, or that was worth recording, from the slowness of their march, and want of courage; but let him know that all Syra and Phoenicia, with many other nations, and Tyre, and Sidon, and the discordations among them, also came to their assistance, and had a share in this war. Which thing was the only cause why, when they had been so often conquered, and had lost so many men, and were left with so few, they still came upon the Hebrews with greater armies; nay, indeed, when they had so often failed of their purpose in these battles, they came upon David with an army three times as numerous as before, and pitched their camp on the same spot of ground as before. The king of Israel therefore inquired of God again concerning the event of the battle; and the high priest prophesied to him, that he should keep his army in the groves, called the Grove of Enaim, Weeping Grove, for the rush of the enemy was not far from his camp, and that he should not move, nor begin to fight, till the trees of the grove should be in motion without the wind's blowing; and when they were moved, and the time foretold to him by God was come, he should without delay go out to gain, what was already prepared, an evident victory; for the several ranks of the enemy's army did not sustain him, but retreated at the first onset, while he closely followed them, and slew them as he went along, and pursued them to the city of Gaza, which is the limit of their country; and after this, he pitched his camp in the Canaanite ground, and found great riches; and he destroyed their gods. 2. When this had proved the event of the battle, David thought it proper, upon a consultation with the elders, and rulers, and captains of thousands, to send for those that were in the flower of their age, out of all his countrymen, and out of the whole land, and withal for the priests and the Levites, in order to their going to Kirjathjearim, to bring up the ark of God out of the house of Obededom, and to set it up there to keep it, and offer before it those sacrifices, and those other honours, with which God used to be well pleased: for had they done this thing, they would have been not underlorn by any great misfortunes at all. So when the whole body of the people were come together, as they had resolved to do, the king came to the ark, which the priests brought out of the house of Ominadab, and laid it upon a new cart, and permitted their brethren and their children to draw it, together with the oxen. Before it went the king and the whole multitude of the people with him, singing hymns to God, and making use of all sorts of songs usual among them, with variety of the sounds of musical instruments, and with dancing and singing of psalms, as also with the sound of trumpets and of cymbals, and so brought the ark to Jerusalem. But as they were come to the threshing-floor of Chidon, a place so called, Uzzah was slain by the anger of God; for as the oxen shook the ark, he stretched out his hand, and would needs take hold of it. Now because he was not a priest, and yet touched the ark, God struck him dead. Hence both the king and the people were displeased at the death of Uzzah; and the place where he died is still called the Breach of Uzzah unto this day. So David was afraid, and supposing that if he received the ark to himself into his house, the God, who had been so misrepresented to him as a tyrant, should forbear in the like manner as Uzzah had suffered, who, upon his care putting out his hand to the ark, died in the manner already mentioned, he did not receive it to himself into his house, but took upon himself an uttered sins against the righteous man, whose name was Obededom, who was by his family a Levite, and deposited the ark with him; and it remained there three entire months. And David took care of the ark, and his house, and conferred many blessings upon it. And when the king heard what had befallen Obededom, how he was become, of a poor man in a low estate, exceedingly happy, and the object of envy to all those that saw or inquired after his house, he took courage, and hoping that he should meet with no misfortune thereby, he transferred the ark to his own house, the priests carrying it, while seven companies, clothed in white garments, followed in order by the king, went before it, and while he himself played upon the harp, and joined in the music, insomuch, that when his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, who was then married to him, saw the king dance before the ark, she was ashamed of him, and sat without his sight. But when they had brought in the ark, they placed it under the tabernacle which David had pitched for it, and he offered costly sacrifices and peace-offerings, and treated the whole multitude and all the women and the men, and the infants, a loaf of bread and another cake baked in a pan, with a portion of the sacrifice. So when he had thus feasted the people, he sent them away, and he himself returned to his house. 3. But when Michal his wife, the daughter of Saul, came and stood by him, she wished him all other happiness; and entreated that whatsoever he should farther desire, to the utmost possibility, might be given him by God, and that he might be favourable to him; yet did she blame him, that so great a king as he was should dance after an unseemly manner, and in his dancing uncover his navel to the women and the handmaids. But he replied, "That he was not ashamed to do what was acceptable to God, who had preferred him before her father, and before all others; that he was not bound about any regard to what the handmaids and she herself thought of." So this Michal had no children; however, when she was afterward married to him to whom Saul her father had given her, (for at the time David had taken her away from him, and had her himself,) she bare five children. But concerning those matters I shall discourse in a proper place. 4. Now, when the king saw that his affairs grew better almost every day, by the way God had blessed him, he thought he should offend him, if while he himself continued in houses made of cedar, such as were of a great height, and had the most exquisite works of architecture in them, he should overlook the ark while it was laid in a tabernacle; and was desirous to build a temple to God, as Moses had predicted such a temple should be built! And when he had discoursed with Nathan the prophet about these things, and of the anger of God on that breach of his law. See Num. iv. 15; 1 Chr. xv. 13. Josephus says, (that perhaps he might be a Levite,) and was therefore struck dead for touching the ark, contrary to the law, and for which problem Agur was the possessor by the law, Num. iv. 15, 20; see the notes before. 1 Sam. iv. 19; the ch. Ixxxvi. 3. Is it not improbable that the putting the ark in a cart, when it ought to have been carried by the priests or Levites, was done with design, and that this is not a mistake set down by him unwarily, appears by what he observed before, 1 Sam. iv. 21; viz. the ark should never be carried in toil, and in this house of Obededom's house to David's, might, be also an occasion
been encouraged by him to do whatsoever he had a mind to do, as having God with him, and his helper in all things, he was thereupon the more ready to set about that building. But God appeared to Nathan that very night, and commanded him to say to David, that "he took his pleasure in the person of his servant, in so much that he had taken to him, and had before now taken it into their head to build him a temple, although upon his having such a notion he would not permit him to build him that temple, but that he was pleased with him; and would have with David at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and one hundred thousand of his horsemen. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the great part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept." 2

2. Now when Hadad, the king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue his friend; and when he said with David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus also [or Nicodemus, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land.

When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyed at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house would be splendid, and very famous; so he resolved to build the temple. He therefore said to God, that when he had fallen upon his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in respect of the kingdom, as another in his time, and the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed; and when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.

CHAP. V.

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

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

§ 1. A LITTLE while after this, he considered it was now the time to war against the Philistines, and not to see any idleness or laziness permitted in his management, that so it might prove, as God had forsoothed to him, that when he had overthrown his enemies, he should leave his possessor, to make others of his people, and together his army again, and when he had charged them to be ready and prepared for war, and when he thought that all things in his army were in a good state, he removed from Jerusalem, and came against the Philistines; and when he had overcome them in battle, and had cut off a great part of their country and adjudged it to the country of the Hebrews, he transferred the war to the Moabites; and when he had overcome two parts of their army in the battle, he took the remaining part captive, and imposed tribute upon them, to be paid annually. Then he made war against Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, king of Sophene; and when he had joined battle with

the at the river Euphrates, he destroyed twenty thousand of his footmen, and one hundred thousand of his horsemen. He also took about a thousand of his chariots, and destroyed the great part of them, and ordered that no more than one hundred should be kept. 2.

2. Now when Hadad, the king of Damascus and of Syria, heard that David fought against Hadadezer, who was his friend, he came to his assistance with a powerful army, in hopes to rescue his friend; and when he saw that David at the river Euphrates, he failed of his purpose, and lost in the battle a great number of his soldiers; for there were slain of the army of Hadad twenty thousand, and all the rest fled. Nicolaus also [or Nicodemus, whom he promised to provide for, as a father provides for his son, by preserving the kingdom for his son's posterity, and delivering it to them; but that he would still punish him if he sinned, with diseases and barrenness of land.

When David understood this from the prophet, and was overjoyed at this knowledge of the sure continuance of the dominion to his posterity, and that his house would be splendid, and very famous; so he resolved to build the temple. He therefore said to God, that when he had fallen upon his face, and began to adore God, and to return thanks to him for all his benefits, as well for those that he had already bestowed upon him in respect of the kingdom, as another in his time, and the employment of a shepherd, to so great dignity of dominion and glory; as for those also which he had promised to his posterity; and besides, for that providence which he had exercised over the Hebrews in procuring them the liberty they enjoyed; and when he had said thus, and had sung a hymn of praise to God, he went his way.
of the ill success of Hadadezer, and had heard of the ruin of his army, he was afraid on his own account, and resolved to make a league of friendship and fidelity with David before he should come against him; so he sent to him his son Jo-ram, and professing the chief of his servants, to thank him for his fighting against Hadadezer, who was his enemy, and made a league with him of mutual assistance and friendship. He also sent him presents, vessels of ancient workmanship, both of gold and of brass. Solomon also, when David had made this league of mutual assistance with Toi, (for that was the name of the king of Hamath,) and had received the presents he sent him, he dismissed his son with that respect which was due to a king; but these were not the only presents that were sent by him, as also the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken of the cities whom he had conquered, and dedicated them to God. Nor did God give victory and success to him only when he went to the battle himself, but made his army, but he gave victory to Abishai, the brother of Joab, general of his forces, over the Idumæans, and when he sent with him an army into Idumæa; for Abishai destroyed eighteen thousand of them in the battle; whereupon the king of [Israel] placed garrisons through all Idumæa, and received the tribute of the country, and made Idumæa among them. Now David was in his nature just, and made his determination with regard to truth. He had for the general of his whole army Joab; and he made Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, recorder. He also appointed Zadok, of the family of Priests, and Ahitru, his friend, together with Abiathar, for he was his friend. He also made Seisian the scribe; and committed the command over the guards of his body to Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada. His elder sons were near his body, and had the care of it also.

5. He also called to mind the covenants and the oaths he had made with Jonathan the son of Saul, and the friendship and affection Jonathan had for him; for besides all the rest of his excellent qualities with which he was endowed, he was also exceedingly mindful of such as had at other times bestowed benefits upon him. He therefore heard with an inquiring heart what would be made, whether any of Jonathan's lineage were living, to whom he might make return of that familiar acquaintance which Jonathan had had with him, and for which he was still debtor. And when one of Jonathan's sons was brought to him, who was acquainted with those of his family that were still living, he asked him, "Whether he could tell him of any one belonging to Jonathan that was now alive, and capable of a requital of the benefits which he had received from Jonathan?" And when he said, "That a son of his was remaining, whose name was Mephibosheth, but that he was lame of his feet; for that when his nurse heard that the father and grandfather of the child were fallen in the battle, she smothered him up, and fled away, and let him fall from her shoulders, and his feet were lamed." So when he had learned where and by whom he was brought up, and the place where he was reared, he caused him to be brought to him, and Mephibosheth came to the king, and David fed and wore apparel, and encouraged him, and hid him to be the greater cheer, and expect better times. So he gave him his father's house, and all the estate which his grandfather Saul was in possession of, and bade him come and die with him at his own table, and never to be absent one day from that table. And when the youth had worshipped him on account of his words and gifts given to him, he called for Ziba, and told him, that he had given the youth his father's house, and all Saul's estate. He also ordered that Ziba should manure his land, and take care of it, and bring him the profits of all to Jerusalem. Accordingly, David brought him to his table every day, and bestowed upon the youth Ziba and his sons, who were in number twenty. But these were not the only gifts that were sent by them, but the rest of the gold and silver, and those that were sent by the king's table, and had the same care taken of him that a son could claim. He also had himself a son, whom he named Michah.

CHAP. VI.

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

§ 1. These were the honours that such as were left of Saul's and Jonathan's lineage received from David. About this time died Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, who was a friend of David; and when his son had succeeded him, and was well disposed to his father, and desirous to keep him in his house, in order to comfort him; and exhorted him to take his father's death patiently, and to expect that he would continue the same kindness to himself which he had showed to his father. But Ziba, one of the Ammonites, hearing that David was in evil part, and not as David's kind dispositions gave reason to take it; and they excited the king to resent it, and said, that David had sent men to spy out the country, and what strength it had, and the great number of human beings. They farther advised him to have a care, and not to give heed to David's words, lest he should be deluded by him; and so fall into an inconceivable calamity. Accordingly, Nahash's sons, the king of the Ammonites, thought these promises spake what was more probable than the truth would admit, and so abused the ambassadours after a very harsh manner; for he shewed the one hand that he had been anointed by the king of Egypt, and the other, that he was not crowned with silver garments, and sent his answer not in words but in deeds. When the king of Israel saw this, he had indignation at it, and showed openly that he would not overlook this injurious and contemptuous conduct of the Ammonites, and would avenge this wicked treatment of his ambassadors on their king. So that king's intimate friends and commanders, under standing that they had violated their league, and were liable to be punished for the same, made preparations for war; they also sent a thousand talents to the Syrian king of Mesopotamia, and endeavoured to prevail with him to assist them for that purpose, and Shoba the king of the Ammonites had twenty thousand footmen. They also hired the king of the country, called Macah, and a fourth king, by name Ishib; which last had twelve thousand armed men. But the king, to the consternation at this confederacy, nor at the forces of the Ammonites; and putting his trust in God, because he was going to war in a just cause, on account of the injuries that had been bought against him, and he imprecated on them the just vengeance of God against them, and gave him the flower of his army, which pitched his camp by Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; whereupon the enemy came out, and set themselves in array, not

* By this great victory over the Idumæans or Edomites, this and by the consequent tribute paid by that nation to the Jews, was that the seven cities delivered to Rebcca before Jacob and Esau were born, and by oldsmore before his death, that the elder, Esau or the Edomites,
all of them together, but in two bodies; for the auxiliaries were set in array in the plain by themselves, but the army of the Ammonites at the gates over against the Hebrews. When Joab saw that the men of the army dispersed themselves, and made all haste to carry away the spoils, and leave the men of war, and to take the spoil of every man's wife and child, and to go home to their houses, and to be told that the men of war did not make haste, and closed upon the other hard part of his men, and set them in opposition to the king of Syria, and the kings that were with him, and gave part of his horse to his brother Abishai, and made him the head of the horsemen, and said, "That in case he should see that the Syrians distressed him, and were too hard for him, he should order his troops to turn about, and return to him, that he himself would do the same to him, if he saw him in the like distress from the Ammonites." So he sent his brother before, and encouraged him to do every thing courageously and with alacrity, which would teach him to be a man of old courage, and to fight manfully; and so he dismissed him to fight with the Ammonites, while he fell upon the Syrians. And though they made a strong opposition for a while, Joab slew many of them, and stroked them; but the peo ple betrays them to fight; which, when the Ammonites saw, and were withal afraid of Abishai and his army, they said no longer, but imitated their auxiliaries, and died to The city. So Joab, when he had thus overthrown the enemy, returned with great joy to Jerusalem to the king.

3. Still this defeat did not induce the Ammonites to be quiet, nor to acknowledge as superior to them those whom they sent to Chal- laim the king of the Syrians, beyond Euphrates, and hired him for an auxiliary. He had Shobach for the captain of his host, with eighty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen. Now, when the king of the Hebrews understood that the Ammonites had again gathered so great an army together, he determined to make war with them no longer by his generals, but he passed over the river Jordan himself with all his army, and after a march of five days, gave them, with them, and overcame them, and slew forty thousand of their footmen, and seven thousand of their horsemen. He also wounded Shobach, the general of Chalamaun's forces, who died of his wounds. And when he was upon such a conclusion of the battle, delivered themselves up to David, and sent him presents, who at winter-time returned to Jerusalem. But at the best of it, both with his sword and with his spear, the captain of his host, to fight against the Ammonites; who overran all their country, and laid it waste, and shut them up in their metropolis Rab- bah, and besieged them therein.

CHAP. VII.

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

§ 1. But David fell now into a very grievous sin, though he were otherwise naturally a righteous and a religious man, and one that firmly ob- served the laws of God. And he being fatigued with his labors, and observing the time of the year, he one evening took a view round him from the roof of his royal palace, where he used to walk at that hour, he saw a woman washing herself in her own house; she was one of extraordinary beauty, and the sight surprised all his officers, and her name was Bathsheba. So he was overcome by that woman's beauty, and was not able to restrain his desires, but sent for her, and lay with her. Hereupon she conceived, and the next day, being informed of what she had committed, she should contrive some way for concealing her sin, (for according to the laws of their fathers, she, who had been guilty of adultery, ought to be put to death.) So the king sent for Joab, and, as a messenger from the siege, said to the woman's husband; and his name was Uriah: and when he came to the king inquired of him about the army, and about the siege, and when he had made answer, that all their affairs went according to their wishes, the king took some portions of meat from his supper and gave them to the soldier, and bade him go home to his wife, and take his rest with her. Uriah did not do so, but slept near the king, with the rest of his armour-bearers. When the king was informed of this, he asked him why he did not go home, and take his rest, and have his wife with him, and said, "So long an absence! which is the natural custom of all men, when they come from a long journey. He replied, that it was not right, while his fel- low-soldiers, and the generals of the army, were upon the ground, and in an enemy's country, that he should go and take his rest, and solace himself with his wife. So when he had thus replied, the king ordered him to stay there that night, that he might dismount and go his way the next day to the general. So the king invited Uriah to the supper, and after a cunning and dexterous manner plied him with drink at supper, till he was thereby disordered; yet he nevertheless slept at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. Upon this the king was very angry at him; and wrote to Joab, and commanded him to punish Uriah, for he had offended himself, and was a reproach to the manner in which he would have him punished, that it might not be disco- vered that he was himself the author of this his punishment; for he charged him to set him over against the weakest of the army, that the attack would be most hazardous, and where he might be deserted, and be in the greatest jeopardy, for he bade him order his fellow-soldiers to retire out of the fight. When he had written this order to Joab, and sent it to him, and the letter with it out of the royal palace, he gave it to Uriah to carry it to Joab. When Joab had received it, and upon reading it understood the king's purpose, he set Uriah in that place where he knew the enemy would most trouble him, and gave him for his part some of the best soldiers in the army; and said, that he would also come to their assistance with the whole army, that if possible they might break down some part of the wall, and enter he nevertheless sleep at the king's gates, without any inclination to go to his wife. 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wrong when they assaulted the wall, whereas they ought, by undermining and other stratagems of war, to endeavour the taking of the city, especially as they had brought against the example of Ablimech, the son of Gideon, who would needs take the tower of Thebes by force, and was killed by a large stone thrown at him by an old woman; and although he was a man of great ages, yet he was killed by the dangerous manner of his assault: that they should remember this accident, and not come near the enemy's wall, for that the best method of making war with success was to call to mind the ancient wars, that good or bad success had attended them in the like dangerous cases, that so they might imitate the one, and avoid the other. But when the king was in the disposition, the messenger told him, that Uriah was slain also; whereupon he was pacified. So he bid the messenger go back to Joab and tell him, that "this misfortune is no other than what is commum among mankind, and that such is his nature and such the necessity of war; Moreover, that sometimes the enemy will have success therein, and sometimes others; but that he ordered him to go on still in his care about the siege, that no ill accident might befall him in between, that they should raise earthworks, and use machines in besieging the city; and when they had gotten it, to overturn its very foundations and to destroy all those that are in it." Accordingly the messenger carried the king's message to the captain, who was much griefed, and made haste to Joab. But Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, when she was informed of the death of her husband, mourned for his death many days; and when Joab sent her word of the matter, she was of such a nature, that she could not sleep; a thing which she shed for Uriah were dried up, the king took her to wife presently, and a son was born to him by her.

3. With this marriage God was not well pleased, and became angry at David; and he appeared to Nathan the prophet in his sleep, and complained of the king. Now Nathan was a fair and prudent man; and considering that kings, when they fall into a passion, are guided more by their passion than by the justice, war, resolutions to conceal the threatenings that proceeded from God, and make a good-natured discourse to him, and this after the manner following: He desired that the king would give him his opinion in the following discourse: "The king (said he) two men inhabiting the same city, the one of them was rich, and (the other poor;) the rich man had a great many flocks of cattle, of sheep, and swine, but the poor man not one ewe nor one lamb; this he brought up with his children, and let her eat her food with them, and he had the same affection for her which any one might have for a daughter. Now upon the coming of a stranger to the rich man, he would not vouchsafe to kill any of his own flocks, and then he left his friend, but he sent for the poor man's lamb, and took her away from him, and made ready for food, and then shiped the stranger." This discourse troubled the king exceedingly; and he denounced to Nathan that "this man was a wicked man, who could dare to do such a thing; and that it was but just that he should die along with the lamb fourfold, and be punished with death for it also." Upon this Nathan immediately said, that "he was himself the man who ought to suffer those punishments, and that by his own sentence, and that it was he who perpetrated the thing; and that all they ought to do was freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them. So he wrote the king, and informed him thereof; and persuaded him to come himself to take the ram, and do the service, that he might have the honour of the victory." Upon this letter of Joab's the king accepted of his good-will and fidelity, and took with him his army, and came to the destruction
of Rabbah, and when he had taken it by force, he gave it to his soldiers to plunder it; but he himself took the king of the Ammonites’ crown, whose weight was a talent of gold; and it had in its middle a precious stone called a sardonyx; which crown David ever after wore on his own head. He also found many other vessels in the city: the upper part of the Ammonites’ palace was burned with fire, but as for the men, he tormented them, and then destroyed them: and when he had taken the other cities of the Ammonites by force, he treated them after the same manner.

CHAP. VIII.

How Absalom murdered Amnon, who had forc’d his own Sister; and how he was banished, and afterwards recalled by David.

§ 1. When the king was returned to Jerusalem, a sad misfortune befell his house, on the occasion following: He had a daughter, who was yet a virgin, and very handsome, inso much that she surpassed all the most beautiful women; her name was Tamar: she had the same mother with Absalom. Now Amnon, David’s eldest son, for his father, being weary of satisfying his desires, on account of her virginity, and the custody she was under, was much out of order; nay, his grief so ate up his body, that he grew lean, and his colour was changed. Now there was a certain friend of David’s named jonadab, who discovered this his passion, for he was an extraordinary wise man, and of great sagacity of mind. When therefore he saw that every method which Amnon was in was of no use, he called him to himself, and acquainted him with himself. So Jonadab suggested to him by what method and contrivance he might obtain his desires; for he persuaded him to pretend sickness, and bade him, when his father should come to him, to beg of him in his sister, to come and minister to him, for if that were done, he should be better, and should quickly recover from his distemper. So Amnon lay down on his bed, pretence to be sick, and as Jonadab had suggested. When his father came, he made inquiry how he did; he begged of him to send his sister to him. Accordingly he presently ordered her to be brought to him; and when she was come, Amnon bare her a most kind look, took her, put her in a pan, and brought her to him; but at that time he would not touch them, but gave order to his servants to send all that were there out of his chamber, because he had a mind to repose himself, free from tumult and disturbance. As soon as what he had commanded was done, he desired his sister to bring his supper to him into the inner parlour; which, when the damsel had done, he took hold of her, and endeavoured to persuade her to lie with him. Whereupon the damsel cried out, and said, “Nay, brother, do not force me, nor be so wicked as to transgress the laws, and bring upon thyself the utmost confusion. Curb this thy unrighteous and unjust desire, for then, as it is written, ‘there will get nothing but reproach and disgrace.’” She also advised him to speak to his father about this affair, for he would permit him to marry her.” This she said, as desirous to destroy his present wickedness. But he would not yield to her, but, inflamed with love, and blinded with the vehemency of his passion, he forced his sister: but as soon as Amnon had satisfied his lust, he immediately resented her immediately, and giving her reproachful words, made her rise up and be gone. And when she said, That “this was a more injurious treatment than the former, if, now he had forced her, he would not let her stay with him till the morning, but bid her go away in the daytime, and while it was light, that she might meet with people that would be wisest of her shame,” he commanded her servant to turn her out of his house. Whereupon she was sorely grieved at the injury and violence that had been offered to her, and rent her loose cost, (for the virgins of old time wore such loose coats tied at the hands, and let down to the ankles,) and made fagots of the materials, and sprinkled ashes on her head; and went up the middle of the city, crying out, and lamenting, for the violence that had been offered her. Now Absalom her brother happened to meet her, and she asked her, what was the matter with her, that she was in that plight? and when she had told him what injury had been offered her, he comforted her, and desired her to be quiet, and to take all patiently, and not to esteem her being abused as an injury. So she yielded to his advice, and left off her crying out, and discovering the force offered her to the multitude: and she continued as a widow with her brother Absalom, the son of Jesse.

2. When David his father knew this, he was grieved at the actions of Amnon; but because he had an extraordinary affection for him, for he was his eldest son, he was compelled not to afflict him: but Absalom watched for a fit opportunity of revenging this crime upon him, for he thoroughly hated him. Now the second year after this wicked affair about his sister was over, and Absalom was about to go to shephelah to drink at Baalhazor, the son of Ephraim, he besought his father, as well as his brethren, to come and feast with him: But when David excused himself, as not being willing to be burdened with the expenses attending it, Absalom was grieved to see how David refused to send his brethren; whom he did send accordingly. Then Absalom charged his own servants, that when they should see Amnon disorderly and drowzy with wine, he should give them a signal, they should fear nobody, but kill him.

3. When they had done as they were commanded, the rest of his brethren were astonished and disturbed, and were afraid for themselves, so they immediately got on horseback, and rode away to their father; but somebody there was who prevented them, and told their father they were all slain by Absalom; whereupon he was overcome with sorrow, as for so many of his sons that were destroyed at once, and that by their brother also; and by this consideration, that it was
their brother that appeared to have slain them, he aggravated his sorrow for them. So he neither inquired what was the cause of this slaughter, nor stayed to hear any thing else, which yet it was but reasonable to have examined, for his sorrow was so great, and by that greatness so incredible a misfortune was related to him, but rent his clothes, and threw himself upon the ground, and there lay, lamenting the death of all his children, who, as he was informed, were slain, and of him who slew them. But Jonadab, the son of his brother Shimeah, entreated him not to indulge his sorrow so far, for as to the rest of his sons, he could do nothing with them, they were dead, for he found no cause for such a suspicion; but he said it might deserve inquiry as to Amnon, for it was not unlikely that Absalom might venture to kill him on account of the injury he had offered to Tamar. In the meantime, a great noise of horses, and a tumult of some people that were coming, turned their attention to them; they were the king's sons, who were fled away from the feast. Sheba Nathan met them as they came in, and told them of the grief, and he himself grieved with them; but it was more than he expected to see those his sons again, whom he had a little before heard to have perished. However, there were tears on both sides, and they embraced each other, who was it best befell. So the king lamented his son, who was killed; also, but Absalom fled to Geshur, to his grandfather by his mother's side, who was king of that country, and he remained with him three years.

4. Now David had a design to send to Absalom, not that he should come to be punished, but that he might be with him, for the effects of his anointing by leading his name. And, in short, he endeavored, by sending him, to pacify his father entirely towards him; and to persuade him to return, and to come to see him, and speak with him. But when Joab neglected to do so, he sent some of his own servants, and set fire to the field adjoining to him; which, when Joab understood, he came to Absalom, and accused him of what he had done; and asked him the reason why he did so? To which Absalom replied, “I have found out this stratagem that might bring thee to us, while thou hast taken no care to perform the injunction. I laid upon thee, which was this, to reconcile my father to me: and I really begged of thee, now thou art here, to pacify my father as to me, since I esteem my coming hither to be more grievous than my son’s, while my father was at ease. And the continuance,” Hereby Joab was persuaded, and pitied the distress that Absalom was in, and became an intercessor with the king for him. And when he understood that his father, he soon brought him to that amicable disposition towards Absalom, that he presently sent for him to come to him; and when he had cast himself down upon the ground, and had begged for the forgiveness of his father to give the king all willing friends, and promised him to forget what he had formerly done.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Inurrection of Absalom against David; and concerning Ahithophel and Absalom, and the removing Ziba and Shimei: and how Ahithophel hanged himself.

§ 1. Now Absalom, upon this success with the king, procured to himself a great many horses, and many chariots, and in that little time also. He had moreover fifty armour-bearers that were about him; and he came early every day to the king’s palace, and spake what was agreeable to such as came for justice, and lost their causes, as if that happened for want of good counsellors about the king, or perhaps because the judge mistook in that unjust sentence they gave, whereby he gained the good-will of them all upon 2 Sam. xiv. 36. It does not appear what was Joab’s reason for going away from Absalom; but when he was out of his sight, Absalom refused his counsel, and told him to return to his friends; but he went away, and left his counsel with the king, which was a full thousand shekels. Dr. Whitgift’s critical notes on the Old Testament.
BOOK VII.—CHAP. IX.

He told them, that had he but such authority committed to him, he would distribute justice to them in a most equitable manner. When he had made himself so popular among the multitude, he thought he had already the good-will of the people secured to him, but when four years had passed since his father's reconciliation to him, he came to him, and besought him to give him leave to go to Hebron, and pay a sacrifice to God, because he vowed it to him when he fled out of his father's house as much as to be led away captive, and to stand in need of. And when the king asked him where he had left Mephibosheth? he said, "He had left him in Jerusalem, expecting to be chosen king in the present confluence, in remembrance of the benefits Saul had done them." At this the king had great indignation, and gave to Ziba all that he had formerly bestowed on Mephibosheth; for he determined that it was much fitter that he should have them than the other; at which Ziba greatly rejoiced.

4. When David was at Bahurim, a place so called, there came out a kinsman of Saul's, whose name was Shimei, and threw stones at him, and cut off his garments, and said, "Peace be with you, my lord, David, because your things stood about the king and protected him, he persevered still more in his reproaches, and called him a bloody man, and the author of all sorts of mischief. He hated him also "go out of the land of the living," and the king; and he thanked God for depriving him of his kingdom, and causing him to be punished for what injuries he had done to his master, [Saul], and this by the means of his own son. Now when they were provoked against him, and angry at him, and particularly Abisai, who had a mind to kill Shimei, David restrained his anger: "Let us not, said he, bring upon ourselves another fresh misfortune to those we have already, for truly I have not the least regard or concern for this dog that raves at me; I submit myself to God, by whose permission this man treats me in such a wild manner; nor is it any wonder that I am obliged to undergo these abuses from him, while I experience the like from an impious son of my own; but perhaps God will have some commiseration upon us, if he be his will we shall overcome them. So he went on his way; he would not trouble himself about Shimei, who ran along the other side of the mountain, and threw out his abusive language plentifully. But when David was come to Jordan, he allowed those that were with him to refresh themselves.

5. But when Abasolom, and Abithophel his counsellor, were come to Jerusalem, with all the people, David's friend, Hushai, came to them; and when he had worshipped Absalom, he wished that his kingdom might last a long time, and continue for all ages. But when Absalom said to him, "How comes this, that he who was so intimate a friend of my father's, and appeared faithful to him in all things, is not with him now, but hath left him, and is come over to me?" Hushai's answer was very pertinent and prudent; for he said, "We ought to follow God and the multitude of the people; and while these concur with thee, which are contrary to thy father: nor is there any reason to be in the least discontented with the present state of affairs, for the kingdom is not transferred unto another,
but remains still in the same family, by the son's receiving it after his father." This speech persuaded Abasalom, who before suspected Hushai. And now he called Ahithophel, and consulted with him what he ought to do: he persuaded him that he was a valiant father of counsel; for he said, that 'by this action the people will believe that thy difference with thy father is irreconcilable, and will thence fight with great anger against thee, for they are afraid of taking up open enmity against him, out of an expectation that you will be reconciled again.' Accordingly Abasalom was prevailed on by this advice, and commanded his servants to pitch him a tent in the rear of the army, in the sight of the multitude; and he went in and lay with his father's concubines. Now this came to pass according to the prediction of Nathan, when he prophesied and signified to him, that his son would rise up in rebellion against him. 6. And when Abasalom had done what he was advised to by Ahithophel, he desired his advice, in the second place, about the war against his father. Ahithophel advised him to let the soldiers back again in safety; and he said, that 'then the kingdom would be firm to him when David was gone out of the land.' Abasalom was pleased with this advice; and called for Hushai, David's friend, (for so did he style him,) and informing him of the opinion of Ahithophel, he asked further what was his opinion concerning it. Now, he was sensible that if Ahithophel's counsel was followed, David would be in danger of being seized on, and slain; so he attempted to introduce a contrary opinion, and said, 'The king is not acquainted with King, which is one of the fathers of this tribe are now with him; that he hath made many wars, and hath always come off with victory; though probably he now abides in the camp, for he is very skillful in stratagems, and foreseeing the deceitful tricks of his enemies, yet will he leave his own soldiers in the evening, and will either hide himself in some valley, or will place an ambush at some rock: so that when our army joins battle, with him, his soldiers will retire for a little while, but will come upon us again, as encouraged by the king's being near them; and in the mean time your father will show himself suddenly in the time of the battle, and will4 bring all to confusion into his people when they are in danger, but bring consternation to thine. Consider, therefore, my advice, and reason upon it, and if thou canst not but acknowledge it to be the best, reject the opinion of Ahithophel. Send to the entire country of the Hebrews, and order them to come and fight with thy father; and do thou thyself take the army, and be thine own general in this war, and do not trust its management to another; then expect to conquer him with ease, when thou overtakest him openly with his few partisans, but hast thyself many ten thousands, who will be desirous to demonstrate to thee their diligence and alacrity. Then shall shut him up in some city, and bear a siege, we will overthrow that city with machines of war, and by undermining it.' When Hushai had said this, he obtained his point against Ahithophel, for his opinion was preferred by Abasalom before the other's; however, it was no other than God who made the counsel of Hushai appear best to the mind of Abasalom. 7. So Hushai made haste to the high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and told them the opinion of Ahithophel, that the counsel was taken to follow this latter advice. He therefore bade them send to David, and tell him of it, and to inform him of the counsels that had been brought, and that the decision was to pass quickly over Jordan, lest his son should change his mind, and make haste to pursue him, and so prevent him, and seize upon him before he be in safety. Now, the high priests had their sons also with them; and as they should have seen they might carry news to David of what was transacted. Accordingly, they sent a maid servant whom they could trust, to carry them the news of Abasalom's counsels, and ordered them to signify the same to David with all speed, so they made no excuse or delay, but taking along with them their fathers' injunctions, because pious and faithful ministers, and judging that they would give him the best advice: the best mark of faithful service, they made haste to tell David; but certain horsemen saw them when they were two furlongs from the city, and informed Abasalom of them, who immediately sent some of the king's servants: and as the high priests perceived this, they went out of the town, and betook themselves to a certain village; that village was called Bakurium; there they desired a certain woman to hide them, and afford them refreshment. And when the woman showed them down by a rope into a well, and laid pieces of wool over them: and when those that pursued them came to her, and asked her whether she saw them, and she did not deny that she had seen them, for she was a staid woman, she said they then went their ways; and she foretold, that, however, if they would follow them directly, they would catch them. But when after a long pursuit they could not catch them, they came back again; and when the woman who those men were returned, and that there was no longer any fear of the young men's being caught by them, she drew them up by the rope, and bade them go and meditate upon the journey. Accordingly, they used great diligence in the prosecution of that journey, and came to David and informed him accurately of all the counsels of Abasalom. So he commanded those that were with him to pass over the river, and observed that night, and not to delay to tell him all that had been done. 8. But Ahithophel, on rejection of his advice, got upon his ass, and rode away to his own country Gilead; and calling his family together, he told them distinctly what advice he had given Abasalom; and since he had not been persuaded by it, he said he would evidently perish, and this in no long time, and that David would overcome him, and return to his kingdom again; so he said it was better that he should take his own life away with freedom and magnanimity, than expose himself to be punished by David, in opposition to whom he had acted entirely for Abasalom. And when Whorid when he went into the innmost room of his house, and hanged himself; and thus was the death of Ahithophel, who was self-condemned: and when his relations had taken him down from the halter, they took...
care of his funeral. Now, as for David, he passed over Jordan, as we have said already, and came to Mahanaim, a very fine and very strong city; and all the chief men of the country received him with great gladness. The dead body of Gideon they had that he should be forced to flee away, from Jerusalem, and out of the respect they bare him while he was in his former prosperity. These were Barzillai the Gileadite, and Siphar the ruler among the Ammonites, and the principal man of Gideon; and these furnished him with plentiful provisions for himself and his followers, as much as they wanted no beds nor blankets for them. And Joab knew that they brought them a great many cattle for slaughter, and offered them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

CHAP. X.

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

§ 1. AND this was the state of David and his followers. But Absalom got together a vast army of the Hebrews to oppose his father, and passed therewith over the river Jordan, and sat down not far off on the other side of the country of Gilead. He appointed Amasa to be captain of all his host, instead of Joab his kinsman: his father was Ithra, and his mother Abigail: now she and Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, were David's sisters. But Joab, the next to Abishai, Joab's brother, and the third to Ittini, David's companion and friend, and one that came from the city of Gath. And when Joab saw that they fled, and thought they would not come to him, his friends would not let him; and this refusal of theirs was founded upon very wise reasons: "For, (said they,) if we be conquered when he is with us, we have lost all good hopes of recovering ourselves; but if we should be beaten in one part of our army, the other parts may retire to him, and may thereby prepare a greater force, while the enemy will naturally suppose that he hath another army with him." So David was well advised, and sent away Joab, and committed the watch of his person to himself to tarry at Mahanaim. And as he sent his friends and commanders to the battle, he desired them to show all possible alacrity and fidelity, and to bear in mind what advantages they should have, that they might, in that great danger, not be very great, yet had they not been quite inconsiderable; and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself if he should be killed. And thus did he send out his army to the battle, and wished them a victory therein.

2. Then did Joab put his army in battle array over against the enemy in the great plain, where he knew that the king was. Being thus in fight, Joab watched whether David might recover his kingdom; and the other being noway deficient, either in doing or suffering, that Absalom might not be deprived of that kingdom, and be brought to punishment by his father, for his impudent attempt against him. These also that were the most numerous were solicitous that they might not be conquered by those few that were with Joab, and with the other commanders, because that would be the greatest disgrace to them, while David's soldiers strove greatly in bravery, and many ten thousands (as the enemy had with them.) Now David's men were conquerors, as superior in strength and skill in war; so they followed the others as they fled away through the forests and valleys; some they took prisoners, and many they slew, and more in the fight than in the battle, for there fell about twenty thousand that day. But all David's men ran violently upon Absalom, for Joab was an expert general, and taught them how they brought a great many cattle for slaughter, and offered them what furniture they wanted for their refreshment when they were weary, and for food, with plenty of other necessaries.

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

4. But now Ahimeaz, the son of Zadok, the high priest, went to Joab, and desired he would permit him to go and tell David of this victory, and to bring him the good news that God had afforded his assistance and his providence to him. However, he did not grant his request; but said to him, "Wilt thou, who hast always been the messenger of good news, now go and acquaint the king that the son is dead, which it is to Joab to desire. He then called Cush, and committed the business to him, that he should tell the king what he had seen. But when Ahimeaz again desired him to let him go as messenger, and assured him that he would only relate what concerned the victory, but not concerning the death of Absalom, he gave him leave to go to David. Now he took a nearer road than the former did, for he saw the smoke of the battle came before Cush. Now as David was sitting between the gates, and waiting to see what causes were heard, and public consultations taken, as it is well known from several places of scripture, 9 Chron. xxxii. 9; Psal. ix. 14; xxxii. 5; Prov. i. 31; xi. 3, 34; xxxii. 33; and often elsewhere.
somebody would come to him from the battle, and tell him how it went, one of the watchmen saw Absalom running, and before he could discern who he was, he told him that he was somebody coming to him; who said, he was a good messenger. A little while after he informed him that another messenger followed him; whereupon the King said that he would send a good messenger to the watchman. When the watchman saw Abi- massa, and that he was already very near, he gave the king notice that it was the son of Zadok the high priest, who came running. So David was very angry: he said, 'He was a messenger of good tidings, and brought him some such news from the battle as he desired to hear.'

5. While the king was saying thus, Abishai appeared, and worshipped the king. And when the king inquired of him how the battle went, he said, 'He brought him the good news of victory and dominion.' And when he inquired what he had to say concerning his son, he said, 'That he came away on the sudden as soon as he heard that his army was defeated, but that he heard a great noise of those that pursued Absalom, and that he could earn no more, because of the haste he made when Joab sent him to inform him of the victory. And when he was coming, he was consented of the worshippers him, and informed him of the victory, he asked him about his son; who replied, 'May the like misfortune befall those enemys as hath befallen Absalom.' That word did not permit either of the fifty or his soldiers that they went with him, but all of them deserted him, and cried out, 'O my son! I wish that I had died myself, and ended my days with thee!' For he was of a tender natural affection, and had extraordinary compassion for the dead. But when the army and Joab heard that the king mourned for this son, they were ashamed to enter the city in the habit of conquerors, but they all came in as cast down, and in tears, as if they had been beaten. Now while the king comforted himself, and grieved lanesthet his son, Joab went in to him, and comforted him, and said, 'O my lord the king, thou art not aware that thou livest a bit on thyself by what thou now dost: for thou seemest to hate thyself, thy household, and thy doings, for these; nay, to hate thyself and thy family, and to love those that are thy bitter enemies, and to desire the company of those of that are no more than slaves to thee; for had Absalom gotten the victory, and firmly settled himself in the kingdom, there had been none of us left alive, but all of us, beginning with thyself and thy children, had miserably perished, while our enemies had not swept over us, but rejoiced over us, and punished even those that pitied us in our misfortunes; and thou art not ashamed to do this in the case of one that has been thy bitter enemy, who, while he was thine overrider, was so wicked and so wicked for thee; nay, therefore, thy unreasonable grief, and come abroad, and be seen by thy soldiers, and return them thanks for the assistance they showed in the fight, for by myself will I this day persuade the people to leave thee, and to give the kingdom to another, if thou continuest to do thus; and then I shall make thee to grieve bitterly, and in earnest. Upon Joab's speaking thus to him, he turned to leave off his counsel, and brought him to the consideration of his affairs. So David changed his habit, and exposed himself in a manner fit to be seen by the multitude, and sat at the gates; whereupon all the people heard of it, and ran together to him, and saluted him. And this was the present state of David's affairs.

**Antiquities of the Jews.**

**Chapter XI.**

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

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

2. When the ambassadors came to him, he came to Jerusalem; and the tribe of Judah was the first that came to meet the king at the river Jordan forced seven ways, the son of Zeruiah, who was with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freedman of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge (of boats) over the river, that the king and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it. Now as soon as he was come to Jordan, the tribe of Benjamin laid their bridge, and took hold of his feet, and prayed him "to forgive him what he had offended, and not to be too bitter against him, nor to think fit to make him the first example of severity under his new authority; but to consider that he had repented of his failure of duty, and had taken care to come first of all to him." While he was thus entreating the king, and moving him to compassion, Abishai, Joab's brother, said, "And shall not this man die for this, that he hath cursed that king whom God hath appointed to present reading in Jeremiah, and for city should read gates, i.e. instead of the highest part of the city, should say the highest part of the gate. Accordingly we find David presently in Josephus, as well as in our other copies, 9 Macc. xix. 8, setting as before in the gate of the city.
reign over us?" But David turned himself to him, and said, "Will ye never leave off, ye sons of Zeruiah? Do not ye know, that the Lord hath chosen David to build an house unto him?"

2. Mephibosheth also, Saul's grandson, met David, clothed in a sodiroid garment, and having his hair thick and neglected: for after David was fled from Saul, the servants of Saul cut off his hair. He did not pull his head, nor had he washed his clothes, as dooming himself to undergo such hardships upon occasion of the change of the king's affairs. Now he had been unjustly calumniated to the king by Ziba his steward. When he had saluted the king, and worshipped him, the king began to reproach him, saying, "Why did he not go out of Jerusalem with you, and accompany him during his flight?" He replied, "This piece of injustice was not done to Ziba, because, when he was ordered to get things ready for his going out with him, he took care of it, but regarded him no more than if he had been a slave; and indeed, had I had the power of killing him, I would have rooted him out, as I might have done. I have not received any gifts from him, which might give rise to any enmity in my heart."

3. When the ruler of the tribe of Judah was not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for said they, "We are David's kindred, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and came first to meet him; yet you have not, hitherto, received any gifts from him, which might give us just cause of complaint."

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

5. Now the principal men of the country came to Gilgal to him with a great multitude, and complained of the tribe of Judah, that they had come to him in a private manner, whereas they ought all conjointly, and with one and the same intention, to have given him the meeting. But the ruler of the tribe of Judah was not to be displeased, if they had been prevented by them; for said they, "We are David's kin, and on that account we the rather took care of him, and loved him, and so came first to meet him; yet you have not, hitherto, received any gifts from him, which might give them who came last any uneasiness." When the rulers of the tribe of Judah had said this, the rulers of the other tribes were not quiet, but said further, "O brethren, we cannot help wonder at you, when you call the king yourkinsman alone, whereas he that hath received from God the power over all of us in common, ought to be esteemed a kinsman to us all; for which reason every one of us has part in his favor, and you but one part: we also are older than you; wherefore you have not done justly in coming to the king in this private and concealed manner.

6. While these rulers were thus disputing one with another, a certain wicked man who took a pleasure in seditious practices, (his name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin,) stood up in the midst of the multitude, and cried aloud in the presence of king David, "Why is there no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse." And when he had used those words, he blew with a trumpet, and declared war against the king, and said that all those that left David were the tribe of Judah alone staid with him, and settled him in his royal palace at Jerusalem. But as for his concubines, with whom Absalom his son had accompanied, truly he removed them to another house; and ordered those that had the care of them to make a plentiful provision for them, but he came not near them any more. He also appointed Amasa for the captain of his forces, and gave him the same high office which Joab before had; and commanded him to gather together out of the tribe of Judah as great an army as he could, and to come to him within three days, that he might deliver him his entire army, and might send him to fight against Sheba the son of Bichri, who was gone out, and made some delay in gathering the army together, and so was not yet returned, on the third day the king said to Joab, "It is not fit we
should make any delay in this affair of Sheba, lest he get a numerous army about him, and be
the occasion of greater mischief, and hurt our af-
fairs more than did Absalom himself; do not thou, therefore, wait any longer, but take such forces as thou hast at hand, and that [old body] of six hundred men, and give orders that the rest of the army with Absalom should follow him, but
marched with great speed against Sheba; and when he was come to Gibeon, which is a village
forty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, Amasa brought a great army with him, and met Joab. Now Joab was girded with a sword and his breast-
plate on; and when Amasa came near him to salute him, he took particular care that his sword should fall out as it were of its own ac-
cord, and took it up, from the ground, and
while he approached Amasa, who was then near
him, as though he would kiss him, he took hold
of Amasa's beard with his other hand, and he
smote him in his belly when he did not foresee it, and thus killed him. This infamous and altogether
proflane action, Joab did to a good young man,
and his kinsman, and one that had done him no
injury, and this out of jealousy that he would obtain the chief command of the army, and be
in it, and that he might be in command of the king; and for the same cause it was that he killed
Abner. But as to that former wicked action, the death of his brother Asahel, which he seemed
to have revenged, afforded him a just sentence, and made that crime a pardonable one; but in
this murder of Amasa there was no such covering for it. Now when Joab had killed this general, he
pursued after Sheba, having left a man with the dead body, who was ordered to proclaim
aloud to the army, that Amasa was justly slain,
and deservedly punished. "But, (said he,) if you be for the king, follow Joab his general, and
Abishai Joab's brother. But because the body lay 300 feet over the cliff, and the hill was not
coming to it, and, as is usual with the multitude, wondering a great while at it, he that guarded it
removed it thence, and carried it to a certain place distant from the road, and there laid it, and covered it with his garment. When this was done, all the people followed
Joab. Now as he pursued Sheba through all the country of Israel, one told him that he was in
a strong city called Abel-beth-maachah; here
upon Joab went thither, and set about it with his
army, and cast up a bank round it, and ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls, and to over-
throw them; and since the people in the city did not admit him, he was greatly displeased at
them.

8. Now there was a woman of small account, and yet both wise and intelligent, who seeing
her native city lying at the last extremity, as-
certained to save it, and by her advice the armed
men called for Joab; and when he came near
her, she began to say, that " God ordained kings and generals of armies that they might cut off
the enemies of the Hebrews, and introduce a
universal peace among them; but thou art ex-
ceavoursing to overthrow and depopulate a met-
polis of the Israelites, which hath been guilty of
no offence." But he replied, " God continue to favour thee; I am determined to avoid killing any one of the people, much less would I
destroy such a city as this: and if they will de-
lever me up Sheba, the son of Bichri, who hath
rebelled against the king. I will leave off the siege, and withdraw the army from the place."

Now as soon as the woman heard what Joab said, she determined to intermit the siege for a little
while, for that he should have the head of his
enemy thrown out to him presently. So she went
down to the citizens, and said to them, " Will
you be so wicked as to perish miserably, with
your children and wives, for the sake of a vile
fellow, and one whom nobody knows who he is?
And will you have him for your king instead of
David, who hath been so great a benefactor to
you, and opposed some city to save, and some
army?" So she prevailed with them, and they cut off the head of Sheba, and threw it
into Joab's army. When this was done, the king's
general sounded a retreat, and raised the siege:
and when the king was again appointed to be general of all the people
The king also constituted Ben-haiah captain of the
guards and of the six hundred men. He also set
Adoram over the tribute, and Saba-thath and
Achilias over the records. He made Sheva the
scribe, and appointed Zadok and Abia-thar the
high priests.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews were delivered from a famine
when the Gibeonites had caused Punishment to be
inflicted on some of them, lest they should stain; as
also what great Actions were performed against the
Philistines by David, and the men of Valour about him.

§ 1. After this, when the country was greatly
afflicted with a famine, David besought God to
have mercy on the people, and to discover to
him what was the cause of the king; and how a remedy
might be found for that distemper. And then the
prophets answered, that God would have the
Gibeonites avenged, whom Saul the king was
so widly suspected of having slain; and we observed the oath which Joshua the general and the
senate had sworn to them. If, therefore, said God, the king would permit such vengeance to
be taken for those that were slain, as the Gibeonites should desire, he promised that he
would be reconciled to them, and free the mul-
titude from their miseries. As soon, therefore,
as the king understood that this it was which God
sought, he sent for the Gibeonites, and asked them
what was the cause of the king; and they desired to have seven sons of Saul delivered
to them, to be punished, he delivered them
up, but spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jona
than. So the king rewarded the Gibeonites who had
mercy on them as they pleased; upon which God began to send rain, and to recover the
earth to bring forth its fruits as usual, and to free it from the foregoing drought, so that the
country of the Hebrews flourished again. A little
afterward the king made war against the Philis-
tines; and when he had joined battle with them,
and put them to flight, he was left alone as he
was in pursuit of them; and when he was quite
tired down, he was seen by one of the enemy;
his name was Achmon, the son of Araph; he was one of the sons of the giants. He
had a spear, the handle of which weighed three
hundred shekels, and a breastplate of brass, and
ran violently to slay [David] their enemies' king, for he was quite tired out with labour; but Abia-thai,
Joab's brother, appeared on the sudden, protect-
ted the king with his sword, as he lay down, and
killed the enemy. Now the multitude were very
uneasy at these dangers of the king, and that he
was very near to be slain: and the rulers made
him swear that he would no more go out with
the army, lest he should be killed by the enemy
misfortune by his courage and boldness, and thereby deprive the people of the benefits they
now enjoyed by his means, and of those that they
might hereafter enjoy by his living a long time
among them.
2. When the king heard that the Philistines were gathered together at the city Gazer, he sent an army against them, when Si bakeh, the high priest, whom I was then, behaved himself so as to deserve great commendation; for he slew many of those that bragged they were the posterity of the giants, and vaunted themselves highly on that account, and their names were written in the records of the mountains and in the valley of the brooks. After which defeat, the Philistines made war again: and when David had sent an army against them, Nephun, his kinman, fought in a single battle with the strongest of all the Philistines, and slew him, and put him to flight. Many of them also were slain in the fight. Now a little while after this, the Philistines pitched their camp at a city which lay not far off the bounds of the country of the Hebrews. They had a man who was six cubits tall, and had on each of his feet and hands one more toe and finger than men naturally have. Now the person who was sent against him by David out of his army was Jonathan, the son of Shimeon, who fought this man in a single combat, and slew him; and as he was the person who gave the turn to the battle, he gained the greatest reputation for courage. This can also very justly be said of the sons of the giants. But after this flight, the Philistines made war no more against the Israelites.

3. And now David, being freed from these and dangers, was engaging for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre. Some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters; he also made instruments of music, and taught the Levites to sing hymns to God, both on that called the Sabbath day, and on the other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The violin was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery and Arad were like a lyre, and made upon that called the Sabbath day, and on the other festivals. Now the construction of the instruments was thus: The violin was an instrument of ten strings, it was played upon with a bow; the psaltery and Arad were like a lyre, and made of wood, and were made of brass. And so much shall suffice to be spoken by us about these instruments, that the readers may not be wholly unacquainted with their nature.

4. Now all the men that were about David, were men of courage. Those that were most illustrious and famous of them for their actions were about six hundred. Of them David was the bravest, and relate the performances, for these will suffice to make manifest the virtues of the others also; for these were powerful enough to subdue countries, and conquer great nations. First, therefore, concerning Abishai, Joab’s brother; for he in one day slew six hundred. The fifth of these was Hamed, by lineage a priest; for being challenged by two eminent men in the country of Moab, he overcame them by his valour. Moreover, there was a man, by nation an Egyptian, who was of a vast height, and strong as a lion, and was not unarmoured, kill him with his own spear, which he threw at him, for he caught him by force, and took away his weapons, while he was alive and to Babylon at the captivity of the two tribes, were brought back after that captivity; as also, that the singers and musicians, who ordained that captivity, came both from those instruments: Exod. xii. 41; Neh. xi. 26; Ant. B. xii. ch. ii. sect. 9, and ch. iv. sect. ii.; and that the music and these instruments at the temple, was well known to the Jews, and a practise belonging to that temple: who accordingly gives us a short description of three of the instruments, Ant. B. vii. ch. xii. sect. 3, and gives us a distinct account, that such psalms and hymns were sung in his days at that temple, Ant. B. x. ch. ix. sect. 6: so that Josephus’s authority is beyond exception in these matters. Nor can any body be found to disagree with Josephus’s characters, be justly supposed the true master of the ancient Hebrews; nor indeed is there, I think, any other account of these men, which is so probable, as that of the several nations and countries, and particularly, As we have already said, to inquire of God concerning the battle, while the enemy’s camp lay in the valley that extends to the city Beth-lehem, there is a temple distant from Jerusalem. Now David said to his companions, “We have excellent water in my own city, especially that which is in the pit near the gate.” And when any one of his servants would offer him some of it to drink: but he said, that “he would rather have it than a great deal of money.” When these three men heard what he said, they ran away immediately, and burst through the midst of the enemy’s camp, and came to Beth-lehem; and when they had drawn the water, they returned again through the enemy’s camp to the king, insomuch that the Philistines were so surprised at their boldness and acuteness, that they were quite put out of countenance; as if they despaired their small number. But when the water was brought to the king, he would not drink it, saying, that “it was brought by the danger and the blood of men, and that it was not proper on that account to drink it.” But he poured it out to God, and gave him thanks for the salvation of the men. 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**ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.**

**CHAP. XIII.**

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

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

2. Now when the prophets had signified to David that God was angry at him, he began to entreat him, and to desire he would be merciful to him, and forgive his sin. But God sent Nathan and commanded him, and sent him to the prophet, to propose to him the election of three things, that he might choose which he liked best: "Whether he would have a famine come upon the country for seven years? or whether he would have a war, and be subdued three months by his enemies? or whether God should send a pestilence and a distemper upon the Hebrews for three days?" But as he was fallen to a fatal choice of great miseries, he was in trouble, and sorely confounded; and when the prophet had said that he must of necessity make his choice, and had ordered him to answer quickly, that he might declare what he had chosen to God, the king reasoned with himself, that in his order to bid him consult, he would appear to do it for others, and without danger to himself; since he had a great deal of corn stored up, but to the harm of others: that in case he should choose to be overcome [by his enemies] for three months, he would have chosen war, because he had valiant men about him, and strong holds, and that, therefore, he feared nothing therefrom: so he chose that affiction which is common to kings and to their subjects, and subject to the fate of all sides; and said this beforehand, that "it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of his enemies."

3. When the prophet had heard this, he declared it to God; who thereupon sent a pestilence and a mortality upon the Hebrews; nor did they sue after one and the same manner, nor so that it was easy to know what the distemper was. Now it was a great thing to be punished. But it carried them off by ten thousand causes and occasions, which those that were afflicted could not understand; for one died upon the neck of another, and the terrible malady seized them before they could reach the place where it immediately slew him. This is what some give up the ghost immediately with very great pains and bitter grief, and some were worn away by their distresses, and had nothing remaining but to be buried, and they not being able to remove the dead bodies from them. Some were strangled; some were choked, and greatly lamented their case, as being also stricken with a sudden darkness; some there were, who, as they were burying a relation, fell down dead, without finishing the rites of the funeral. Now it happened in the case of this disease, which began with the morning and lasted till the hour of dinner, seventy thousand. Nay, the angel stretched out his hand, and took up the balance of the death of those that had been punished. And when the king looked up into the air, and saw the angel carried along thereby unto Jerusalem, with his sword drawn, he said to God, that "he might justly be punished, who was their shepherd, but that the shepherds should not perish at the same time with the sheep, he smitten at all; and he improved God that he would send his wrath upon him, and upon all his family, but spare the people."

4. When God heard his supplication, he ceased the punishment, and sent the prophet to him, and commanded him to go up immediately to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and build an altar there to God, and offer sacrifices. When David heard that, he did not neglect his duty; but made haste to the

* The words of God by Moses, Exod. xxviii. 19, sufficiently justify what is here given by Josephus in reference to the great plague mentioned in this chapter: "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, after their number, thou shalt give every man a reason for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them." Nor indeed could David's or the Samuel's merit of executing this law, be exalted above this; who ought rather to have brought their burdens of half a shekel a piece with them, when they came to be numbered. The great miseries that befell them, and with their wicked kings and governors is this, that they almost constantly comply with them in their neglect of the laws of God, and suffer those divine laws to go into disuse or contempt, in order to please those wicked kings and governors; and that they submit to several wicked political laws and commands of those kings and governors, instead of the divine laws of God, which all mankind ought ever to obey, lest their kings and governors may what they please to the contrary: this pre-
place appointed him. Now Araunah was threshing wheat; and when he saw the king and all his servants coming to him, he ran before, and came to him, and worshipped him: he was by his lineage a Jebusite, but a particular friend of David; and for that cause it was, that when he overthrew the city he did him no harm, as we informed the reader a little before. Now Araunah inquired, therefore is not my lord come to his own house? He answered, Tush, my lord, whereas the threshing-floor, that he might therein build an altar to God, and offer a sacrifice. He replied, that he freely gave him both the threshing-floor, and the ploughs, and the threshing-commons; that he might build an altar to God graciously to accept his sacrifice. But the king made answer, that he took his generosity and magnanimity kindly, and accepted his good will, but he desired him to take the price of them all, for it was not just to offer a sacrifice that cost nothing. And when Araunah said, he would do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor of him for fifty shekels. And when he had built an altar, he performed divers service, and brought a burnt-offering, and offered peace-offerings also. With these God was pacified, and became gracious to them again. Now it happened, that Abraham came and offered his son Isaac for a burnt-offering; and when the youth was ready to have his throat cut, a ram appeared on a sudden, standing by the altar, which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son, as we have before related. Now when king David saw that the Lord had shown him the way to perform the sacrifice of the Lord, he accepted of his sacrifices, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God there. Which words he uttered very properly to them that were about him; for God sent the prophet to him, and told him, that there should his son build him an altar, that son who was to take the kingdom after him.

CHAP. XIV.

That David made great Preparations for the House of God; and that upon Abinadab's Attempt to gain the Kingdom, he appeased Solomon to reign.

§ 1. After the delivery of this prophecy, the king commanded the strangers to be numbered; and they were found to be one hundred and eigh-

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2. So David called his son Solomon, and charged him with a secret, that here his son should build a temple to God; and said, I was willing to build God a temple myself, but he prohibited me, because I was polluted with blood and war:

3. David was now in years, and his body, by length of time, was become cold, and benumbed, so much that he could get no heat by covering himself with many clothes: and when the physicians came to him, they gave him advice, that a beautiful virgin, chosen out of the whole country, should sleep by the king's side, and that this damsel would communicate heat to him, and be a remedy against his numbness. Now there was found in the city one woman of a superior beauty to all other women, (her name was Abishag,) who, sleeping with the king, did no more than communicat heat to him, for she was so old that he could not know her as a husband knows his wife. But of this woman we shall speak more presently.

4. Now the fourth son of David was a beautiful young man, and tall, born to him of Haggith his wife. He was named Absalom, because of his disposition like to Absalom, and exalted himself as hoping to be king; and told his friends that he ought to take the government upon him. He also prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to ride before him; and when he saw this, he did not reprove him, nor restrain him from his purpose, but did he go so far as to ask wherefore he did so? Now Abinadab had for

larily in 1 Chron. xxv. 26, 29; and xxvi. 1; to which place I refer the reader.

1 Of the quantity of gold and silver expended in the building of Solomon's temple, and wherein it arose, see the Description of the Temple, chap. xix.
his assistants, Joab the captain of the army, and Abia-ath-br the high priest; and the only persons that were in the sanctuary were Zadok the high priest, and the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah, who was captain of the guards, and Shimei, David's friend, with all the other most mighty men. Now Adonijah had prepared a supper out of the city, near the fountain which was in the king's paradise, and had invited all his brethren except Solomon, and had taken with him Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar, and the rulers of the tribe of Judah; and had also sent a feast unto Zadok the high priest, nor Nathan the prophet, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards, nor any of those of the contrary party. This matter was told by Nathan the prophet to Bathseba, Solomon's mother, that Adonijah was king, and that David knew nothing of it; and he advised her to save herself, and her son Solomon, and to go by herself to David, and say to him, that "he had indeed sworn that Solomon should reign after him, but that, in the mean time, Adonijah had already taken the kingdom." He said, that he, the prophet himself, would come after her, and when she had spoken thus to the king, would confirm what she had said. Accordingly, Bathsheba went in, and said to the king, and worshipped him, and when she had desired leave to speak with him, she told him all things in the manner that Nathan had suggested to her, and raised Adonijah, whom she had heard of, and who were his wisest men; had invited; Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab the general, and David's sons, excepting Solomon and his intimate friends. She also said, "That all the people had their hearts upon him, but that they were afraid to make known whom he would choose for their king." She desired him also to consider how, after his departure, Adonijah, if he were king, would slay her and her son Solomon. She said that she was speaking, the keeper of the king's chambers, told him, that Nathan desired to see him. And when the king had commanded that he should be admitted, he came in, and asked him, whether he had ordained Adonijah to be king, and delivered the government to him or not; for that he had made a splendid supper, and invited all his sons, except Solomon, as also that he had invited Joab the captain of the army, and Abiathar, nor the high priest, who are feasting with applause, and many joyful sounds of instruments, and wish that his kingdom may last for ever; but he hath not invited me, nor Zadok the high priest, nor Benaiah the captain of the guards; and it is but just that all shall know whether this be done by thy approbation or not. When Nathan had said thus, the king commanded that they should call Bathsheba to him, for she had gone out of the room when the prophet came. And when Bathsheba was come, David said, "I swear by Almighty God, that thy son Solomon shall certainly be king, as I formerly warned, and that he shall sit upon my throne, and that this very day also. So Bathsheba worshipped the Lord, who had delivered her out of all her troubles; and the king sent for Zadok the high priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guards; and when they were come, he ordered them to take with them Nathan the prophet, and all the chief men about the palace, and to set his son Solomon upon the king's mule, and to carry him out of the city to the fountain called Gihon, and to anoint him there with the holy oil, and to make him king. Then called the king Zadok the high priest, and Nathan the prophet, to do, and commanded them to follow Solomon through the midst of the city, and to sound the trumpets, and to wish aloud, 'That Solomon the king may sit upon the royal throne of Israel, for ever and ever.' The people may also know that he is ordained king by his father. He also gave Solomon a charge concerning his government, to rule the whole nation of the Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah, religiously and righteously. And when Benaiah and the men of the guard brought Solomon upon the mule, and brought him out of the city to the fountain, and anointed him with oil, and brought him into the city again, with acclamations and singing, what his guidance might continue a long time: and when they had introduced him into the king's house, they set him upon the throne. Whereupon all the people betook themselves to the shouts of praise, and to the clapping of their hands, and delighting themselves with musical pipes, till both the earth and the air echoed with the multitude of the instruments of music. 6. Now when Adonijah and his guests perceived this noise, they were in disorder; and when their king Joab the captain of the host said, "He was not pleased with these echoes, and the sound of these trumpets." And when supper was set before them, nobody tasted of it, but they were all very thoughtless, and not at all taking notice of what was going on. Then Jonathan, the son of Abiathar the high priest, came running to them; and when Adonijah saw the young man gladly, and said to him that he had done a good act, and said to him that he had done a good act, and bade him hold his chatter about Solomon, and the determination of king David; hereupon both Adonijah and all his guests rose hastily from the feast, and every one fled to their own houses; Adonijah also, the son of Absalom, became a suppliant to God, and took hold of the horns of the altar, which were prominent. It was also told Solomon that he had so done; and that he desired to receive assurances from him that he was not to fear mischief from him; and that he should not infect any severe punishment for it. Solomon answered very mildly and prudently that 'he forgave him this his offense,' but said withal, that 'if he were found out in any attempt to destroy him, he would take care that he would lose his own punishment.' So he sent to him, and raised him up from the place of his supplantation. And when he was come to the king, and had worshipped him, the king bade him go away to his own house, and have no suspicion of any harm; and desired him to show himself a worthy man, as what would tend to his own advantage. 7. But David being desirous of ordaining his son to be king, he sent to his captains, and rulers to Jerusalem, with the priests and the Levites; and having first numbered the Levites, he found them to be thirty-eight thousand, from thirty years old to fifty: out of which he appointed officers over them; and numbered also the men of the building of the temple, and out of the same six thousand to be judges of the people and scribes, four thousand for porters to the house of God, and as many for singers, to sing to the instruments which David had prepared, as we have said afore. He divided them also into courses; and when he had separated the priests from them, he found of these priests twenty-four courses, sixteen of the chief priests, Eleazar, and eight of that of the Levites; and he made the courses minister to God eight days from Sabbath to Sabbath. And thus were the courses distributed by lot, in the presence of David, and Zadok and Abiathar the high priests, and such men about the temple, and such men about the building of the temple, and in the holy place, and such men as were to have charge of the courses which came up first was written down as the first, and accordingly the second, and so on to the twenty-fourth; and this partition hath remained to this day. He also made twenty-four courses of the Levites, and such men as were to have charge of the courses of eight days. He also honoured the posterity of Moses, and made them the keepers of the treasures of God, and of the donacions wherein was written the word of God; and he charge them to be sure that all the tribe of Levi, as well as the priests, should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.
8. After this he parted the entire army into twelve parts, with their leaders, (and captains of hundreds,) and commanders. 

Now every part had twenty-four thousand, which were ordered to David, by the men of the house of Solomon, by the time, from the first day till the last, with them a thousand men, and captains of hundreds. He also set rules over every part, such as he knew to be good and righteous men. He set others also to lead the multitude in the wars of the Lord, over the divisions, and of the fields, and of the beasts, whose names I do not think it necessary to mention. When David had ordered all these offices after the manner before mentioned, he called the rulers of the house of David, and of the chief of the scribes over the several divisions, and those that were appointed over every work, and every possession; and standing upon a high pulpit, he said to the multitude as follows: 

"My brethren and my people, I would have you know, that I intended to build a house for God, and prepared a large quantity of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of silver, but God prohibited me by the prophet, saying, 'Thou shalt not build me a temple, on thy account, and because my right hand was polluted with the slaughter of our enemies; but he commanded that my son, who was to succeed me in the kingdom, should build a temple for him. Now, therefore, give thanksgiving to God, and deliver to Solomon twelve sons whom Jacob our forefather had, Judah was appointed to be king, and that I was preferred before my six brethren, and received the government from God, and that none of them was chosen; but God also said to me, moreover, that my sons be not sedition one against another, now Solomon has received the kingdom, but to bear him cheerfully for their lord, as knowing that God chose him for it is not a glorious thing to over every thing for a greater part of the kingdom of God's will, but it is fit to rejoice when a brother hath obtained that dignity, since the rest partake of it with him. I pray that the promises of God may be fulfilled, and the king be prosperous, in which he hath promised to bestow upon king Solomon, over all the country, may continue thereas for all time to come. And these promises, O son, will be firm, and come to a happy end; if thou shewest thyself to be a religious and a righteous man, and an observer of the laws of thy country; but if not, expect adversity upon thy disobedience to them.'"

3. Now when the king had said this, he left off, but continued the description and pattern of the building of the temple in the sight of them all, to Solomon: of the foundations and of the chambers, inferior and superior, how many they were to be, and how large in height and in breadth; as also he determined the weight of the golden and silver vessels; moreover, he earnestly excited them with his words, to use the utmost alacrity about the work; he exhorted the rulers also, and particularly the tribe of Levi, to assist him, both because of his youth, and because God had chosen him to take care of the building of the temple, and of the government of the kingdom. He also declared to them that the work would exceed any labor, and perform it, because he had prepared for it many talents of gold, and more of silver, with timber, and a great many carpenters and stonemasons, and a large quantity of emeralds, and all sorts of precious stones, as many as could be gathered of the proper goods of his own dominion two hundred talents, and three hundred other talents of pure gold, for the most holy place, and for the ciborium of God, the cherubims, which are to stand over and cover the ark. Now when David had done speaking, there appeared great alacrity among the rulers, and the priests, and the Levites, who now contributed, and made great and splendid promises for a future contribution; for they undertook to bring of gold and silver two thousand talents, and ten thousand drachmes, and of silver ten thousand talents, and many ten thousand talents of iron; and if any one had a precious stone he brought it, and beseech thee it to be put among the treasures; of which he said, one of the piety of Moses, had the care.

10. Upon this occasion all the people rejoiced, as in particular did David, when he saw the zeal and forwardness of the other rulers, and the priests, and of all the rest; and he began to bless God with a loud voice; calling him the Father and Parent of the universe, and the Author of human and divine things, with which he had adorned Solomon, the patron and guardian of the Hebrew nation, and of its happiness, and of that kingdom which he hath given his son. Besides this, he prayed for happiness to all the people; and to Solomon his son, a sound and a righteous mind, and confirmed in him the promise, "I will be with thee;" and then he commanded the multitude to bless God. Upon which they all fell down upon the ground, and worshipped him. They also gave thanks, and said, upon account of all the blessings which they had received ever since Solomon had taken the kingdom. On the next day he presented sacrifices to God, a thousand bullocks, and as many lambs, which they offered for burnt-offerings. They also brought five hundred sheep for peace-offerings, and slew many ten thousand sacrifices; and the king feasted all day, together with all the people; and they anointed Solomon a second time with the oil, and appointed him to be king, and Zadok to be the high priest, and to sit on the throne of the kingdom, and when they had brought Solomon to the royal palace, and had set him upon his father's throne, they were obedient to him from that day.

CHAP. XV.

What charge David gave to his Son Solomon, at the Approach of his Death; and how many Things he left him for the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. A LITTLE afterward David also fell into a distemper, by reason of his age; and perceiving that he was near to death, he called his son Solomon, and delivered these words to him: O my son, going to my grave and to my fathers, which is the common way which all men that now are, or shall be hereafter, must go; from which way it is no longer possible to return, and to know any thing that is done in this world, and which account I exhort thee, while I am still alive, though already very near to death, in the same manner as I have formerly said in my advice to thee, to be righteous towards thy subjects, and religious towards God, that hath given thee thy kingdom; to observe his commands and his laws, which he hath sent us by Moses; and neither do thou out of favour nor flattery allow any lust or other passion in thy sight with thee, to disregard them; for if thou transgress his laws, thou wilt lose the favour of God, and thou wilt turn away his providence from thee in all things but if thou behave thyself as I have shown thee, and as I exhort thee, wilt preserve our kingdom to our family, and no other house will bear rule over the Hebrews, but we ourselves, for all ages. Be thou also mindful of the transgressions of Josiah, the captain of the
host, who hath slain two generals out of envy, and those righteous and good men, Abner the son of Ner, and Amasa the son of Jether, whose death do thou avenge as shall seem good to thee, since Josb hath been too hard for me, and more potent than myself, and so hath escaped punishment hitherto. I also commit to thee the son of Barzillai the Gileadite, whom, in order to grieve them, I shall have in great honour, and I will take great care of; for we have not done good to him first, but we only repay that debt which we owe to his father, for what he did to me in my flight. There is also Shimei, the son of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after he had cast many reproaches upon me, when, in my flight, I was going to Mahanaim, met me at Jordan, and received assurances that he should then suffer nothing. Do thou now seek out for some just occasion, and punish him."  

2. When David had given these admonitions to his son about public affairs, and about his friends, and about those whom he knew to deserve punishment, he died, having lived seventy years, and reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over all the country. This man was of an excellent character, and was endowed with all virtues that were desirable in a king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great ability of their kings. Though Josb was so nearly related to David, and so potent in the army under a warlike adminstration, yet he was not himself any way connected with the king, and in one that had the preservation of so many tribes committed to him; for he was a man of valour in a very extraordinary degree, and went readily and first of all into dangers, when he was to fight for his subjects, as exciting the soldiers to action by his own labours, and fighting for them, and not by commanding them in a despotic way. He was also of very great ability.


3. He was buried by his son Solomon, in Jerusalem, on the great day of burnt offerings and sacrifices; and in a most magnificent manner, having another funeral pomp which kings use to be buried with: moreover, he had great and immense wealth buried with him; the vastness of which may be easily conjectured at by what I shall now say; for a thousand and three hundred years afterwards, Hecaron the high priest, when he was besieged by Antiochus, that was called the Pious, the son of Demetrius, and was desirous of giving him money to get him to raise the siege, and draw off his army; and having no other method of compassing the money, opened one room of David's sepulchre, and took out three thousand talents, and gave part of that sum to Antiochus, and by this means caused the siege to be raised, and the king and his army to withdraw out of Jerusalem. Nay, after him, and that many years, Herod the king opened another room, and took away a great deal of money, and yet neither of them came at the end of the kings themselves, for their bodies were buried under the earth so artfully, that they did not appear even to those that entered into their monuments. But so much shall suffice us to have said concerning these matters.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF DAVID TO THE DEATH OF AHAB.

CHAPTER I.

How Solomon, when he had received the Kingdom, took off his Enemies.

§ 1. We have already treated of David, and his virtue; and of the benefits he was the author of to his countrymen; of his wars also, and battles which he managed with success, and then died an old man, in the foregoing book. And when Solomon his son, who was but a youth in age, had taken the kingdom, and whom David had declared, while he was alive, the lord of that peace which he ought to bring to God's way, when he sat upon the throne, the whole body of the people made joyful acclamations to him, as is usual at the beginning of a reign; and wished that all his affairs might come to a blessed conclusion, and that he might arrive at a great age, and at the most happy state of affairs possible.

2. But Adonijah, who, while his father was living, attempted to gain possession of the government, came to the king's mother Bathsheba, and sat him with great civility; and when she asked him, whether he came to her as desiring her assistance in any thing or not? and he told him tell her if that were the case, for that she, the queen, had often before, when he began to say, that "she knew herself that the kingdom was his, both as an account of his elder age, and of the disposition of the multitude, and that yet it was transferred to Solomon her son, according to the will of God. He also said, that he was contented to be a servant under him, and was the more eager in the present settlement, because he desired her to be a means of obtaining a favour from his brother to him, and to persuade him to bestow on him in marriage Abishag, who had indeed slept by his father, but because his father was too old, he did not live with her, and she was still a virgin." So Bathsheba promised him to afford him her assistance very earnestly, and to bring this marriage about; because the king had often desired of him in such a thing, and because she would prevent it to him earnestly. Accordingly he went away in hopes of succeeding in this match. So Solomon's mother went presently to her son, to speak to him about what she had promised, upon Adonijah's supplication to her. And when her son came forward to meet her, and embraced her, and when he had brought her into the house where the royal throne was set, he sat thereon, and bade them set another throne on the right hand for his mother. When Bathsheba was set down, she said, "O my son, grant me one request that I desire of thee, and do not any thing to me that is disapproved of thee; for thou knowest which thou wilt do, if thou deniest me." And when Solomon bade them to lay her commands upon him, because it was agreeable to his duty to grant her every thing.
he had reason to thank Solomon for giving him such an injunction; and added an oath, that he would do as he bade him; and leaving his own country, he went his abode in Jerusalem. But three years to forward, when he heard that two of his servants were run away from him, and were in Gath, he went for his servants in haste; and when he was come back with them, the king perceived and perceived displeased that he had contemned his command, and what was more, had no regard to the oaths he had sworn to God; so he called him, and said to him, Didst thou not swear never to leave me, nor to go out of this city to and fro, for fear of this punishment for thy perjury? but I will punish thee, thou wilt wretch, both for this crime, and for those wherewith thou didst abuse my father when he was in his flight, that thou mayest know that wicked men gain nothing at last, although they be not punished immediately upon their unjust practices, but that in all the time wherein they think themselves secure, because they have yet suffered nothing, their punishment increases, and is heavier and heavier, and that to a greater degree than if they had been punished immediately upon the commission of their crimes. So Benaijah, on the king's command, slew Shimel.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Wife of Solomon; concerning his Wisdom and Riches; and concerning what he obtained of Hiram for the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. Solomon having already settled himself firmly in his kingdom, and having brought his enemies to punishment, he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and built the walls of Jerusalem, much larger and stronger than those that had been before, and thenceforward he managed public affairs very peculiarly; nor was his youth any hindrance in the exercise of justice, or in the observation of the laws, or in the remembrance of what charges his father had given him at his death, but he discharged every duty with great accuracy, that might have been expected from such as are aged, and of the greatest prudence. He now resolved to go to Hethron, and sacrifice to God upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses. Accordingly, he offered there burnt-offerings, in number a thousand; and when he had done this, he thought he had paid great honour to God, for as he was asleep that very night, God appeared to him, and commanded him to send for Hiram king of Tyre, and to be ready to give him, as a reward for his piety. So Solomon asked of God what was most excellent, and of the greatest worth in itself, what God would bestow with the greatest joy, and what it was most profitable for man to receive; for he did not desire to have bestowed upon him either gold or silver, or any other riches, as a man and a youth might naturally have done, for these are the things that are generally esteemed by most men, as of the greatest worth, and not at all according to God; but, said he, give me, O Lord, a sound mind, and a good understanding, whereby I may speak and judge the people according to truth and righteousness. With these petitions God was very pleased; and promised to give him all those things that he had not mentioned in his optics, riches, glory, victory over his enemies; and, in the first place, understanding and wisdom, and this in such a degree, no other king that was, neither kings nor ordinary persons, ever had.

* This execution upon Joab, as a murderer, by slaying him with his own sword, is perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses, which enjoins, "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to strike him to death, then take him from mine altar that he die." Exod. xxvi. 14.
the also promised to preserve the kingdom to his
posterity for a very long time, if he continued
righteous, and obedient to him, and imitated
his father in those things wherein he excelled.
When Solomon heard this from God, he present-
ly leaped out of his bed; and when he had wor-
shiped him he returned to Jerusalem; and after he
had offered great sacrifices before the taber-
nacle, and all his own people, he lived in Jeru-
salem.

2. In these days a hard cause came before him
in judgment, which it was very difficult to find
any end of; and I think it necessary to explain
the fact, about which the contest was, that such
as may perhaps not understand it. The writings
may have some difficulty with it, what a dif-
cult cause Solomon was to determine, and those
that are concerned in such matters may take this
sagacity of the king for a pattern, that they may
more easily give sentence about such ques-
tions. There were two women, who were bar-
lots in the course of their lives, that came to him;

of whom she that seemed to be injured began to
speak first, and said, "O king, I and this other
woman dwell together in one house: now it came
to pass that we both bore sons, at the same hour
of the same day, and on the third day this
woman overlaid her son, and killed it, and then took
my son out of my bosom, and removed him to her;
and she said, Her dead son was in my arms. Now,
in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms. Now, when in the morning, I was desirous to give the breast to the child, I did not find my own, but saw the woman's dead child lying by me, for I considered it exactly, and searched for it, and did find her dead son in my arms.

3. Now the captains of his armies, and officers
appointed over the whole country, were these:
over the lot of Ephraim was Uzal; over the
region of Dan, certain of the tribe of Issachar,
who married Solomon's daughter, had the
district of Dor, and the sea-coast, under him;
the great plain was under Beniam, the son of
Achish; he also governed all the country as far as
the Aton, and from the land of Ephraim to Gaba-
lonis, and under him had the sixty great and
fenced cities [of Og:] Achimadab managed the
affairs of all Galilee, as far as Sidon, and he
himself also married a daughter of Solomon,
whose name was Batsam; and had dominion in
sea-coast about Arez, as had Shaphat Mount
Tabor, and Carmel, and [the Lower] Galilee, as
far as the river Jordan; one man was appointed
over all this country: Shime was foretold to be
the lord of Hamath; and the same Gubares had the
country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again
one governor appointed. Now the people of the
Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah,
were at that time reduced to farming, reducing
themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of
their grounds: for as they enjoyed peace, and
were not distracted with wars and troubles, and
having besides an abundant fruitfulness of the most
fruitful of the earth, they set to work in farming,
I demand, to increase the product of their own lands, and
making them worth more than they had formerly been.

4. The king had also other rulers, who were
over the land of Syris, and of the Philistines,
which reached from the river Ephrataes to Egypt,
and these collected his tributes of the na-
tions. Now these contributed to the king's table,
and to his supper every day; thirty corn of fine
flour, and twenty oxen, and twenty sheep, and
twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred fat
lamb; all these were besides what were taken by
hunting, harts and buffaloes, and birds and fishes,
which were brought to the king's table; and
himself, besides these, he had twelve thousand horses, the
one of the king's mares; and of the men of war, the
rest were dispersed abroad, and dwelt in the royal
villages; but the same officer who provided for
the king's expenses, supplied also the fodder for the horses,
and still carried it to the place where the king abode at that
time.

5. Now the sagacity and wisdom which God
had bestowed on Solomon was so great, that he
exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no
way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to
have been beyond all men in understanding; for
they, although they were not more than three
years old, could not apprehend it; and the king
judged the child to her that cried out to save it,
for that she was the real mother of it, and he
condemned the other as a wicked woman, who
had not only killed her own child, but was enem-
youring to see her friend's child destroyed also.
Now the multitude looked on this determination
as a great sign and demonstration of the king's
sagacity and wisdom, and after that day, attend-
ed to him as one that had a divine being. As for
Solomon's daughter, whose name was Batsam,
who married Solomon's daughter, had the
district of Dor, and the sea-coast, under him;
the great plain was under Beniam, the son of
Achish; he also governed all the country as far as
the Aton, and from the land of Ephraim to Gaba-
lonis, and under him had the sixty great and
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country beyond Jordan, over whom there was again
one governor appointed. Now the people of the
Hebrews, and particularly the tribe of Judah,
were at that time reduced to farming, reducing
themselves to husbandry, and the cultivation of
their grounds: for as they enjoyed peace, and
were not distracted with wars and troubles, and
having besides an abundant fruitfulness of the most
fruitful of the earth, they set to work in farming,
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years old, could not apprehend it; and the king
judged the child to her that cried out to save it,
for that she was the real mother of it, and he
condemned the other as a wicked woman, who
had not only killed her own child, but was enem-

6. It may not be smiling to compare the daily furniture of
king Solomon's table, here set down, and I Kings vii. 23,27,
and also the buildings and furniture of daily use in the
governor's table, after the Jews were come back from Babylon;

and to remember what, that Nebuchadnezzar was building
the tower of Babylon, and made things of more than usual
above one hundred and fifty considerable men every day,
and that because the nation was then very poor, at his
business, without laying one stone upon the other, upon the
people at all. Now that which was prepared for me daily
was one ox and six shecams sheep; also fowls were prepared
for me; and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine
and yet for all this, I required not the bread of the governors,
and his drink also. Now did the governor's usual allowance
of forty shekels of silver a day. Now did he have above
the governor's usual allowance of forty shekels of silver a day.
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shekels of silver a day. Now did he have above the governor's
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ance of forty shekels of silver a day. Now did he have above
the governor's usual allowance of forty shekels of silver a day.
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS.
Solomon sent him an epistle, the contents of which here follow:

**Solomon to King Hiram.**

"Know thou that my father would have built a temple to God; but was hindered by wars and continual expiencies; for he did not leave off to overthrive his enemies till he had paid to all subject to tribute: but I give thanks to God for the peace I at present enjoy, and on that account I am at leisure, and design to build a house to God, for God has foretold to my father that the house should be built by me; wherefore I desire thee to send some of thy subjects with mine to mount Lebanon to cut down timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful than our people in cutting of wood. As for wages to the men that chop down wood, I will pay whatsoever price thou shalt determine."

7. When Hiram had read this epistle, he was pleased with it, and wrote back this answer to Solomon:

**Hiram to King Solomon.**

"It is fit to bless God that he hath committed thy father's government to thee, who art a wise man, and endowed with all virtues. As for myself, I rejoice at the condition thou art in, and shall be subservient to thee in all things that shall concern me about; for when by my subjects I have cut down many and large trees of cedar, and cypress wood, I will send them to sea, and will order my subjects to make floats of them, and to sail with the wind and the current of the coast, and bring it to that shalt desire, and leave them there, after which thy subjects may carry them to Jerusalem: but do thou take care to procure us corn for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we inhabit in an island."

8. The copies of these epistles remain at this day, and are preserved not only in our books but among the Tyrians also, inasmuch that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keepers of the public records of Tyre to show him them; and he will find what is there set down to agree with what we have said. I have said so much out of a desire that my readers may know that we speak nothing but the truth, and do not compose a history out of some plausible relations which deceive men and please them at the same time,

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*Some**

*Some*
nor attempt to avoid examination, nor desire men to believe us immediately; nor are we at liberty to depart from speaking truth, which is the proper commendation of a historian, and yet be blameless. But we insist upon no admission of what we say, unless we be able to satisfact

fet its truth by demonstration and the strongest

vouchers.

9. Now king Solomon, as soon as this epistle from the king of Tyre was brought him, comm

manded, that his workmen and governed and gouti

theman in what he desired, and sent him yearly twenty thousand cori of wheat, and as many baths of oil; now the bath is able to contain seventy-two baths, and these also with the measure of wine. So the friendship between Hiram and Solomon hereby increased more and more: and they swore to continue it for ever. And the king appointed a tribute to be laid on all the people, of thirty thou

sand labourers, whose work he rendered easy to them by prudently dividing it among them: for he made ten thousand cut timber in mount Leba

non for one month, and then to come home; and the rest of the months until the time when the other twenty thousand had finished their task at the appointed time; and so afterward it came to pass that the first ten thousand returned to their work every fourth month: and it was Adoram, whose daughter was the wife of the king's tribute. The rest of the strangers who were left by David, who were to carry the stones, and other materials, seventy thousand; and of those that cut the stones, eighty thousand; and three thousand three hundred were rulers over the rest. He also en

joined them to cut out large stones for the foun

dations of the temple, and that they should fit them and unite them together in the mountain, and bring them down to the place where the city was to be built, not only by our own country workmen, but by those workmen whom Hiram sent also.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

§ 1. Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, on the second month, when the month of Ziv came, in the 23rd year of the Hebrews Jar, five hundred and ninety-two years after the exodus out of Egypt, but after one thou

sand and twenty years from Abraham's coming out of Mesopotamia into Canaan, and after the divided kingdom had been gone up four hundred and four years; and from Adam, the first man who was created, until Solomon built the temple, there had passed in all three thousand one hundred and two years. Now, that year on which the temple began to be built, was already the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram; but from the building of Tyre to the building of the temple, there had passed two hundred and forty years.

§ 2. Now, therefore, the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stones, and such as would resist the force of time; these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be erected over it: they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with ease those vast superstructures, and precious ornaments, whose own weight was not to be less than the weight of those they supported, and have a design which the king designed to be very ornamental and magnifi

cent; they erected its entire body, quite up to the roof of white stone: its height was sixty cu

bits, and its length was the same, and its breadth twenty. There was another building erected over it, equal to it in its measures; so that the entire altitude of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits. Its front was to the east. As to the porch, they built it before the temple; its length was twenty cubits, and it was so arranged that it might agree with the breadth of the house: and it had twelve cubits in altitude, and its height was raised as high as a hundred and twenty cu

bits. He also built round about the temple thirty rows of windows, and on one side, and he got large trees of Lebanon, by their closeness one another, and by their number, and outward position round it. He also made passages through them, that they might be one row on one side, and all of these rooms had five cubits in breadth, and the same in length, but in height twenty. Above there were other rooms, and others above them, equal both in their measures and number; so that these reached to a height equal to the lower part of the house; for the upper part had no buildings about it. The roof that was over the house was of cedar; and truly every one of these rooms had a roof of their own, except the two rows of rooms under the upper rooms; but for the other parts, there was a co

vered roof common to them all, and built with very long beams, that passed through the rest, and through the whole building, that the mid

diameters were also by the help of timber, might be thereby made firmer; but as for that part of the roof that was under the beams, it was made of the same materials, and the whole was covered with planks for roofs, and plates of gold nailed upon them. And as he enclosed the walls with boards of cedar, so he fixed on them plates of gold, which had sculptures on them, so that the whole temple was thus covered, both within and without with cedar, and the windows too, and the doors the king had, by the splendour of the gold that was on every side of them. Now the whole structure of the temple was made with great skill, of polished stones, and those laid together so very har

moniously and smoothly, that there appeared to the spectators no sign of any hammer, or other instrument of architecture, but as if, without any use of them, the entire materials had naturally united themselves together, and the art of one part with another seemed rather to have been natural, than to have arisen from the force of tools upon them. The king also had a fine contrivance for an ascent to the very highest part of the temple, so as to easily enter the steps in the thickness of its wall; for it had no large door on the east end, as the lower house had, but the entrances were by the sides, through very small doors. He also overlaid the temple, both within and without, with boards of cedar, that were kept close together by thick chains, so that this contrivance was in the nature of a support and a strength to the building.

§ 3. Now when the king had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner house of twenty cubits [every way,] to be the most secret cham

ber, but he appointed that of forty cubits to be the sanctuary; and when he had cut a door-place in a rock, he set thereon a rock, and overlaid them with a great deal of gold, that had sculptures upon it. He also had veils of blue and purple, and scarlet, and the brightest and softest linen, with the most curious flowers which had been embroidered upon them, on the one side of the floor beneath it, as at Kings vi. 5.

2 Josephus says here, that the cherubims were of solid gold; the height of each of them was five

bits high apace, otherwise there must have been a large interval between one and the other that was over it, and the height of the floor, the one of six cubits distance from the floor beneath it, as at Kings vi. 5.

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cubits; they had each of them two wings stretch-
ed out as far as five cubits; wherefore Solomon set
them up not far from each other, that with one
wing they might touch the southern wall of the
secret place, and with another the northern:
their other wings, which joined to each other, were
covering to the ark, which was set between
them: but nobody, can tell, or even concep-
tion, of the size of the angels, nor what had been
devised for by him. He also laid the floor of the temple with plates
of gold; and he added doors to the gate of the
temple, agreeable to the measure of the height of
the wall, but in breadth twenty cubits, and on
their inner side a golden spiral; to say all in
one word, he left no part of the temple, neither
internal nor external, but what was covered with
gold. He also had curtains drawn over these
doors in like manner as they were drawn over
the porch of the temple had nothing of that sort.

4. Now Solomon sent for an artificer out of
Tyre, whose name was Huram: he was by birth of
the tribe of Naphtali, on the mother's side, (for
he was a stranger, and an foreigner, and was an
Ezion-geberite, who dwelt upon the shores of Ur,
of the stock of the Ishmaelites. This man was
skilful in all sorts of work; but his chief skill
lay in working in gold, in silver, and brass, by
which work he made all the mechanical arts
about the temple, and according to the will of Sol-
mon. Moreover, this Huram made two (hollow)
pillars, whose outsides were of brass, and the
thickness of the brass was four fingers' breadth,
and they were twelve cubits high, and the bases
and their circumference twelve cubits, but there
was cast with each of their chapiters lily-work
that stood upon the pillar, and it was elevated
five cubits, round about which there was net-
work worked with small pearls, to say all in
brass, and covered the lily-work. To this also
were hung two hundred pomegranates, in two
rows: the one of these pillars be set at the en-
trance of the porch on the right hand, and called
it Jachin; and the other at the left hand, and
called it Booz.

5. Solomon also cast a brazen sea; whose
figure was that of a hemisphere: this brazen
vessel was called a sea, for its largeness, for the
seven thousand baths there was contained in it,
the thickness of a palm: its middle part rested on a
short pillar, that had ten spira-als round it; and
that pillar was ten cubits in diameter. There
stands round about it twelve oxen, that looked to
the four sides of heaven, three on each side, with
their hinder parts depressed, that so the hemispherical vessel might rest upon them, which
itself was also depressed round about inwardly.
Now this sea contained three thousand baths.
6. He also made ten brazen bases for the ten
quadrangular lavers; the length of every one of
these bases was five cubits, and the breadth four
cubits, and the height six cubits. This vessel
was partly tanned, and was thus contrived: there
were four small quadrangular pillars that stood
one at each corner, these had the sides of the
cases fitted to them on each quarter: they were
parted into three parts; every interval had a bor
der of ten cubits, and twice as much of silver,
and in another, one in a line, and in another
place a bull and an eagle. The small pillars had
the same animals engraven that were engraven
on the sides. The whole work was elevated,
and stood upon four wheels, which were also cubi
which had also spires and bases, and were a foot
and a half in diameter. Any one who saw the
spokes of the wheels, how exactly they were
turned, and united to the sides of the bases, and
the wheels, and how they joined with what he
would wonder at them. However, their struc-
ture was this: certain shoulders of hands stretch-
ed out held the corners above, upon which rest-
ed a short spiral pillar, that lay under the hollow
part of the base, and rested on the back of the
eagle and the lion, which were adapted to them,
insomuch, that those who viewed them would think they were of one piece: between
these were engravings of palm-trees. This was
the construction of the ten bases. He also made
ten large round brass vessels, which were the la-
\vers themselves, each of which contained forty
baths; for it had its height four cubits, and its
edges were as much distant from each other.
He also placed another base on the north side of
that were called Mechonoth; and he set five of
the lavers on the left side of the temple; which
was the side towards the north wind, and as
many on the right side, towards the south, but
looking towards the east: the same road in
way he also set the sea. Now, he appointed the
sea to be for washing the hands and the feet of
the priests, when they entered into the temple,
and the altar: and he also made for the burnt-offerings, to cleanse the entrails of the beasts that were to be
burnt-offerings, with their feet also.

7. He also made a brazen altar, whose length
was twenty cubits, and its breadth the same, and
its height ten, for the burnt-offerings, and he also
made all its vessels of brass, the pots, and the
shovels, and the basons, and besides these, the
snuffers and the tongs, and all its other vessels,
he made of brass, and such brass as was in
splendour and beauty like gold. He also
\vdedicated a great number of tables, but one that
was large and made of gold, upon which they set
the loaves of God: and he made ten thousand
more that resembled them, but were done after
another manner. Then he made there lay the
\ials and the cups; those of gold were twenty thousand
\vse of silver were forty thousand. He also
\vded ten thousand candlesticks, according to the
command of the one of which was to be set
for the temple, that it might burn in the day-
time, according to the law; and one table with
\aves upon it, on the north side of the temple,
\ver against the candlestick; for this he set on the
south side, but the golden altar stood between
them. All these vessels were contained in that
part of the holy house which was forty cubits
long, and were before the vail of that most
secret place wherein the ark was to be set.
8. The king also made pouring vessels, in
number eighty thousand, and a hundred thou-
sand golden vials, and twice as many silver vials,
of golden dishes, in order therein to offer kneaded
fine flour at the altar, there were eighty thousand,
and twice as many of silver, and again twice as
also, wherein they mixed fine flour with oil,
been corrupted, and he was not able to restore the true
reading. In the mean time, these forty baths are probably
the true quantity contained in each laver, since they went
upon wheels, and were to be drawn by the Levites about
the courts towards the north or compass of the temple,
and so vice versa: whereas it follows, that the pillar Jachin
was on the right hand of the temple, was on the south, against our
left hand and Booz on the north, against our right hand.
sixty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. Of the measures like those which Moses called the Hm and the Assarom, [a tenth deal,] there were twenty thousand of gold, and twice as many of silver. The golden censers, in which they carried the incense to the altar, were twenty thousand; the other censers, in which they carried fire from the great altar to the little altar, within the temple, were fifty thousand. The same golden vessels which belonged to the high priest, with the long robes, and the costly girdles, of the precious stones, were a thousand. But the crown upon which Moses wrote [the name of God,] was only one, and hath remained to this very day. And there were also the sacred and sacred vestments of fine linen, with purple girdles, for every priest, and two hundred thousand trumpets, according to the command of Moses: also, two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the singers that were Levites. And he made musical instruments, and such as were invented for singing of hymns, called Nablie and Cinayre, [psalteries and harps,] which were made of electrum, [the finest brass,] forty thousand. He made also all the vessels for the honour of God, with great variety and magnificence, sparing no cost, but using all possible liberality in adorning the temple; and these things he dedicate to the treasures of God. He also placed a written record about the temple and its courts, with our tongue we call Gison, but it is called Thyringos by the Greeks, and he raised it up to the height of three cubits: and it was for the exclusion of the men that were of the common sort, and for the temple’s sake, showing that it was a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quadrangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered into by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of the [four] winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being pure and holy. And the way of the land was so made that temple which was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all description in words; nay, if I may so say, is hardly believed upon sight; for when he had filled up greater part of this temple, which was of one immense depth, could not be looked on, when you bowed down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground four hundred cubits: it to be on a level with the top of the mountain, on which the temple was built, and by this means the outermost temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the temple itself. He encompassed this also with a building of a double row of cloisters, which stood on high pillars of native stone, while the roofs were of cedar, and were joined in a manner proper for such high roofs; but he made all the doors of this temple of silver.

CHAP. IV.

How Solomons removed the Ark into the Temple; how he made Supplication to God, and offered Public Sacrifices to him.

§ 1. The wise king Solomon had finished these works, these large and beautiful buildings, and had laid up his donations in the temple, and all this in the interval of seven years, and had given a demonstration of his riches and alacrity therein, insomuch that any one who saw it would have thought it must have been an immense time and expense that the temple had been finished; and I would be surprised that so much should be finished in so short a time; short, I mean, if compared with the greatness of the work; he also wrote to the rulers and elder of the Hebrews, and ordered all the vessels that were in the temple, and that were in Jerusalem, both to see the temple which he has built, and to remove the ark of God into it; and when this invitation of the whole body of the Hebrews to visit him, and the temple, which was built abroad, it was the seventh month before they came together, which month is by our countrymen called Tisiri, but by the Macedonians Hyperboreetus. The feast of tabernacles had fallen to the last time, which, was celebrated by the Hebrews as a most holy and most eminent feast. So they carried the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had pitched, and all the vessels that were for ministration to the sacred ark, and the vessels of all the other sacrifices. The King himself, and all the people and the Levites went before, rendering the ground moist with sacrifices and drink-offerings, and the blood of a great number of oblations, and burning as incense a great number of frankincense. And every air itself everywhere round about was so full of these odours that it met, in a most agreeable manner, persons at a great distance, and sent the fragrance about the temple and the air itself. So when they transfer it into the most secret place, the rest of the multitude went away and only those priests that carried it set it between the two cherubins, which embracing it with their hands, and saying it could not be moved, burned it [as an atonement;] they covered it as under a tent or a cova pols. Now the ark contained nothing else but these two tables of stone that preserved the ten commandments, which God spoke to Moses in Mount Sinai; and these tables were carried with them; but they set the candlestick and the table, and the golden altar, in the temple, before the most sacred place, in the very same places where the same were before. And from this place the sacrifices, might be thence seen; and all the rest of the vessels they gathered together, and put them within the temple.

2. Now, as soon as the priests had put all things in order out the ark, and were gone out, there came down a thick cloud, and stood there, and spread itself after a gentle manner into the temple; such a cloud it was, as was diffused, and temperate, not such a rough one as we see full of the clouds; such a cloud, as a cloud of that season. This cloud disenclosed the place, that one priest could not discern it, and although zealous our present Hebrew copy nor Josephus directly name that number of years, yet do they both say the building itself did not begin till Solomon’s fourth year; and both speak of the preparation of materials before the foundation of it was laid, and of the labour raised to be done, or of equal height, with the floor of the inner, or court of the priests, he must mean this in a gross estimation, and if he and all others agree, that the inner temple, or court of the priests, was a few cubits more elevated than the middle court, the court of Israel, and much more so than the outer court of the priests; and such being the case, he gives more than a mile, confines that notice of the modern Jew, and followed by many Christians also, as if those two were after a sort one and the same mountain; for which there is I think, very few reasons.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. IV.

...another, but it afforded to the minds of all a visible image, and glorious appearance of God's having descended into this temple, and of his having gladly pitched his tabernacle therein. So these men were intent upon this thought. But Solomon, though he was as wise as any man in all the earth, and had used such words to God as he thought agreeable to the divine nature to receive, and fit for him to give: for he said, "Thou hast an eternal house, O Lord, and all good things, and all of thy own; and if thou hast delighted to set thyself out of thine own works; we know it to be the heaven, and the air, and the earth, and the sea, which thou pervadest; nor art thou contained within their limits. I have indeed built this temple to thy honor; and so to help, in a manner, the children of Israel, when we sacrifice, and perform sacred operations, we may send our prayers up into the air, and may constantly believe that thou art present, and art not remote from what is thine own; for neither when they seek all things, and hearest all things, nor now, when it pleases thee to dwell here, dost thou leave the care of all men, but rather art very near to them all, but especially to them that call upon thee, and seek themselves to thee, whether by night or by day." When he had thus solemnly addressed himself to God, he converted his discourse to the multitude, and strongly represented the power and prosperity of Solomon and his house; and he had also signified all things that were come to pass to David his father, as many of those things had already come to pass, and the rest would certainly come to pass hereafter, and all that was given him in his name, and told to David what he should be content withal, since he was born; and foretold, that when he should be king after his father's death he should build him a temple, which, since they saw accomplished, so many years, and under such a hold of and conduct of that temple, they did sacrifice in it to bless God, and by believing him, from the sight of what they had seen accomplished, never to despair of any thing that he had promised for the future, in order to their happiness, or suspect that it would not come to pass.

3. When the king had thus discourse to the multitude, he looked round to the multitude, and lifting up his right hand to the multitude, he said, "It is not possible by what a man can do, and what he can do to build such a temple as God has bestowed upon them, for the Deity stands in need of nothing, and is above any such magnificence; but so far as we have been made superior, O Lord, to the other nations, let us but build a temple to bless thy majesty, and it is necessary for us to return thee thanks for what thou hast bestowed upon our house, and on the Hebrew people; for with what other instrument can we better appease thee, when thou art angry at us, or as properly preserve thy favour, than with our voice, which, as we have it from the air, so do we know that by that air it ascends upwards (towards thee). I therefore ought myself to return the thanks thereby in the first place, concerning my father, whom thou hast raised from obscurity unto so great joy; and in the next place, concerning myself, since thou hast performed all that thou hast promised unto me; and I beseech thee, for the time to come, to afford us whatsoever thou, O God, hast power to bestow on such as thou dost esteem; and to augment our house for all ages, as thou hast promised to David my father; and I beseech thee, for the time to come, and his death, that our kingdom shall continue, and that his posterity should successively receive it to ten thousand generations. Do not thou therefore fail to give us these blessings, and to bestow on us, as a reward for our piety, and for the good deeds of our forefathers, and of our children, and of the worthy of our nation; and besides all this, I humbly beseech thee, that thou wilt let some portion of thy Spirit come down and inhabit in this temple, that thou mayest be with us upon earth. As to thyself, the earth and heavens, and the innumerable things that are therein, are out a small habitation for thee, much more is this great temple; but I entreat thee to keep it, as thine own house, from being destroyed by our enemies for ever, and to take care of it as thine own possession; but if this people should be scattered, and be therefore dispersed through the earth because of their sin, as with dearth, or pestilence, or any other affliction which thou wilt inflict on those that transgress any of thy holy laws, and if thou dost send thy vengeance upon them, seeking thee, and beseeching thee to deliver them, then do thou hear their prayers, as being within thine house, and have mercy upon them, and deliver them from their afflictions; any, moreover, that art willing to hear them, not for the Hebrews only, when they are in distress, but when any shall come hither from any ends of the world whatsoever, and shall return from their sins and implore thy pardon, and then pardon them, and hear their prayer. For hereby all shall learn that thou thyself wert pleased with the building of this house for thee and that we are not ourselves of an unsocial nature, as all other nations, nor derive its privilege, and its eren only from ourselves, as are not of our own people; but are willing that thy assistance should be communicated by thee to all men in common, and that they have the enjoyment of thy benefits bestowed upon them.

4. When Solomon had thus discoursed, he took himself upon the ground, and worshipped a long time, he rose up, and brought sacrifices to the altar; and when he had filled it with unblemished victims, he most adequately and truly pretended to have seen the face of God and had accepted of all that he had sacrificed to him, for there came a fire running out of the air, and rushed with violence upon the altar, in the sight of all, and caught up and consumed all the victims; and as this divine appearance was seen, the people supposed it to be a demonstration of God's abode in the temple, and were pleased with it, and fell upon the ground and worshipped. Upon which the king began to bless God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God's favourable disposition to them; and to pray that they might always have the like indications from him, and keep always the like measures towards the Deity, that they might be in a mind pure from all wickedness, in righteousness and religious worship, and that they might continue in the observation of those precepts which God had himself prescribed to them; and that the Hebrew nation would be happy, and indeed the most blessed of all nations among all mankind. He exhorted them also to be mindful, that by what methods they had attained their present good things, by the same they must preserve them sure to themselves, and make them greater, and more than they were at present; for that it was not sufficient for them to suppose they had received them on account of their piety and righteousness, but that they had no other means of preserving them for the time to come, for that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire some what which they want, as to preserve what they have acquired, and not to be guilty of so sin, whereby it may be restored.

5. So when the king had spoken thus to the multitude, he dissolved the congregation, but not till he had completed his obligations, both for himself and for his people, having himself sacrificed twenty and two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; for then it was that the temple did first of all taste of the victims, and all the Hebrews, with their wives and children, also tasted of these; and now, besides this, the king then observed splendidly and magnificently the feast which is called the Feast of Tabernacles, before the temple, for twelve seven days; and he then feasted together with all the people.

6. When all these solemnities were abundantly
much inferior in dignity to the temple, both an account that its materials had not been so long kept together, and was seriously prepared, and on account that this was only a habitation for kings, and not for God, it was longer in finishing. However, this building was raised on the same place as the happy state of the Hebrews, and of the king thereof: but it is necessary that I describe the entire structure and disposition of the parts, that so those that light upon this book, may thereby make a conclusion of it, as it were, have a prospect of its

2. This house was a large and curious building, and was supported by many pillars, which Solomon built to contain a multitude for hearing causes, and petition coroners of crimes. It was sufficiently capacious to contain a great body of men, who would come together to have causes determined. It was a hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, and thirty high, supported by quadrangular pillars, which were all of cedar, but its roof was according to the Christian order, with folding-doors, and their adjoining pillars of equal magnitude, each flushed with three caviets: which shows it was a temple, and not a house of assembly. There was also another house, so ordered, that its entire breadth was placed in the middle: it was quadrangular, and its breadth was thirty cubits, having a temple over against it, and that was thirty cubits long, by twenty, and that also had a roof as are dug out of the earth for the ornaments of temples, and to make fine prospects in royal palaces, and which make the mines whence they are dug famous. Now the contexture of the curious workmanship of these stones was in three rows, but the fourth row would make one admire its sculptures, whereby were represented trees, and all sorts of plants, with the shades that arose from their branches, and leaves that hung down from the branches, and fruits on the trees, and the stone that was beneath them, and their leaves were wrought so prodigious thin and subtle, that you would think they were in motion: but that is to much work for us in writing, that thus did God speak to Solomon in his sleep.

CHAP. V.

How Solomon built himself a royal Palace, very costly and splendid; and how he solved the Riddle which were sent him by Hiram.

§ 1. After the building of the temple, as we have before said, was finished in seven years, the king laid the foundation of his palace, which he did not finish under thirteen years, for he was not equally zealous in the building of this palace as he had been about the temple; for as to that, though it was a great work, and required wonderful and surprising application, yet God, for whom it was made, so far co-operated therewith, that it was finished in the foresaid number of years; but the palace, which was a building
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receive the like from him, but that he who could not solve them should pay money to him that did solve them, and that Hiram accepted the conditions; and when he was not able to solve the riddles (proposed by Solomon,) he paid a great deal of money for his fine: but that he afterward did solve the proposed riddles by means of Ab- demon, a man of Tyre; and that Hiram proposed riddles to other riddles, when Solomon could not solve, he paid back a great deal of money to Hiram.” This it is which Dius wrote.

chap. VI.

how solomon fortified the city of jerusalem, and built great cities; and how he brought some of the caunomaries into consumption, and entertained the queen of egypt and of ethiopia.

§ 1. Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem stood in need of being better secured, and made stronger (for he thought the walls that encompassed Jerusalem ought to correspond to the whiteness of the city,) he both repaired them, and made them higher, with great towers upon them; he also built cities which might be counted among the strongest, Hazor and Megido, and the third Gezer, which had indeed belonged to the Phenicians, but were given to the king, and while he had made an expedition against, and besieged it, and taken it by force, and when he had slain all its inhabitants, he utterly overthrew it, and gave it as a present to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon. He also built exceeding many other cities and castles, and made them higher, with great towers upon them: and he made them almost impregnable, and not attainable by force, and very inaccessible to the enemy. He also built other cities that lay conveniently for these, in order to the enjoyment of pleasures and delicacies in them, such as were to be had in the upper air, and shut up from the winds, andagreeable for fruits ripe in their proper seasons, and well watered with springs. Nay, Solomon went so far as the desert above Syria, and possessed himself of it, and built there a very great city, which was distant two days' journey from Upper Syria, and one day's journey from Ephrath, and six long days' journey from Babylon the great. Now, the reason why this city lay so remote from the parts of Syria that are inhabited, was that in that place there was nothing to be had, and that it is in that place only that there are springs and pits of water. When he had, therefore, built this city, and encompassed it with very strong walls, he gave it the name of Tadmor, and that is the name it is still called by at this day among the Syrians; but the Grecian name is Palmyra.

2. Now Solomon the king was at this time engaged in building these cities. But if any inquire why all the kings of Egypt from Memoe, who built Memphis, and was many years earlier than our forefather Abraham, until Solomon, where the interval was more than one thousand years, we also shew that it was not without reason. And we took it from one Pharaoh that lived after the kings of that interval, I think it necessary to inform them of it, in order to cure their ignorance, and to make the occasion of that name manifest. And so in the next place we shall consider also, that “Solomon, who was then king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram, and desired to

* This signification of the name Pharoah appears to be true. But what Josephus add, probably, that no king of Egypt was called Pharaoh after Solomon's father-in-law, as is inferred from the word, in the second passage, is the sense of the names of Pharaoh Necho and Pharaoh Hophra, 2 Kings xi. 38, Jer. xxv. 30, besides the frequent mention of that same Pharaoh in the prophecies. And from the previous section, 5. v., we have more mistakes made by Josephus, and those relating to the kings of Egypt, and to that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, whom he supposes to be congruous to saw Solomon thus almost anywhere else in all his Writings.
made kings, they changed them into the name which in their own tongue denoted their authori-
ty; for thus it was also, that the kings of Alex-
andria, who were called Nabonassar, or others,
whom they took the kingdom, were named Ptol-
areus, or others, from their first king. The Roman empe-
rors also, we read from their nativity called by other
names, but are all styled Caesars, their empire
and their dignity imposing the same name upon them.
I suppose also that the Hrodosus of Hellenas was,
when he said there were three hundred and thirty kings
of Egypt after Menes, who was called Africanus, did
therefore not tell us their names, because they were
not named after a common called Pharmacor; for when after
their death there was a queen reigning, he calls
her by her name Nicaula, whereby declaring,
that while the kings were of the male line, and
so admitted of the same name, while a woman
did not admit the name, he did therefore set
down that her name which she could not natural-
ornown books, that after Pharaoh, the father-in
law of Solomon, no other king of Egypt did any
longer retain his name; and that it was after that
time when the forementioned queen of Egypt
and Ethiopia came to Solomon, and marrying whom
we shall inform the reader presently; but I have
never seen any mention of these things, that I may
prove that our books and those of the Egyptians
agree together in many things.

3. But king Solomon subjected to himself the
remnant of the Canaanites that had not before
submitted to him; those I mean that dwelt in
greatest Lebanon, and as far as the city of Ha-
math, and ordered them to pay tribute. He also
chose out of them every chief man, ast such as were
well disposed to serve him in the meanest offices, and to do his
domestic works, and to follow husbandry; for
some of the Hebrews were servants in such low
employments. But whether God had brought so many nations under their
power, they should oppress their own people to
such mean offices of life, rather than those na-
tions, while all the Israelites were concerned in
warlike affairs, and were in armour, and were
set on the chariots and the horses, rather than
leading the life of slaves. He appointed also five
hundred and fifty rulers over those Canaanites
who were reduced to such domestic slavery, who
reigned, and judged them from the king,
and instructed them in those labours and opera-
tions wherein he wanted their assistance.

4. Moreover, the king built many ships in the
Egyptian Harbour, called Ezion-geber; it is said to
be at present Pdf, and is not far from the city of Edom. This
country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became
useful for shipping, from the donations of Hiram
king of Tyre: for he sent a sufficient number of
men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful
in navigation, to whom Solomon gave this com-
mand, that they should go along with his own
ships, and came by the land that was of old called Ophir,
and brought home to him so many gold, silver, em-
blems, and other precious things ofStopped gold,
and brought them to Joppa, when he had gathered
four hundred talents together, they returned
to the king again.

5. There was then a woman queen of Egypt
and Ethiopia, whom I am not inquisitive into philosop-
hy, and one that on other accounts slo was to
be admired. When this queen heard of the virt-
ous and prudence of Solomon, she had a great
desire to see him, and the reports that went every
day abroad, induced her to come to him, as
being desirous to be satisfied by her own expe-
rience, and not by a bare hering; (for reports
thus heard are likely enough to comply with a
false opinion, related by another with a credit of the relators,) she ' resolved to come to him,
and that especially in order to have a
trial of his wisdom, while she proposed ques-
tions of very great difficulty, and estimated that
he would solve their hidden meaning. Accord-
ingly, she came to Jerusalem with great joy,
dour, and rich furniture; and she brought with
her camels laden with gold, with several sorts
of precious spices, with gold, and with many
upon the king's kind reception of her, she both
showed a great desire to please her, and easily
comprehending in his mind the meaning of the
curious questions she propounded to him, he re-
solved them sooner than any body could have
expected. So she was amazed at the wisdom of
Solomon, and discovered that it was more excel-
 lent upon trial than what she had heard by re-
gard to those good and especially she was surpris-
ed at the fineness and largeness of his royal pa-
lace, and not less at the good order of the apart-
ments, for she observed that the king had therein
shown great wisdom; but she was beyond men-
tioning the buildings, which were such as we
were accustomed to see at the house which was called
the forest of Lebanon, as also at the magnifi-
cence of his daily table, and the circumstances of
its preparation and ministration, with the ap-
pel of his servants that waited, and the skilful
and agreeable supplies of his table. It was su-
ch that she was less affected with those daily sacrifices
which were offered to God, and the careful ma-
agement which the priests and Levites used
about them. When she saw this done every day,
she was so far from being surprised, that she
was somewhat surprised at the absence of,
surprise she was in, but openly confessed how won-
derfully she was affected; for she proceeded to
say: "I have seen nothing better than this, in
all the lands that I have seen, in all the things
that I was come with admiration at the things
before related; and said, 'All things indeed, 0
king, that came to our knowledge by report, came
with uncertainty as to our belief of them; but
now those good and especially those sacrifices,
both such as thou thyself possessest, I mean
wisdom and prudence, and the happiness thou
hast from tiny kingdom, certainly the fame that
came to us was no falsity; it was not only a true
report, but was added to it by thee from the king.
For, as for the report, it only attempted to
persuade our hearing, but did not so make
known the dignity of the things themselves, as the
report did: but now I see it to be before my
eyes. For, as for the report, it only attempted to
persuade our hearing, but did not so make
known the dignity of the things themselves,
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known the dignity of the things themselves,
as the report did: but now I see it to be before my
eyes. For, as for the report, it only attempted to
persuade our hearing, but did not so make
known the dignity of the things themselves,
as the report did: but now I see it to be before my
eyes. For, as for the report, it only attempted to
persuade our hearing, but did not so make
known the dignity of the things themselves,

6. Now when the queen had thus demonstrated
to Solomon how deeply the king had affected her,
his discretion as is known by certain relations,
for she gave him twenty talents of gold, and an
immense quantity of spices, and precious stones.
(They say also that we possess the root of that
delight, which our country still bears by this wo-
earth. Matt. xii. 42; Luke xi. 31; which descriptions agree
better to the case then to Egypt and Ethiopia, there is
no other story agreeable for that purpose. And
they say that at old so country have this precious be-

7. "That this queen of Sheba was a queen of Paphos
in South Arabia, and not of Egypt and Ethiopia, as Josephus
relates, is certain; the greek Paphos is well known to be a country near
the sea, the city of Arabia Felix, which is south from Judaea also,
much more our version, for the greek Paphos is named for the island
of Paphos, and was the same from the Greek part of the

BOOK VIII—CHAP. VII.

The sovereign Solomon also repaid her with many good things, and principally by bestowing upon her what she chose of her own inclination, for there was building her that which she desired of her; and as he was very generous and liberal in his own temper, so did he show the greatest of his soul in bestowing on her what she herself desired of him. So when this queen of Sheba came, she was very sumptuously entertained, and he gave her an account of, and had again communicated to the king what she brought with her, she returned to her own kingdom.

CHAP. VII.

How Solomon grew rich, and fell desperately in love with Women; and how God, being incensed at it, raised up Adon and Jeroboam against him.

Conceming the Death of Solomon.

§ 1. Anmow the same time there were brought to the king from the Auran Chersonesus, a country so called, precious stones, and pine-trees; and these trees he made use of for supporting the temple and the palace, as also for the materials of musical instruments, the harps and the psalteries, that the Levites might make use of them in their holy songs. And brought to him at this time was larger and finer than any that had ever been brought before; but let no one imagine that these pine-trees were like those which are now so named, and which take their names from the montains, who first call them, that they may procure them to be admired by those that purchase them; for those we speak of were to the sight like the wood of the fig-tree, but were whiter and more shining. Now we have said that so much that nobody may be ignorant of the difference between these sorts of wood, nor unacquainted with the nature of the genuine pine-tree, and we thought it both a sensible and humane thing when we mentioned it; and those that should be able to explain this difference so far as we have done. 2. Now the weight of gold that was brought him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the toparch and kings of Arabia gave him in presents. He also cast two hundred targets of gold, each of them weighing six hundred shekels. He also made three hundred tables of pure weight of three pounds of gold, and he had them carried, and put into that house which was called the forest of Lebanon. He also made cups of gold, and of [precious] stones for the entertainment of his guests, and for the entertainment of the king and his court in the most sumptuous manner; and he contrived that all his other furniture of vessels should be of gold, for there was nothing to be sold or bought for silver, for the king had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarus; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise unto the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the king, and a great quantity of ivory, and Egyptian, and Egyptian, and Ethiopian, and all the wonders of the sea. 3. Accordingly, there went a great flame all around the neighbouring countries, which claimed the virtue and wisdom of Solomon, much that all the kings everywhere were greater and more sumptuous than him, as which he deserved to what reported, on account of its being nine hundred; they also demonstrated the regard they had for him, by the presents they made him, they sent him vessels of gold, and silver, and the rarest fragrances, and every sort of horses, and chariots, and as many mules for carriages as they could find proper to please king's eyes, by their strength and beauty, and such a sum that he made it to those of his horses which he had before from these that sent him, augmented the number of his chariots by above four hundred, or he had them before, and augmented the number of his horses by two thousand, for he had twenty thousand before. These horses also were so much occasioned, in order to their making a fine appearance, and running swiftly, that no others could upon the comparison, appear either fine or swift; but they were at once the most beautiful of all, and their swiftness was inparable also. Their riders also were a fine ornament to them, being in the first place yeomen. The word that means every sort, and being eminent for their largeness, and taller than other men. They had also very heads of hair hanging down, and were clad in garments of Tyrian purple. They had in their fingers golden rings, not only by this means to adorn their hands, but so that their heads sparkled with the reflex of the sunbeams from the gold. The king self rode upon a chariot in the midst of them, who, were still in armour, and had a bow and arrows to them. He had a great sum, and not a little for his damment, and used to take his progress out of city in the morning. There was a certain about fifty furlongs distant from Jerus which is called Estim, very pleasant fine field, and being embosomed in rivers and thither he used to go out in the morning ting on high in his chariot. 4. Now Solomon had divine sagacity in him, and was very diligent and studied in the things done after an elegant manner; he did not neglect the care of the ways, but he a causeway of black stone along the road led to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, and the city of the king, and they also the princely seat of the government, and used to take his progress out of city in the morning. There was a certain fifty furlongs distant from Jerus which is called Estim, very pleasant fine field, and being embosomed in rivers and thither he used to go out in the morning ting on high in his chariot. 5. But although Solomon was become the

but Judea; yet it is notoriously false that this balsam was peculiar to Judea, for both Egypt and Arabia, and particularly Saba had it; which fact was that very countries ascetics, if under the mood of Ethiopia but of Arabia, because that space might breed it first into Judea. Nor are we to suppose that the queen of Saba would well suit such a present as this balsam-tree would bring, if it was brought in three pieces, in case there were then almost peculiar to her own country. Nor is the mention of balsam or balsam, as 'ar' made by merchants, and sent as a present of the king of Egypt and Ethiopia, and also of the king of Egypt, to the governor of the land of Persis and Astrak, and Albis, to be alleged to the contrary. For what we there real balsam, or balsam, as these were of a certain tree which we may call the incense, or of the Chios, or Cypris, the juice of the pistachio-tree, or this precious balsam. This last is also the same that we elsewhere render by Balsam, or of incense, and is the same.
ANTIOCHIITIES OF THE JEWS.

and greatly confounded, upon this change of almost all that happiness which had made him to be admired, into so bad a state; nor had there much time passed after the prophet had foretold what was coming, before God raised up an enemy against him, whose name was Ader, who took all the following: he was a child of the stock of the Edomites, and of the blood royal; and when Joab, the captain of David's host, laid waste the land of Edom, and desired that the spoil and the prey bears, for six months' time, this Hadad fled away, and came to Pharaoh the king of Egypt, who received him kindly, and assigned him a house to dwell in, and a country to supply him with victual: and Joab was so desirous to leave him? And when he was often troublesome to him, and entreated him to dismiss him, he did not then do it; but at the time when Solomon's affairs began to grow great, and his wars were laid against his adversaries, and God's anger against him for the same, Hadad, by Pharaoh's permission, came to Edom; and when he was not able to make the people forsake Solomon, for it was kept under by many kindnesses, making them by express commands made with safety, he removed thence, and came into Syria; there he lit upon one Rezon, who had run away from Hadadzer, king of Zobah, his master, and was become a robber in that country. Rezon was a swift and bold man, and already a band of robbers about him. So he went up, and seized upon that part of Syria, and was made king thereof. He also made incursions into the land of Israel, and did it no small mischief, and spoiled it, and that in the lifetime of Solomon. And this was the calamity which the Hebrews suffered by Hadad.

7. There was also one of Solomon's own nations, named Rezon, a son of Nebat, who had an expectation of rising, from a prophecy that had been made to him long before. He was left a child by his father, and brought up by his mother; and when Solomon had as a gadfly, he was sent him upon the walls which he built round about Jerusalem; and he took such care of those works that the king approved of his behaviour, and gave him, as a reward for the same, the charge over the tribe of Joseph. And when about that time Jeroboam was once going out of Jerusalem, a prophet of the city Shiloh, whose name was Ahijah, met him and said, 'You must return; and when he had taken him a little way, said to him, 'To a place out of the way, where there was not one other person present, he rent the garment he had on into twelve pieces, and bade Jeroboam take ten of them: and told him beforehand, that 'This is the will of God; he will part the dominion, to forbid the very making of any image, though without any intention to have worshipped it, yet do not I separate it in all nations. I suppose that those very one thousand women intimidated elsewhere by Solomon himself, when he speaks of his not having found enough; yet these seven hundred wives, or the daughters of great men, and the three hundred concubines, the daughters of those that were bom in the king's house, of all kinds, I suppose, were so be understood. The making any other altar for worship but that at the tabernacle, was equally forbidden by Moses, Deut. i. 1-8. Ye shall not make for yourselves a graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. They that made altars did so. That was the time when Hadad, or Ador, who was born at least twenty or thirty years before Solomon came to the crown, Deut. iii. 9. And the Description of the Terrors of the voice, this implies that Solomon's evil life began early or continued very long, with the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply also I suppose when he was not fifty years of age.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. VIII.

1. Now when Solomon was dead, and his son Rehoboam, (who was born of an Amomite wife, whose name was Naamah,) had succeeded him in the kingdom, the rulers of the multitude sent immediately into Egypt, and called back Jeroboam; and when he came to them, to the city Shechem. Rehoboam came to it also, for he had resolved to declare himself king to the Israelites, who were distrusted by the people, more especially the rulers of the people, as well as Jeroboam, came to him, and besought him, and said, "That he ought to relax, and to be gentler than his father, in the servitude he had imposed on them, because they had borne a heavy yoke, and that then they should be better affected to him, and be well contented to serve him under his moderate government, and should do a more out of love than fear." But Rehoboam told them they should come to him again in three days' time when he would give an answer to their request. This delay gave occasion to a present suspicion, since he had not given them a favourable answer to his mind immediately, for they thought that he should have given them a humane answer off-hand, especially since he was but young. However, they thought that his consultation about it, and that he did not presently give them a denial, meant that he was considering the matter.
that this deflection of the multitude was according to the purpose of God. So he did not proceed in this expedition. And now I will relate first the actions of Jeroboam the king of Israel, after which we will relate what are therewith connected, the actions of Rehoboam, the king of the two tribes; by this means we shall preserve the good order of the history entire.

4. When therefore Jeroboam had built him a palace in the city Shechem, he dwelt there. He also built him another at Penuel, a city so called. And now the feast of tabernacles was approaching in Jerusalem. Jeroboam contrived, that if he should permit the multitude to go to worship God at Jerusalem, and there to celebrate the festival, they would probably repent of what they had done, and be excused by the temple, and by the worship of the divine people, and would leave him, and return to their first king; and if so, he should run the risk of losing his own life: so he invented this contrivance; he made two golden calves and built two little temples for them, the one in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, which last was at the fountain of the lesser Jordan," and he put the heifers into both the little temples, in the forementioned cities. And now he contrived and said the two bullocks together, over whom he ruled, he made a speech to the people in these words: "I suppose, my countrymen, that you know this, that every place hath God in it, nor is there any one determinate place in which he is: but he is every where, with ears and sees those that worship him; on which account I do not think it right for you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, which is an enemy's city, to worship him. It was a man that build the temple: I have also made two golden heifers, dedicated to the same God; and the one of them I have consecrated in the city Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that those of you that dwell near may come to the temple and worship God there; and I will ordain for you certain priests and Levites from among yourselves, that you may have no want of the tribe of Levi, or of the sons of Aaron; but let him that is desirous among you worship a priest, bring to God a bullock and a ram, which they say Aaron the first priest brought also." When Jeroboam had said this, he deluded the people, and made them to revolt from the worship of their forefathers, and to turn aside; for he saw in them miseries of miseries to the Hebrews, and the cause why they were overcome in war by foreigners, and so fell into captivity. But we shall relate those things that happened to them, when they were commanded, and he got upon the seat, and followed after the prophet, and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak-tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that "God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city," he said, "I am a prophet, as thou art, and the man that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come, as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, as sent by him. Now Jehovah gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jeroboam, and told him how to speak for transgressing his commands, and he told him that these things shall come to pass, I foretell a sign to them that shall also come to pass; that shall all be broken to pieces immediately, and all the fat of the sacrifices that is upon it, shall be poured upon the ground." When the prophet had said this, Jeroboam fell into a passion, and stretched out his hand, and cursed him by the name of God; but that hand which he stretched out was enfeebled, and he was not able to pull it in again to him, for it was become withered, and hung down, as if it were a dead hand. The altar also was broken to pieces, and the brazen altar, which he had put up to God and restored his right hand. Accordingly the prophet did pray to God to grant him that request. So the king having his hand recovered to its natural state, rejoiced at it, and invited the prophet to eat with him that was come, from Jerusalem, and concerning the signs done by him; and how, when Jeroboam's right hand had been enfeebled, at the prophet's prayer he had it revived again. Whereupon he was afraid that this stranger and prophet would put him in better esteem with the king than himself, and obtain greater honour from him, and he gave orders to his sons to saddle his ass presently, and make all ready that he might sit upon it, and go to the prophet. But God, having foreseen this, sent them, when they were commanded, and he got upon the ass, and followed after the prophet, and when he had overtaken him, as he was resting himself under a very large oak-tree that was thick and shady, he at first saluted him, but presently he complained of him, because he had not come into his house, and partaken of his hospitality. And when the other said, that "God had forbidden him to taste of any one's provision in that city," he said, "I am a prophet, as thou art, and the man that I should set food before thee, for I am a prophet as thou art, and worship God in the same manner that thou dost; and I am now come, as sent by him, in order to bring thee into my house, as sent by him. Now Jehovah gave credit to this lying prophet, and returned back with him. But when they were at dinner, and were merry together, God appeared to Jeroboam, and told him how to speak for transgressing his commands, and he told him

5. When the feast of tabernacles was just approaching, Jeroboam was desirous to celebrate it himself in Bethel, as did the two tribes celebrate it in Jerusalem. Accordingly he built an altar before the heifer, and undertook to be high priest himself. So he went up to the altar, with his own priests about him; but when he was going to offer the sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings, in the sight of all the people, a great tumult was raised against him. He was sent by God, and came to him from Jerusalem, who stood in the midst of the multitude, and in the hearing of the king, and directing his discourse to the altar, said thus, "God tells me that there shall be a certain man of the family of David, Josiah by name, who shall slay upon thee those false priests that shall live at that time, and upon thee shall burn the bones of those deceived, those duplicitous and wicked wretches. However, that this people may be
what that punishment should be; for he said that he should meet with a lion as he was going on his way, by which lion he should be torn in pieces, and be deprived of burial in the sepulchres of his fathers.7 Whence things came to pass, as I suppose, on his impious will of God, that so Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jads, as of one that had been convicted of lying. However, as Jads was again going to Jerusalem, a lion assaulted him, and pulled him in pieces; and he had ten years, for making and putting up false prophets, and for carrying on the work of God, did he not at all hurt the ass, but sat by it, and kept him, as also the prophet’s body. This concerned till some travelers that saw it came and told it in the city to the false prophet, who sent his disciples to visit the body, that they made a funeral for him at great expense. He also charged his sons to bury himself with him; and said, that all which he had foretold against that city, and the altar, and priests, and false prophets, would prove true; and that if he were buried with him, he should receive no injurious treatment after his death, the bones not being then to be distinguished sadder.8 But now, with the burial of him, and burying of him, and making a false prophet, and had given that charge to his sons, as he was a wicked and an impious man, he goes to Jeroboam, and says to him, “And wherefore is it so now that they are disturbed at the words of this man that is seducing you?” He then reproved and cursed him, and was grieved at the corruption of the people, and by his impious words, and by using plausible words concerning what had happened, he aimed to injure the truth that was in them; for he attempted to persuade him, that his hand was enfeebled by the labour it had undergone in supporting the word of God, and that, upon this account, it was not able to return to its former stature again; and that as to the altar, it was but new, and had borne abundance of sacrifices, and those large ones too; and was accordingly broken to pieces, and fallen down by the weight of what had been laid upon it.” He also informed him of the death of him that had foretold those things, and how he perished; (whence it proceeded that Jads had spoken in the thing in a manner of a god, not weak any thing like him.) When he had thus spoken, he persuaded the king, and entirely abashed his mind from God, and from doing works that were righteous and holy, and encouraged him to wicked and impious practices, and accordingly, he was to that degree injurious to God, and so great a transgressor, that he sought for nothing else every day, but how he might be guilty of some new instances of wickedness, and such as should be more detestable than what he had been so insolent as to do before. And so much shall at present suffice to have said concerning Jeroboam.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Rehoboam, and how God inflicted Punishment upon him, for his Impiety, by Shishak. [King of Egypt.]

§ 1. Now Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who, as we said before, was king of the two tribes, unfruitful in small and large cities, Bethlehem, and Elmah, and Tekoa, and Bethhar, and Shoco, and

* * *

* How much larger and better copy Josephus had in the remarkable history of the true prophet of Judah, and his works, is evident in what follows, than our other copies have, is evident at first sight. The prophet’s very name, Jads, or as the Constitutions call him, 7A, in what version is it, is there with so little obscurity said, that God revealed Jads the true prophet’s death, not to himself, but bare it, as the false prophet. Whether the particular account of the arguments made use of, after all, by the false prophet against his own belief, and his own conscience, in order to persuade Jeroboam to persevere in his idolatry and wickedness, than which more plausible could not be invented, was invented by Josephus, we do not know. This being an ancient book, cannot now be determined; our other copies say not one word of it.

Then this Shishak was no, the same person with the famous Seti I., or Ramesses. Some say very late, and yet we have no addition to antiquity, supposed, and that our Josephus did not take him to be the same as the pretend, but that Seti I. was many centuries earlier than Shishak, see Antiqu. Records, part ii. p. 1034.
AntiQuities of the Jews.

Chapter XI.

Concerning the Death of a Son of Jeroboam.

How Jeroboam was beheaded by Abijah, who died a violent and a sudden death, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Asa. And also after the Death of Jeroboam, Baasha destroyed his Son Nadab, and all the House of Jeroboam.

§ 1. However, God was in no long time ready to return Jeroboam's wicked actions, and the punishment they deserved; upon his own head, and upon the head of all his children. For it was in the sixth year, as a son of his lay sick at that time, who was called Abijah, he enjoined his wife to lay aside her robes, and to take the garments belonging to a private person, and to go to Abijah the prophet, for that he was unadvised of these benefits, from futurities, it having been he who "told me that I should be king." He also enjoined her, when she came to him, to inquire concerning the child, and so proceed. She did as he commanded her; and he comforted her with this temper, She did as her husband bade her, and changed her habit, and came to the city Sheol, for there did Abijah live: and as she was going into his house, his eyes being then dim with age, he had in his mind, he returned to his own kingdom. Now Herodotus of Halicarnassus mentions this expedition, having only mistaken the king's name; and [in saying that] he made war upon many other nations also, and brought the Chalcid and Palestine into subjection, he took the men that were therein prisoners without fighting. Now it is manifest, that he intended to declare that our nation was subdued by him: for he saith, I. a. 2. 8. "he left behind him pillars of brass, and these pillars were erected there, to remember to himself, and to themselves to use him without fighting, and engraved upon them the secret parts of women." Now our king Rehoboam delivered up our city without fighting. He says withal, that the Ethiopians learned to circumcise the secret parts of the Egyptians, with this addition, that the Phenicians and Syrians that live in Palestine confess that they learned it of the Egyptians. Yet it is unknown of the Phenicians, if any of them be in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised; but as to such matters, let every one speak what is agreeable to his own opinion.

4. When Shishak was gone away, king Rehoboam was taken with the ideas of those of gold, and delivered the same number of them to the keepers of the king's palace: So instead of warlike expeditions, and that glory which results from those public actions, he reigned in great quietness, though not without fear, as being always an enemy to Jeroboam, and he died when he had lived fifty-seven years, and reigned seventeen. He was in his disposition a good and a foolish man, and was [part of his dominions] by not hearkening to his father's friends. He was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepulchres of the kings; and his son Abijah succeeded him in the kingdom, and this in the eighteenth year. As a reward of the tribes: and this was the conclusion of these affairs. It must be now our business to relate the

* Herodotus, as here quoted by Josephus, and as this passage still stands in his present copies, B. ii. chap. vii. affirms, that "the Phenicians and Syrians in Palestine dwell that is to say the inhabitants supposed to have been the Jews that received their circumcision from the Egyptians." whereas it is abundantly evident, that the Jews received their circumcision from the patriarch Abraham, Gen. xvii. 1--44; John viii. 52; i. e. as I conclude my say nothing of the Egyptians did also. It is not, therefore, very unlikely that Herodotus, because the Jews had lived long in Egypt, and came out of it circumcised, did therewith think they had learned that circumcision in Egypt, and had it not before. Manetho, the famous Egyptian chronologer and historian, who knew the history of his own country much better than the Phenicians or the Syrians, and compared their affairs, as did Josephus more or less in this chapter; nor indeed does Herodotus seem at all acquainted with the affairs of the Jews; for as he never mentions so little or nothing of what he says about the country, or maritime cities, two of which he know more, sheit, Caius, and Jerus. values, proves true, nor indeed does there appear to have ever been any such cities on their coast.
death of her son, that was just at hand. She was indeed in a miserable condition at the unavoidable misery of his death, and went apace, but in circumstances very unfortunate, because of her son: for the greater haste she made, she would the sooner see her son dead, yet was she forced to make such haste on account of her husband. Accordingly, when she was come back, she declared that she had given up the ghost, as the prophet had said; and she related all the circumstances to the king.

2. Yet did not Jeroboam lay any of these things to heart, but he brought together a very numerous assembly, and called all the people to a congregation about Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of the two tribes, for he despaired of him because of his age.

Yet when he heard of the expedition of Jeroboam, he was not affrighted at it, but proved of a courageous temper of mind, superior both to his youth, and to the hopes of his enemy; so he chose him an army out of the two tribes, and met Jeroboam at a place called mount Zemaraim, and pitched his own army where he had and prepared everything necessary for the fight.

His army consisted of four hundred thousand, but the army of Jeroboam was double to it. Nor was Jeroboam accompanied by false tricks and dangers, and were just going to fight, Abijah stood upon an elevated place, and beckoning with his hand, he desired the multitude and Jeroboam himself to hear him first with silence what he had to say. Abijah had a spirit of wisdom and prudence, and began to speak, and told them, "God had computers that David and his posterity should be their rulers for all time to come, and this you yourselves shall not be unacquainted with, but I cannot but wish that the strength of my father, and joint ye yourselves to his servant Jero- boam, and are now here with him to fight against those, who, by God's own determination, are to re- main in the land which he called their own, and which have they still retained; for as to the greater part of it, Jeroboam is unjustly in possession of it. However, I do not suppose he will enjoy it any longer, but when he hath suffered that punishment which God thinks due to him for what is past, he will leave off the transgressions he hath been guilty of, and the injuries he hath offered to him, and which he hath still continued to offer, and hath persuaded you to do the same; ye have been treated with a spirit of kindness by my father than he did not speak to you so as to please you, and this only in compliance with the advice of wicked men, you in some degree, as you pretended, but in reality you did draw yourselves from God, and from his laws, although it had been right for you to have forgiven a man that was young in age, and not used to govern people, not only some disagreeable words, but if his youth and his insuf- ficiency in affairs had led him into some unfortunate actions, and that for the sake of his father Solomon, and the benefits you received from him; for men ought to excuse the sins of posterity on account of those of the fathers; and then I consider nothing of all this thing, neither do you consider it now, but come with so great an army against us. And what is it you depend upon for victory? is it upon the golden heifers, and the altar of molten brass? it also came to my ears, according to God had said, that some of Jeroboam's kindred that died in the city were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, therefore were thereby seriously cautioned not to persevere in it, and a kind of balance or equilibrium was made between the ten and the two tribes for the time to come; while our portion is less. Now, therefore, there are ten tribes in all our country who would have been equal cities, but their obstinacy and rebellion against that justice and rebellion fully appeared; of your army which gives you such good hopes. Yet certainly there is no strength at all in an army of many ten thousands, when the war is unjust; for we ought to place our surest hopes of success against our enemies in righteousness, and in piety towards God, which hope we justly have, since we have kept the laws from the beginning, and have worshipped our own God, who was not made by hand of any man's flesh, but the matter, nor was he formed by a wicked king, in order to deceive the multitude; but who is his own workmanship, and the beginning and end of all things. Therefore give you counsel even now to repeat, and to take better advice, not to leave off the prosecution of the war; and to call to mind the laws of your country, and to redress what it hath been that hath advanced you to so happy a state as you are now in.

3. This was the speech which Abijah made to the multitude. But while he was still speaking, Jeroboam sent some of his soldiers privately to encompass Abijah round about, on certain parts of the camp that were not taken notice of; and when he was within the compass of the enemy, his army was affrighted, and their courage failed them; but Abijah encouraged them, and exhorted them to place their hopes on God, for that the war was not accompanied by any false tricks or devices, but they all at once implored the divine assistance, while the priests sounded with the trumpet, and they made a shout, and fell upon their enemies, and God brake the courage of the force of their enemies, and made Abijah's army superior to them: for God vouchsafed to grant them a wonderful and very famous victory: and such a slaughter was now made of Jeroboam's army, as is never recorded to have been in any other war. Whether it were of the Greeks, or of the Barbarians, for they overthrew and slew five hundred thousand of their enemies, and took their strongest cities by force, and spoilt and burned them; and of the same kind were Bethel and her towns, and Jeshanah and her towns. And after this defeat Jeroboam never recovered himself during the life of Abijah, who yet did not long survive, for he reigned but three years, and was buried in Jerusalem, in the sepul- chres of his forefathers. He left behind him twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters; and he had these children by fourteen wives; and Asa his son succeeded to the kingdom, for he died Abijah. Under his reign the country of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

4. And so far concerning Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, and Solomon, on whom God has his history hath come down to us: but Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, died when he had governed them two and twenty years; whose son Nadab succeeded him, in the second year of the reign of Asa. Now Jeroboam's son governed two years, and resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In these two years he made an expedition against Gibbethon, a city of the Philistines, and continued the siege in it; but when he was besieging it, while he was there, by a friend of his, whose name was Baasha, the son of Abijah, and was slain; which Baasha took the kingdom after the other's death, and destroyed the whole house of Jeroboam, and of all those of his kindred; so that all the miserable and unhappy consequences of the rebellion of the ten tribes would naturally have been too powerful for the two tribes, which were presently flees from such a calamity.
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ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.
and that others of them that died in the fields were torn and devoured by the fowls. So the house of Jeroboam suffered the just punishment of his impiety and of his wicked actions.

CHAPTER XII.

How Zerah, King of the Ethiopians, was beaten by Asa; and how Asa, having made war against him, invited the King of the Damascenes to assist him; and how, on the Destruction of the House of Baasha, Omri got the Kingdom, as did his Son Ahab after him.

§ 1. Now Asa, the king of Jerusalem, was of an upright, good, and gracious character, and had regard to God, and neither did nor designed any wrong thing but what had relation to the observation of the laws. He made a reformation of his kingdom, and cut off whatsoever was wicked therein, and purified it from every impurity. Now he had an army of chosen men that were armed with targets and spears; out of the tribe of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of the tribe of Benjamin, that slew shields and drew bows, two hundred and fifty thousand. But when he was already reign ed ten years, Zerah king of Ethiopia made an expedition against him, with a great army of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, and three hundred chariots, and came as far as Gedor, as an army that belonged to the tribe of Judah. Now when Zerah had passed so far with his own army, Asa met him, and put his army in array over against him, in a valley called Zephathah, far from the city; and when he saw the multitude of the Ethiopians, he cried out, and besought God to give him the victory, and that he might kill them. 

"For," said he, "I will not rely either on man or on natural assistance, but which I expect from thee, which is able to make the fewest superior to the more numerous, and the weaker to the stronger; and thence it is alone that I venture to meet Zerah, and fight him." 

2. While Asa was saying this, God gave him a signal of victory, and joining battle cheerfully on account of what God had foretold about it, he saw a great many of the Ethiopians, and when he had put them to flight, he sent them to the country of Gerar; and when they left off killing their enemies, they betook themselves to spoil ing them, for the city Gerar was already taken, and they left their camp, so that they carried off much gold, and much silver, and a great deal of other prey, and camels, and great cattle, and flocks of sheep. Accordingly, when Asa and his army had obtained such a victory, and such wealth from God, they returned to Jerusalem. Now as they were coming, a prophet, whose name was Azariah, met them on the road, and bade them stop their journey a little; and began to say to them thus: "The reason why they had obtained this victory from God was this, that they had shown themselves righteous and religious men, and had done every thing according to the will of God; that therefore he said, if they preserved therein, God would grant that they should always overcome their enemies, and live happily; but that if they left off his worship, all things shall fall out on the contrary and a time should come, wherein no true prophet shall be left in your whole kingdom; nor a priest who shall deliver you a true answer from the oracle; but your cities shall be overthrown, and your nation scattered over the whole earth, and live the life of strangers and wandering." So he said that he had time to be good, and not to deprive themselves of the favor of God. When the king and the people heard this, they rejoiced: and all in common, and every one in particular, took great care to behave themselves as uprightly as possible. The king also care that those in the country should observe the laws also.

3. And this was the state of Asa, king of the two tribes. I now return to Baasha, the king of the ten tribes of the Israelites, whose son, El dari, the son of Jeroboam, and retained the government. He dwelt in the city Tirzah, having made that his habitation, and reigned twenty-four years. He became more wicked than his father, and his son. He did a great deal of mischief to the multitude, and was injureous to God, who sent the prophet Jehu, and told him beforehand, that his whole family should thus be destroyed, and that he would bring the same miseries on his house which had brought that of Jeroboam to ruin; because, when he had been made king by him, he had not required his kindness by governing the multitude righteously and religiously. Things, in the future, tended to their own happiness, and in the next places were pleasing to God; that he had imitated the very wicked king, Jeroboam: and although that man's soul had perished, yet did not God declare to him the like wickedness; and he said, that he should therefore justly experience the like calamity with him, since he had been guilty of the like wickedness. But Baasha, though he heard beforehand what miseries would befall him and his whole family for their insolent behaviour, yet did not he leave off his wicked practices for the time to come, nor did he care to appear to be other than worse and worse till he died; nor did he mend his ways, as his past actions declared to obtain pardon of God for them, but did as those do who have rewards proposed to them when they have once in earnest set about their work, they do not leave off their labors; for the prophet foretold to him what would come to pass, grow worse, as if what were threatened, the perdition of his family and the destruction of his house, (which were) such good things; and as if he were a combatant for wickedness, he every day took more and more pains for it; and at last he took his army, and assaulted a certain considerable city called Ram gal, and forty furlongs from Jerusalem; and when he had taken it, he fortified it, having determined beforehand to leave a garrison in it, that they might there make excursions and do mischief to the kingdom of Asa.

4. Whereupon Asa was afraid of the attempt against the enemy might make upon him, and considering with himself how many mischiefs this army that was left in Ramah might do to the country over which he reigned, he sent ambassadors to the king of the Damascenes, with gold and silver, desiring his assistance, and putting him in mind that we have had a friendship together from the times of our forefathers. So he obtained the sum of money, and made a league with him, and broke the friendship he had with Baasha, and sent the commanders of his own forces unto the cities that were under Baasha's dominion, and bid them to do them mischief. So they went and burnt some of them, and spoiled others, Ijon, and Dan, and Abelmaim, and many others that belonged to the land of Israel, and bordered on the country of Damascus, is supposed by both Hudson and Spenser to be the same with Abel or Abias, whose name was Abias, according to the city so designated on the right wing, there buried, concerning the abounding of whose blood within the compass of the land of Israel, I understand the Seavion's words about the total war and over-
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XIII.

How Ahab, when he had taken Jezebel to wife, became more wicked than all the Kings that had been before him. Of the Actions of the Prophet Elijah; and what befell Naboth.

§ 1. Now Ahab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria, and held the government for twenty years; and made no alteration in the conduct of the kings that were his predecessors, but only in such things as were of his own invention for the worse, and in his most gross wickedness. He imitated their injury and rapacity towards God, and more especially he imitated the transgression of Jeroboam; for he worshipped the heifers that he had made; and he contrived other absurd objects of worship besides those he had made, and laid his wife the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose name was Jezebel, of whom he learned to worship her own gods. This woman was active and bold, and fell into so great a degree of impiety and madness, that she built a temple to the god of the Tyrians, which they call Belus, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. This king always had many such about him, and so exceeded in madness and wickedness all the kings that went before him.

2. There was now a prophet of God Almighty, of Theshbon, named Elijah, that came to Ahab, and said to him, that "God foretold he would not send rain nor dew in those years upon the country but when he should appear." And when he had confirmed this by an oath, he departed into a wilderness, and made his abode by a brook, out of which he had water to drink; for as for his food, ravens brought it to him every day: but when that river was dried up for want of rain, he came to Zarephath, a city not far from thence, and there he took a woman that he was to live with, and her son, and whilst they were there, he told her to go and get a bunch of sticks, and he sent her to get meal, and as she was going so to do, he called to her, and would have her bring him a loaf of bread also: whereupon she affirmed on oath that she had at home nothing more than one handful of meal and a little oil; and that she was going to gather some sticks, that she might knead it, and make bread for herself and her son; after which, she said, they must perish, and be consumed by the famine, for they had nothing for themselves any longer. Hereupon he said, "Go on with good courage, and hope for better things; and first of all make me a little cake, and bring it to me, for I foretell to thee that this vessel of meal and this cruse of oil shall not fail till I send rain." When the prophet had said this, she came to him, and made him the renamed cake; of which she had part for herself, and gave the rest to her son, and to the prophet also; nor did any evil come to them out of any thing of this kind until that year. Now Menander mentions this drought in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians, where he says thus: "Under him there was a want of rain from the mouth of Hyperborea, till the mouth of Hyperborea of the year following; but when he made supplications, there came great thunders. This Ethbaal built the city of

Sword of Jobab by Titus and his Roman army, "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the land, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the two

Mat. xxviii. 35. 36; Luke xiii. 51.
Bostry in Phocæa, and the city of Aorax in Liby.

By these words he designed this want of
rain that was in the days of Ahab, for at that
time it was that Elisha, also having passed over
the Tyrians, as Menander informs us.

3. Now this woman, of whom we spake before,
that sustained the prophet, when her son was fall-
in unto a ditch, told him he was not to be saved.
He appeared to be dead, came to the prophet weep-
ing, and beating her breast with her hands, and
sending out such expressions as her passions dic-
tated to her, and complained to him, that he had
ever touched her for fear of the ghost, and fast on
this account it was that her son was dead.

But he bade her be of good cheer, and deliver
her son to him, for that he would deliver him
again to her alive. So when she had delivered
her son up to him, he carried him into an upper
room, where he himself lodged, and laid him
down upon the bed, and cried unto God, and said,
that "God had not done well in rewarding the
woman who had entertained him, and sustained
him, by taking away her son; and he prayed that
he would send again the soul of the child into
him, and bring him to life again." Accordingly,
God took pity on the mother, and was willing to
give what she desired, but it was not meant she
should have come to her to do her a mischief; and
the child, beyond all expectation, came to life again.
So the mother returned the prophet thanks, and
said she was then clearly satisfied that God did
comply with her request.

4. After a little while Elijah came to king
Ahab," according to God's will, to inform him that
rain was coming. Now the famine that had seized
upon the land was a great want of what was necessary for sustenance; in-
somuch, that it was not only men that wanted it,
but the earth itself also, which did not produce
enough for the horses and the other beasts, of
which there was nothing for them to feed, to re
make up the shortage of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah,
who was steward over his cattle, and said to him,
"That he would have him go to the fountains of
water, and to the brooks, that if any herds could
be found, and there was bread and wine, he would
reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent
persons all over the habitable earth, to discover
the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him,
his bade Obadiah accompany him: so it was re-
solved they should take a similar course, and dis-
cover the ways between them, and Obadiah took one
road and the king another. Now it happened,
that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the
prophets, that there were six hundred prophets, and
had fed them with nothing, but bread and water.
But when Obadiah was alone and absent from the
king, the prophet Elijah met him: and Obadiah asked him who he was; and
when he had learned it from him, he worshiped him.
Elijah then bade him go to the king, and
"tell him that I am here ready to wait on him;" but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh
to kill me? Go, return over the earth for thee!" Or, was he so ignorant as not to know
that the king, had left no place untouched until
which h. had not sent persons to bring him back,
in order, if they could take him, to have him put
to death; and when he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should
go away into another place, and that when the
king should send him for Elijah, and he should
miss of him, and not be able to find him any
where upon earth, he should be put to death.
He desired him therefore to take care of his pre-
servation; and told him how diligently he had
provided for those of his own profession, and had
sent them amongst all the nations, for if they
were not of the rest of them, and had kept them concealed,
and that they had been sustained by him. But Elij-
jah bade him fear nothing, but go to the king; and
he assured him upon oath, that he would certain-
ly prescribe such persons, who should be sent for if
there were not any flattery, that "That he was himself
the man, and his house, and which had brought such sad afflictions upon them, and that by introducing
four hundred gods into their country, and worshipping
them, and by leaving their own, who was the only true God, and having no manner of re-
gard to him." However, he bade him go his
way, and gather together all the people to him,
that he might then discourse with them, and tell
those of his wife, telling him how many there
were of them, as also the prophets of the groves,
about four hundred in number. And all the
men whom Ahab sent for ran away to the fore-
manters of the prophet Elijah, and were found
midst of them, and said, "How long will you
live thus in uncertainty of mind and opinions?" He also exhorted them, that in case they estee-
minded any of these strange gods, and worshiped
them, he would judge on them as he did on those
of the drought. So the king called for Obadiah,
who was steward over his cattle, and said to him,
"That he would have him go to the fountains of
water, and to the brooks, that if any herds could
be found, and there was bread and wine, he would
reserve it for the beasts." And when he had sent
persons all over the habitable earth, to discover
the prophet Elijah, and they could not find him,
his bade Obadiah accompany him: so it was re-
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that the same time when queen Jezebel slew the
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king, the prophet Elijah met him: and Obadiah asked him who he was; and
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Elijah then bade him go to the king, and
"tell him that I am here ready to wait on him;" but Obadiah replied, "What evil have I done to thee, that thou sendest me to one who seeketh
to kill me? Go, return over the earth for thee!" Or, was he so ignorant as not to know
that the king, had left no place untouched until
which h. had not sent persons to bring him back,
in order, if they could take him, to have him put
to death; and when he was afraid lest God should appear to him again, and he should

* Josephus in his present copies, says, that a little whith
after the recovery of the widow's son of Sarepta, God sent
rain upon the earth; whereas, in our other copies, it is af-
mendays days, I Kings xviii. 1. Several years are also in-
timated, not only to the hour, but also to the minute, belonging to the
drought and famine; nay, we have the express mention of the
third year, which I suppose was reckoned from the recovery
of the widow's son, and the ghost, and the drought in Phœnicia, which, (as Menander informs us here)
lasted one whole year. And both our Saviour and St.
James affirms, that this drought lasted a in all three years

and six months, as their copies of the Old Testament them

* Josephus here seems to mean, that thus droughts af-
ected it upon the earth, and prevailed in such a manner as the Saviour says it was upon the earth, Luke iv. 25.

Who restrain these expressions to the land of Judea
alone, go without sufficient authority or example.

And the possession of land of the temple of Methus (the god of the Persians,) the priests e, them-
selves in the same manner as did them priests in their
in-
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XIII. 183.

the altar, and upon them had laid the pieces of the sacrifices, he ordered them to fill four barrels with the water of the fountain, and to pour it upon the altar, till it ran over, and till the trench was filled with the water poured into it. When he had done this, he began to pray to God, and to invoke him to make manifest his power to a people that had already been in an anguish when all seemed calm, as a sudden from heaven in the sight of the multitude, and fell upon the altar, and consumed the sacrifice, till the very water was set on fire, and the smoke rose high into the air.

6. Now when the Israelites saw this, they fell down upon the ground and worshipped one God, and called him the great and the only true God, but they called the others mere names, framed by the evil and vile opinions of men. So they caught their prophets, and, at the command of Elijah, slew them. Elijah also said to the king, that he should go to dinner without any further concern, for that in a little time he would see God send rain. Accordingly, Ahab went his way: but Elijah went up into the highest top of mount Carmel, and sat down upon the ground, and leaned his head upon his knees, and bade his servant go to a certain elevated place, and look towards the sea for them, if the cloud rising any where, he should give him notice of it, for till that time the air had been clear. When the servant had gone up, and had sat down, as he was set, and had waited the seventh time of his going up, he said that he saw a small black thing in the sky, not larger than a man's foot. When Elijah heard that, he sent to Ahab, and desired him to go away to the city before the rain came down, and bade him leave the place where he was, and come to the city Jezreel; and in a little time the air was all obscured, and covered with clouds, and a vehement storm of wind came upon the earth, and with it a great deal of rain; and the prophet went away, and came to Jezreel, to the king's chariot unto Jezreel, a city of Israel [Iz-car].

7. When Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, understood what signs Elijah had wrought, and how he had slain her prophets, she was very angry, and sent messengers to him, and by them threatened to kill him, as he had destroyed her prophets. At this Elijah was afflicted, and fled to the city called Jezreel, which was close to the field of the country belonging to the tribe of Judah, towards the land of Edom; and there he left his servant, and went away into the desert. He prayed also that he might die, for that he was weary of the family, and to see the people of Israel, and to see the judges of the country, and the rulers of the Israelites [Jezreelites] in Ahab's name, and commanded them to fast, and to assemble a congregation, and to set Naboth at the head of them, because he was of an illustrious family, and to give the king the opportunity to hear witness that he had blasphemed God and the king, and then to stone him, and slay him in that manner. Accordingly, when Naboth had been thus testified against, as the queen had wanted to them, that he had blasphemed against God and Ahab the king, she desired him to take possession of Naboth's vineyard or free cost. So Ahab was glad at what had been done, and rose up immediately from where he was, and went to see Naboth's vineyard; but God had great indignation at it, and sent Elijah the prophet to the field of Naboth, to speak to Ahab, and to say to him, that "he had slain the true owner of that vineyard unjustly; and now he had come to him, and the king had said, that he might do with him what he pleased, (for he thought it a reproach to him to be thus caught in his sin,) Elijah said, that in that very place Naboth was slain by dogs, both his own blood and that of his wife should be shed, and that as his family should perish, because he had been so insolently wicked, and had slain a citizen unjustly, and contrary to the laws of the country;"
Hereupon Ahab began to be sorry for the things he had done, and to repent of them, and he put on sackcloth, and went barefoot, and would not touch what was put into his hands, nor do anything to appease God. But God said to the prophet, that "while Ahab was living he would put off the punishment of his family, because he was troubled of those insolent crimes he had been guilty of, but that God would threaten them by His son." Which message the prophet delivered to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

How Hadad, King of Damascus and of Syria, made two Expeditions against Ahab, and was beaten.

§ 1. When the affairs of Ahab were thus, that at that time the son of Hadad (Benhadad,) who was king of the Syrians and of Damascus, got together an army out of all his country, and procured thirty-two kings beyond Euphrates to be his auxiliaries: so he made an expedition against Ahab; but because Ahab's army was not like that of Benhadad's, he did not set it in array to fight him, but had nothing to fight with, that was in the country, in the strongest cities he had, he about to laugh at for the walls about it were very strong, and it appeared to be not easily to be taken in other respects also. So the king of Syria took his army with him, and came to Ahab, and placed his army round about the city, and before he could do him any mischief he sent a herald to Ahab, and desired he would admit the ambassadors he would send him, by whom he would let him know his pleasure. So upon the king of Israel's perquisite for him to send those ambassadors came, and, by their king's command, spake thus: that "Ahab's riches, and his children, and his wives, were Benhadad's," and if he would make an agreement, and give him leave to take as much of what he had as he pleased, he would withdraw his army, and leave off the siege." Upon this, Ahab bade the ambassadors to go back, and tell their king, that both he himself and all that he had, were his possessions. And when he made an expectation told this to Benhadad, he sent him to Ahab, and desired, since he confessed that all he had was his, that he would admit those servants of his who should send the next day; and he commanded him to deliver to those he should send, whatsoever, upon their searching his palace, and the houses of his friends and kindred, they should find to be excellent in its kind, but what they should have no need to bring before him. At this second expedition of the king of Syria, Ahab was surprised, and gathered together the multitude to a congregation, and told them, "That for himself he was ready, for their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy, and to yield to him all his own possessions, for that was the Syrian king required at his first expedition; but that now he desires to send his servants to search all his houses, and in them to leave nothing that is

"* The Jewsweep to this day, (says Jerome, here cited by Reuben,) and roll themselves upon sackcloth in solemn occasions." To which Spanheim adds, "that after the same manner Barncce, when her life was in danger, stood at the tribunal of Flavus barefoot." Or of the War, B. ii. ch. xv. sect. 1. See the like of Diodor. 8: B. xvi. 30: Antiq. B. vii. ch. 11. sect. 2.

** Mr. Reland notes here very truly, that the word naked does not always signify entirely naked, but sometimes without men's usual garb, without their usual robes or upper garments: as when Virgil bids the bus- ineese dress naked and swim with him, and when Hadad fell on the Syrians when they were both naked and drunk: when in Antiqu. B. vii. ch. 11. sect. 2, that God had given the Jews the security of armour when they were naked: and when he tells the story of Hadad, xvi. 30, that God gave him the assurance of his victory; as in Acts, xii. 13, that the angel was sent to Peter, who was in prison, and had laid him in the midst of his bed, and that he stood under the windows, saying, Antiqu. B. iv. ch. iii. sect. 2, that David was given the sword over Goliath, e. i. 28, that he laid aside his robe of state, and put on the sacerdotal, Levitical, or sacred garments, proper for such a solemnity.
came to Ahab, clothed in sackcloth, with ropes about their heads; (for this was the ancient manner of supplication among the Syrians,) and said, that Benhadad feared him, and sent him and his servants, and horses, and returned to the city; but as the prophet told him, he ought to have his army ready, because the Syrian king would make another d Detour against the land of Israel. Also, the prophet bade him be ready in the morning, and he was bade to arm him, and that he would ever be a servant to him for that favour. Ahab replied, he was glad that he was alive, and not hurt in the battle.

And he further promised him the same honour and kindness as a man would do to his brother. So they received assurances upon oath from him, that when he came to him, he should receive no harm from him, and then went and brought him out of the cell thou wast, and brought him, and brought him to Ahab as he sat in his chariot. So Benhadad worshipped him; and Ahab gave him his hand, and bade him come up to him into his chariot, and kissed him, and bade him be of good cheer, and that no mischief was to be done to him. So Benhadad returned him thanks, and confessed that he would remember his kindness to him all the days of his life; and promised he would restore those cities which the kings had taken from them, and grant that he should have leave to come to Damascus, as his forefathers had come to Samaaria. So they confirmed their covenants by oaths, and Ahab made him many presents, and sent him out of his land into his own kingdom. And this was the conclusion of that war that Benhadad made against Ahab and the Israelites.

5. But a certain prophet, whose name was Micah, came to one of the larsutes, and bade him smite him on the head, for by so doing he would please God; but when he would not do so, he foretold to him, that since he disobeyed the commands of God, he should meet with a lion and be slain by it, which came to pass, and the lion took him by the head, and bit him, and killed him. And when the larsute saw this, he fell down, and was slain by the lion. Afterwards, when the king heard of this, he sent to the larsute, and how he escaped. And when the larsute came to him, he told him that God had shown him a great mystery, and he was to tell it to no man, but to him only. And when the larsute heard this, he went to him, and told him that he would not do so. And when he heard this, the king was angry, and said, that if he would not do so, he would slay him. And when the larsute heard this, he said, that he would not do so, but would tell him what he had told him; and when the king heard this, he was angry, and said, that he would slay him, unless he would do so. And when the larsute heard this, he said, that he would do so, and when he did so, the king was pleased, and gave him a great reward, and made him a great honour.

* Josephus’s number, two myriads and seven thousand, submitted by one of the most learned of moderns, as more likely than twenty thousand, being in number twenty-seven thousand. Now there were slain in this battle a hundred thousand: but Benhadad, the king of the Sy-rians fled away, with certain others of his most faithful servants, and a small part of the host that was under ground: and when these told him that the kings of Israel were humane and merciful men, and that they might make use of the usual manner of supplication, and obtain deliverance from Ahab, in case he would give them leave to go to him, he gave them leave accordingly. So they

* son’s slaughter by a lion had lately come to pass, was no less striking than that of Gideon. It is remarkable, that the nersed God’s judgment on disobedient Ahab, seems distinctly to have been that very prophet whom the same Ahab in 1 Kings xii. 16. complains of, as one whose he was, because he did not prophesy good concerning him, but evil, and who in that chapter openly renews his denunciations against him; all which came to pass according to the word. Now is there any reason to doubt but the two former were the very same prophet.

* What is most remarkable in this history, and in many others of the same kind, is this, that during the Jewish decency God noted entirely as the supreme king of Israel, and the supreme general of their armies, and that no other king, however powerful, should be in such absolute submission to him, their supreme and heavenly king, and general of their armies, as subjects and soldiers are to their earthly kings and gen-

* It is remarkable, that in Josephus’s copy this passage, which was an echo of the preceding verse, was struck out, and supplied with the words, 'where other times it was omissions to observe about their heads or backs of their otherwise in any way, I suppose, no strange thing in later ages, even in our own country.
Concerning Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem; and how Abah made war against Syria, was assisted therein by Jehoshaphat, but was himself overcome in Battle, and perished therein.

1. And these were the circumstances in which Ahab was. But I now return to Jehoshaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who, when he had angels, was powerful and wealthy; and sent garrisons into the cities of the countries belonging to his subjects, and had put such garrisons no less into those cities which were taken out of the tribe of Ephraim, by his grandfather Abijah, when Jehoshaphat, his son, was less than he did into the other; but then he had God favourable and assisting to him, as being both righteous and religious, and seeking to do somewhat every day, that he should be exalted to the highest degree. The king who were round about him, honoured him with the presents they made him, till the riches that he had acquired were immensely great, and the glory he had gained was of a most exalted sort.

2. Now, in the third year of his reign, he called together the rulers of the country, and the priests, and commanded them to go round the land, and teach all the people that were under him, to the best of their power, and to keep them, and to be diligent in the worship of God. With this the whole multitude was so pleased, that they were not so eager to be set upon, or affected with any thing so much as the observation of the laws. Thus the king of Judah was acceptable to Jehoshaphat, and to be at peace with him. The Philistines paid their appointed tribute; and the Arabians supplied him every year with three hundred and sixty lambs, and as many kids of them. Such was the large increase of the kingdom of Judah, and pursued by the Syrians, and dispersed upon the mountains by them, as are flocks of sheep dispersed when their shepherd is slain." He said further, that God signified to him, that those territories would be a great blessing to him, that he should remain. Home, and that he only should fall in battle." When Micahad had thus spoken, Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "I told thee a little while ago the disposition of the man with regard to me, and that he uses to prophesy evil to me." Upon which Micahad replied, that "he ought to bear all, whatsoever it be, that God foretells; and that in particular, they were false prophets that encouraged him to make war on Ahab, and the king of Syria, and to lose the fight and be killed." Whereupon the king was in suspense with himself; but Zedekiah, one of those false prophets, came near, and exhorted him not to hear the words of the false prophet, but to stand fast in the truth; as a demonstration of which, he instanced in what Elijah had said, who was a better prophet in foretelling futurities than Micahad; for he foretold, That "the dogs should lick his blood in the city of Jezreel, in the field of Naboth, as they licked the blood of Naboth, who by his means was there stoned to death by the multitude;" that therefore it was plain that this Micahad was a liar, as contradicting a greater prophet, and that he should not be heare him, for he would be slain at three days' journey distance. And [said he] you shall soon know whether he be a true prophet, and hath the power of the Divine Spirit; for I will smite him, and let him thee with a sudden hurt to death, and for his own sin, and against God, for that he arrogantly go to the king with whom he would have caught him; for I suppose thou hast certainly heard of that accident." So when, upon his smiling Micahad, no harm happened to him, Ahab said to Zedekiah, that he was now in good company with the king of Syria, for, as I suppose, fate was too hard for him, and made him believe that the false prophets spake truer than the true one; author, or from certain ancient notes. That some such plausible objection was now raised against Micahad is very possible, and otherwise Jehoshaphat, who used to disbelieve all such false prophets, could never have been induced to accompany Ahab in these desperate circumstances.
BOOK VIII.—CHAP. XV.

resolved not to make his mischance known to his army; lest they should run away, but he made the dirge of his crowds to teach it back, and carry him out of the battle, because he was sorely and mortally wounded; however, he sat in his chariot and endured the pain till sunset, and then died.

6. And now the Syrian army, upon the coming of the night, retired to their camp; and when the herald belonging to the camp gave notice that Abah was dead, they returned home; and they took the dead body of Abah to Saurias, and buried it there; but when they had washed his chariot, in the fountain of Jerseel, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Ezechiel was true, for the blood of that prince flowed; and the detached sorts continued afterward to wash themselves in that fountain; but still he died at Ramoth, as Micaiah had foretold. And as what things were foretold should happen to Abah, by the two prophets, came to pass, we ought hence to have hopes of God, and every where to honour and worship him, and never to suppose that what is pleasant and agreeable is worthy of belief before what is true and righteous. So when the Syrians, upon their joining battle with the Israelites, saw Jehoshaphat stand before the army, and conjectured that he was Abah, they fell violently upon him, and encompassed him round; but when they were near, and knew that it was not he, they all returned back; and while the fight lasted from the morning-light till late in the evening, and the Syrians were conquerors, they killed nobody, as their king had commanded them. And when they sought to kill Abah alone, but could not find him, there was a young nobleman belonging to their king Benhadad, whose name was Naaman; he drew his bow and shot, and wounded he killed through his breastplate, in his lungs. Upon this, Abah

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ABAH TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Jehoshaphat again; how he constituted Judges, and, by God’s Assistance, overcame his Enemies.

§ 1. When Jehoshaphat the king was come to Jerusalem, from the assistance he had afforded Abah, the king of Israel, when he sought with Benhadad king of Syria, the prophet Jephthah met him, and accused him for assuring Abah, a man both impious and wicked; and said to him, that “God was displeased with him for so doing, but that he delivered him from the enemy, notwithstanding he had sinned, because of his own proper disposition, which he could not suppress, he defiled himself to thanksgivings and sacrifices to God: after which he presently went over all that country which he ruled round about.

These judges, constituted by Jehoshaphat, were a kind of Jerusalem Benedectines, out of the priests, the Levites, and the principal of the people, both here and 2 Chron.

As 8, much like the old Christian judicatures of the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the people.
of great consequence, they should send them out of the other cities to those judges, who would be obliged to give righteous sentences concerning such causes; and this with the greater care, because it is proper that the sentences which are given in that city wherein the shrine of God is situated, and wherein the king dwells, be given with great care, and the utmost justice. Now he set over them Amariah the priest, and Zebudiah, both of the tribe of Judah: and after this manner it was ordained that the king should take care of these festivals, and offer sacrifices, and this for many days. And, indeed, after this destruction of their enemies, and when it came to the ears of the foreign nations, they were all greatly afraid, and the nations that surround thee fight for him hereafter. So Jehoshaphat from that time lived in great glory and splendour, on account of his righteousness and his piety towards God. He also was in a great business with Ahab’s son, who was king of Israel; and he joined with him in the building of ships that were to sail to Tarshish, and the traffic cities of Tarshish; but he failed of his gains, for he was himself so seduced by his wealth and by his wealthily manner, on which account he was no longer concerned about shipping. And this is the history of Jehoshaphat the king of Jerusalem.

CHAP. II.
Concerning Ahaziah, the King of Israel, and again concerning the Prophet Elijah.

1. AND NOW Ahaziah, the son of Ahreb, reigned over Israel, and made his abode in Samaria. He was a wicked man, and, in all respects, like to both his parents, and to Jeroboam, who first of all transgressed, and began to deceive the people. Now there came a certain man out of Moab fall off from his obedience, and left off paying those tributes which he before paid to his father Ahaz. When it had happened that Ahaziah, as he was coming down from the top of his house, fell down from a window, and his face was sent to the Fyli, which was the god of Ekron, for that was this god’s name, to inquire about his recovery: but the God of the Hebrews appeared to Elijah the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the messengers that were sent, and to ask them, ‘Whether the people of Israel had not a God of their own, that the king sent to a foreign god to inquire about his recovery? and to bid them return, and tell the king that he would not escape this disease.’ And when Elijah had performed what God had commanded him, and the messengers had heard what he said, they returned to their master immediately; and when the king desidered how they could return, who had asked them the reason of it, they said, that “a certain man met them, and forbade them to go any further; but to return and tell thee, from the command of the God of Israel, that this disease will have a bad end.” And when the king bade them describe the man that said this to them, they replied, “that he was a hairy man, and was girt about with a girdle of leather.” So the king desired that the man should be sought after by the messengers was Elijah; whereasupon he sent a captain to him, with fifty soldiers, and commanded them to bring Elijah to him; and when the captain that was sent found Elijah, setting upon the top of a hill, he commanded him to come hither.

Concerning this precious balsam, see the note on 2 Kings, xii. 21. 22.

† What are here Pontus and Thrace, as the places wherein Jehoshaphat’s fleet sailed, are in our other copies Oceanus and the place where he landed, Eucraige, which lay on the Red Sea, whence it was impossible for any ships to sail to Pontus or Thrace; nor did the story copy differ from our other copies, as is further plain from his coming over from the Red Sea, thence to Eucraige, from their unwisely greatness. But so far we may conclude, that Josephus thought one Opib to be somewhere in the Mediter- ranean, one in the South Sea, and there might be another Opib in the South Sea also, and that these might then sail both from Phoenicia, and from those places; and this god of Groth, seen to have been so called, was the like god among the Greeks, from his supposed power over fire in driving away the fear of their re-
BOOK IX.—CHAP. III

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against the king of Moab, whose name was Mo-
sha; for, as we told you before, he was departed
from his obedience, to set up a golden calf, and
while he paid to his father Ahab two hundred
thousand sheep with their fleeces of wool. When
therefore he had gathered his own army toge-
ther, he sent also to Jehoshaphat, and extorted
him, that since he had from the beginning been
a friend to his father, he would assist him in the
war that he was entering into against the Moab-
ites, who had departed from their obedience;
who not only himself promised to assist him,
but would also of his own authority, to make the
same expedition also. When Joram had received
these assurances of assistance from Jehoshaphat, he
took his army with him, and came to Jehoshaphat;
and when he had been sumptuously entertained by
the king of Jerusalem, it was resolved upon by
them to take their march against their enemies
through the wilderness of Edom; and when they
were in distress for want of water for the cattle,
and for the army, from the mixture of their
roads by the guides that conducted them, insomuch
that they were all in an agony, appre-

\[\text{\textit{...}}\]

...
day, before the sunrise. A great torrent ran from Moab to Edom; and the army and the cattle found water to drink in abundance. But when the Moabites heard that the three kings were coming upon them, and made their approach through the wilderness, the king of Moab gathered his army together presently, and commanded them to pitch their camp upon the mountains, that when the enemies should attempt to enter their country, they might not be caught from the rear. But when at the rising of the sun they saw the water in the torrent, for it was not far from the land of Moab, and that it was of the colour of blood, and that in a very short time the water looks red, by the shining of the sun upon it, they formed a false notion of the state of their enemies, as if they had slain one another for thirst, and that the river ran with their blood. However, supposing that was the case, they desired their king would send them out to spoil their enemies; whereupon they all went in haste, as to an advantage already gained, and came to the enemy's camp, as supposing them defeated already. But their hope deceived them, for as their enemies stood round about them, some of them were cut to pieces, and others of them were dispersed, and fled to their own country. And when the kings entered into the land and overthrew the cities that were there in it, and spoiled their fields, and gathered filling them with stones out of the brooks, and cut down the best of their trees, and stopped up their ditches of water, and overthrew their walls to their foundations, and cut off their king, Moab, when he was pursued, endured a siege, and seeing his city in danger of being overthrown by force, made a sally, and went out with seven hundred men in order to pass through the enemies' camp with his horsemen, on that side where the watch seemed to be kept most negligently: and when, upon trial, he could not get away, for he hit upon a place that was carefully watched, he retired into the city, and did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress; for he took his eldest son, who was to reign after him, and lifting him up upon the wall, that he might be visible to all the enemies, he offered him to the whole burnt offering to God, whom, when the kings saw, they conspired the distress that was the occasion of it, and were so affected, in way of humanity and pity, that they raised the siege and every one returned to his own country. So Jehoshaphat came to Jerusalem, and continued in peace there, and ruled this expedition but a little time, and then died, having lived in all sixty years, and of them reigned twenty-five. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Jerusalem, for he had imitated the actions of David.

* That this woman who cried to Eliash, and who in our Bible is styled the wife of one of the sons of the prophets, 2 Kings iv.:1, was no other than the widow of Obadiah, the good steward of Ahab, is confirmed by the Chaldean paraphrase, and by Macrobius and others. It is that unlikely which Josephus here adds, that these debts were contracted by her husband for the support of those hundred thousand people, Judges xxi. 25, which circumstance renders it highly fit that the prophet Eliash should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her son from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Levit. xxi. 29; Matt. xxi. 25; which he did accordingly, 2 Kings iv. 1-11, which circumstances rendered it highly fit that the prophet Eliash should provide her a remedy, and enable her to redeem herself and her son from the fear of that slavery which insolvent debtors were liable to by the law of Moses, Levitic. xx. 29; Matt. xxii. 25; which he did accordingly, 2 Kings iv. 1-11. But of which we have several omitted in the same.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram succeeds Jehoshaphat; how Joram, his Nameake, King of Israel, fought with the Syrian; and Wonders were done by the Prophet Eliash.

§ 1. Jehoshaphat had a good number of children; but he appointed his eldest son Jehoram to be his successor, who had the same name with his mother's brother, that was king of Israel, and the son of Ahab. Now when the king of Israel was dead, and there was no king in the house of Omri, and Ahab had with him Eliash the prophet, whose acts I have a mind to go over particularly, for they were illustrious and worthy to be related, as we shall see by and by, they set down in the sacred books.

2. For the story that the son of Obadiah, Ahab's steward, came to him, and said, that "he was not ignorant how her husband had preserved the prophets that were to be slain by Jehozabe, the wife of Ahab; for she said that he bid a hundred of them, and had borrowed money for their maintenance; and that after her husband's death, she and her children were carried away to be made slaves by the creditors; and that she kept an account on her husband's behalf of how much they had borrowed, every one of the vessels, and all were filled, and not one left empty, to the prophet, and told him that they were full: upon which he advised her to go at once, sell the oil, and pay the creditors that were owing to them, and there would be some surplus of the price of the oil, which she might make use of for the maintenance of her children. And thus did Eliash discharge the debts of her creditors, and free her from the vexation of her creditors.

3. Eliash also sent a hasty message to Joram, and exhorted him to take care of that place, for that therein were some Syrians lying in ambush, and he had to go to Damascus, and exhorted him, and avoided his going a hunting. And when Benhadad missed of the success of his lying in ambush, he was wroth with his own servants, as if they had betrayed his ambushmen: and he said, "I will go to Damascus, and they were the betrays of his secret counsels, and he threatened that he would put them to death, since such their practice was evident, because he had intrusted this secret to none but them, and yet it was made known to his enemies. And when one that was present said, that "he was not present, was evidently in his bible, I mean that of the curing of Naaman's leprosy, 2 Kings v. for he plainly alludes to it, B. iii. ch. xi. sect. 4, where he observes, "that there were lepers in many nations who yet have been in monasteries and others, who has been long known to have been great captains of armies, and been intrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had under them and served, not one, but tens and hundreds of thousands of people. But what makes me most to regret the want of that history in our present copies of Josephus, is, that we have here, as it is commonly understood, one of the greatest difficulties in all the Bible, that in 2 Kings v. 16, 18, where Naaman, after he had been miraculously cured by a prophet of the Lord, and God had thereupon promised, v. 14, that he would heals, and help all that come to him, leprosy, or lepers, he says, that he would have a miracle, but that he would sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord, adds, "in this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, that this may ever go into the house of Rimmon, and fall on me, and he leant on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon; when I bow down myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord said, Eliash said, Go in peace." This looks like a prophet's permission for being partaker in idolatry itself, act of concurrence with an idolatrous court.
BOOK IX.—CHAP. IV.

shall not mistake himself, nor suspect that they had discovered to his enemy his sending men to kill him, but that he ought to know that it was Elisha the prophet, who discovered all to him, and said open all his eyes; that they should send some to learn in what city Elisha dwelt. Accordingly, those that were sent brought word, that he was in Dothan: wherefore Benhadad sent to that city a great army, bringing with him a large amount of baggage, so as they encompassed the city round about by night, and kept him therein confined, but when the prophet's servant in the morning perceived this, and that his enemies sought to take Elisha, he cast his garments on the ground, as being a cles dered manner to him, and told him of it; but he encouraged him, and bid him not be afraid, and to despise the enemy, and trust in the assistance of God, and was himself without fear; and he besought God to make manifest to his servant his power and presence, so far as was possible, in order to the inspiring him with hope and courage. Accordingly God heard the prayer of the prophet, and made the servant see a multitude of horses, with riders, as he was going out toward the city, and he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further exhort him, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and he did so. And when the guards, they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and they said, "an old man." But he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when he came to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from their sight. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies, and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divinely mingled with human wisdom, the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade them so to do, and said, "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country so much a service, and were not men of war, but father by the divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad, their king.

4. Now when these men were come back, and had denouned Benhadad his strump, and brought had fallen them, and what an appearance and power they had experienced of the God of Israel, he wondered at it, as also at that prophet with whom God was so evidently present: so he determined to make as mortifying a stroke against the king of Israel, out of fear of Elisha, but resolved to make open war with them, as supposing he could be too hard for his enemies by the multitude of his army and power. So he made an expedition with a great army against Joram, who, not thinking himself a match for him, shut himself up in Samaria, and depended on the strength of its walls; but Benhadad supposed he should take the city, if not by his engines of war, yet that he should overcome the Samarians by famine, and the want of necessaries, and brought his army upon them, and besieged the city: and the plenty of necessaries was brought so low with Joram, that from the extremity of want an uneasy head was made for him in Samaria for fourscore pieces of silver, and the Hebrews brought a dish of very dore's dung, instead of salt, for five pieces of silver. Now Joram was in fear lest somebody should betray the city to the enemy by reason of one of the female, of the city, or one of the guards, to see whether any such were concealed among them; and by being thus seen, and taking such care, he deprived them of the opportunity of contriving any such thing, and if they had a mind to do it, he, by this means, prevented them; but upon a certain woman's crying out, "Have pitty on me, my lord," while he thought that she was about to ask for something to eat, he imprecated God's curse upon her, and said, "he had laid aside his strong breastplate, and he laid aside his fear, and his courage revived at the sight of what he supposed was come to their assistance. After this Elisha did further exhort him, that he would dim the eyes of their enemies, and he did so. And when the guards, they might not discern him. When this was done, he went into the midst of his enemies, and asked them who it was that they came to seek; and they said, "an old man." But he promised he would deliver him to them, if they would follow him to the city where he was. So these men were so darkened by God in their sight and in their mind, that they followed him very diligently; and when he came to Samaria, he ordered Joram the king to shut the gates, and to place his own army round about them; and prayed to God to clear the eyes of these their enemies, and take the mist from their sight. Accordingly, when they were freed from the obscurity they had been in, they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies, and as the Syrians were strangely amazed and distressed, as was but reasonable, at an action so divinely mingled with human wisdom, the prophet, if he would give him leave to shoot at them, Elisha forbade them so to do, and said, "it is just to kill those that are taken in battle, but that these men had done the country so much a service, and were not men of war, but father by the divine power." So that his counsel was to treat them in a hospitable manner at his table, and then send them away without hurting them. Wherefore Joram obeyed the prophet; and when he had feasted the Syrians in a splendid and magnificent manner, he let them go to Benhadad, their king.

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same hour in which the king came to him, they should have great plenty of food, and that two seahs of barley should be sold in the market for a shekel, and a sheath of fine flour should be sold for a shekel. This prediction made Joram, and those that were present, very joyful, for they did not scruple believing what the prophet said, on good advice of the truth of his former predictions; and the expectation of plenty made the want they were in that day, with the uneasiness that accompanied it, appear a light thing to them: but the captain of the chariot who was a friend to the king, and on whose hand the king leaned, said, "Thou talkest of incredible things, O prophet! for as it is impossible for God to pour down torrents of barley, or fine flour, out of heaven, so it is impossible for the king to issue out of his chariot; he will pass over the mountains." To which the prophet made this reply, "Thou shalt see these things come to pass, but thou shalt not be in the least a partaker of them." 

6. Now what Elisha had thus foretold, came to pass in the manner following: to Benhadad at Samaria, that those that had the leprosy, and whose bodies were not cleansed from it, should abide without the city; and there were four men that had got a rush abode before the gates, while nobody gave them any. The king, anguished by reason of the extremity of the famine: and as they were prohibited from entering into the city by the law, and they considered that if they were permitted to stay, they would be put to death by the famine; as also, that if they said where they were, they should suffer in the same manner, they resolved to deliver themselves up to the enemy, that in case they should spare them, they should be bound, but if they should be kind, that would be an easy death. So when they had confirmed this their resolution, they came by night to the enemy's camp. Now God had begun to affright and disturb the Syrians, and to bring confusion upon them; and the chariots and charioteers of the Syrian army were no longer able to stand against the Israelites; and the Syrians fled, and the Israelites overtook them, and a great fight ensued, and so many were slain, that they made a great noise. As Benhadad heard what they said, (for there came the same noise to his ears as well as it did to theirs,) so they fell into a mighty disorder and tumult, and left their horses and chariots, and were in such a state, that they could not take away their riches also, and betook themselves to flight. And those lepers who had departed from Samaria, and were gone to the camp of the Syrians, of whom we made mention a little before, when they were in the camp, saw nothing but great quietness and silence; accordingly they entered into it, and went hastily into one of their tents, and when they saw nobody there, they ate and drank, and carried garments and a great quantity of gold and silver out of the camp; after which they went into another tent, and carried off what was in it, as they did at the former, and this they did for several times, without the least interruption from any body. So they gathered these things very much, and betook themselves to flight, and upon they reproached themselves that they did not inform Joram and the citizens of it. So they came to the walls of Samaria, and called aloud to the watchmen, and told them in what state the enemies were, as did those tell the king's guards, by whose means Joram came to know of it; who then sent for his friends, and the captains of his host, and said to them, "He sus-

* This law of the Jews, for the exclusion of lepers out of the city, was in force in cities of the Canaanis, as is well known. Lev. xiii. 46, and Num. v. 1—4. 

pected that this departure of the king of Syria was by way of ambush and treachery, and that out of despair of revenging himself, when he should see the occasion, he would fall upon them in secret; and therefore he advised him to send a couple of horsemen to search all the country, as far as Jordan, that if they were seized by an ambush of the enemy, they might be a security to your army, that they may not go out to battle, and should come to pass."
ed him, what was the occasion of this contention he was in? he said, that "he went out of com- merson for the multitude of the Israelites, and they were many, and he could not keep them from the city; for thou wilt slay the strongest of them, and wilt burn their strongest cities, and wilt de- stroy their children, and dash them against the stones, and wilt rip up their women with child. And when Hазzel said, "How can it be that I should have power enough to do such things?" The prophet replied, "That God had informed him that he should be king of Syria." So when Hazzel was come to Benhadad, he told him good news concerning his dissembler; but on the next day, he told him he was in his wet cloth in the net over him, and stranglied him, and took his dominion. He was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians, and of the people of Damascus, to a great degree; by whom both Baal, nor himself, and Hазzel, who ruled after him, were honoured to this day as gods by reason of their benefactions, and their building them temples, by which they adorned the city of the Damascenes. They also every day do with great pomp pay their worship to these gods, venerate them in their antiquity; nor do they know that these kings are much later than they imagine, and that they are not yet eleven hundred years old. Now when Joram, the king of Israel, heard that Benhadad was dead, he recovered out of the terror and dread which he had in his accoun-, and was very glad to live in peace.

CHAP. V.
Concerning the wickedness of Jehoram King of Jerusalem. His Defeat and Death.
§ 1. Now Jehoram, the king of Jerusalem, for we have said before that he had the same name with the king of Israel, as soon as he had taken the government upon him, betook himself to the slaughter of his brethren, and his father's friends, who were governors under him, and thence made a beginning, and a demonstration of his wickedness; nor was he at all better than those kings of Israel who at first transgressed against the laws of their country, and of the Hebrews, and against God's worship. And it was Athahiah, the daughter of Ahaz, who thus her name was Athahiah; who taunted the king, who was a bad man in other respects, and also to worship foreign gods. Now God would not quite root out this family, because of the promise he had made to David. However, Jehoram did not leave off the introduction of new sects and customs, to the whole company, and to the run of the customs of his own country. And when the Edomites about that time had revolted from him, and slain their former king, who was in subjection to his father, and had set up one of their own choosing, Jehoram fell upon the land of Edom with the horse- men that were about him, and the chariots, by night, and destroyed those that lay near to his own kingdom, but did not proceed further. How- ever, this expedition did him no service, for they all revolted from him, with those that dwelt in the country; to Libnah. He was indeed so mad, as to commit the people to go up to the high pla- ces of the mountains, and worship foreign gods.

2. And as he was doing this, and had entirely cast his own country laws out of his mind, there was brought him an epistle from Benhadad the proph- et: which declared that "God would execute great judgments upon him, because he had not imitated his own fathers, but had followed the wicked courses of the kings of Israel; and had compelled the tribe of Judah, and the cities of Jerusalem, to leave the holy worship of their own God, and to worship idols, as Ahab had compelled the Israelites to do, and because he had slain his brethren, and the men that were good and right fell out. The people also gave him notice in this epistle, what punishment he should undergo for these crimes, namely, "the de- struction of his people, with the corruption of the king's own country, and children, and that he should himself die of a distemper in his bowels, with long torments, those his bowels falling out by the violence of the inward rottenness of the parts, insomuch, that though he see his own misery, he shall not be able to cover it himself, but shall die in that manner." This it was which Elijah denounced to him in that epistle.

3. It was not long after this that an army of those Egyptians that lived near to Ethiopia, and those Ammonites, fell upon the city of Jerusalem, and ran, and spoiled the country and the king's house; moreover, they slew his sons and his wives: one only of his sons was left him, who escaped the enemy; his name was Ahaziah; af- ter which he could hardly save himself from the danger which was foretold by the prophet, and lasted a great while, (for God inflicted this pun- ishment upon him in his belly, out of his wrath against him,) and so he died miserably, and now his own bowels fell out. The people also abused his dead body: I suppose it was because they thought that such his death came upon him by the wrath of God, and that therefore he was not worthy to purchase such a funeral as became kings. Accordingly, they neither buried him, nor interred him on any honours, but buried him like a private man, and this when he had lived forty years, and reigned eight, and so delivered the government to his son Athaziah.

CHAP. VI.
How Jehu was anointed King, and slew both Jo- ram and Athahiah; as also what he did for the Punishment of the Wicked.
§ 1. Now Joram the king of Israel, after the death of Benhadad, hoped that he might now take Ramoth, a city of Gilead, from the Syrians. Accordingly, he made an expedition against it, with a great army: but as he was besieging it, an arrow was shot at him by one of the Syrians; records out of which Josephus drew this history, especial- ly when it is likely that they thought Benhadad died of the distemper he laboured under, and not by Hazzel's treach- ery. Besides, the reason that Josephus gives for this edu- cation, that these two kings had been great benefactors to the inhabitants of Damascus, and had built them temples, is too remote from the reason supposed by Athahiah, nor ought such weak suspicions to be deemed of any force against authentic testimonies of antiquity. That anointing of the king of Israel, is said to come to Joram from Elijah, with this addition, for he was not upon earth, which could not be true of Elijah, who, as all agree, was gone from the earth about four years be- fore, and could only be done by Eliah; nor perhaps is there any more mystery here, than that name of El- ijah has very anciently crept into the text instead of El- iah, by the copyists, writing nothing in any copy of that epistle peculiar to Elijah.
but the wound was not mortal: so he returned to have his wound healed in Jezreel, but left his wife Jezabel, in Ramoth, and Jehu the son of Nimshi for their general, for he had already taken the city by force; and he proposed, after he was healed, to make war with the Syrians; but Elisha the prophet sent one of his disciples to Ramoth, and gave him holy oil toointish Jehu, and to tell him, that God had chosen him to be their king. He also sent him to say other things to him, and best him take his journey as if he fled, that when he came away he might escape; and when he came to Jezreel, when he went in to the city, he found Jehu sitting in the midst of the captains of the army, as Elisha had foretold he should find him. So he came up to him, and said, that he desired to speak with him about certain matters; and when he had gone in and had followed him into an inward chamber, the young man took the oil, and poured it on his head, and said, that God ordained him to be king in order to destroy his house, Ahab, and that he might revenge the blood of the prophets, that were unjustly slain by Jezebel, that so their house might utterly perish, as those of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and of Baasha, and of Shishak, and of all the house of Ahab, might soon disappear of the earth, as a name and remembrance. So when he had said this, he went away hastily out of the chamber, and endeavoured not to be seen by any of the army.

2. He being thus purged, came out, and went to the place where he before sat with the captains: and when they asked him, and desired him to tell them, wherefore it was that this young man came to him, and added withal that he was mad; he replied, "You guess right, for the words as he spake were the words of a madman:" and when they were eager about the matter, and desired he would tell them, he answered, that God had said, "Put him to death in the name of the king:" When he had said this, every one of them put off his garment, and strewed it under him, and blew with trumpets, and gave notice that Jehu was king. So when he had gotten the army together, he was preparing to destroy the house of Ahab, and set out immediately against Joram, at the city of Jezreel, in which city, as we said before, he was healing of the wound which he had received in the siege of Ramoth. It happened also that Ahaziah, king of Judah, now came to Ramoth, for he was his sister's son, as we have said already, to see how he did after his wound, and this upon account of their kindred; but as Jehu was determined to fall upon Joram and those with him on the day of the battle, obtained that number of the army, that might run away and tell to Joram what had happened, for that this would be an evident demonstration of their kindness to him, and would show that their real inclinations were to make him king.

3. So they were pleased with what he did, and guarded the roads, lest somebody should privately tell the thing to those that were at Jezreel. Nor was his choice hid from him, and he sent upon his chariot, and went on for Jezreel; and when he was come near, the watchman whom Joram had set there to spy out such as came to the city, saw Jehu marching on, and told Joram that one of the servants of Ahab was marching thus. Upon which he immediately gave orders, that one of his horsemen should be sent out to meet them, and to know who it was that was coming. So when the horseman came up to Jehu, he asked him, in what condition the army was for that the king wanted to know it; but Jehu bade him not at all to meddle with such matters, but to follow him. Upon this the watchman saw this, he told Joram that the horseman had mingled himself among the company, and came along with them. And when the king had sent a second messenger, Jehu commanded him to do as the former did; as soon as the watchman told this also to Joram, he at last got upon his chariot himself, together with Ahaziah, the king of Jerusalem; for, as we said before, he was there to see how Joram did, after he had been wounded, as being the son of Ahab, his brother; and a great noise was marred slowly, and in good order. Nor can it be denied, that things were observed with so much interval enough as to send out two horsemen, one after another, to Jehu, and as length the next to come with a sight of them, and before he was come to Jezreel, the probability is great on the side of Joseph's copy or interpretation.
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avenged the murder of Ahab." This he wrote to try the intentions of those of Samaria. Now when the rulers, and those that had brought up the children, had removed the legs, and they were afraid, and considering that they were not at all able to oppose him, and that he had already subdued two very great kings, they returned him his answer, saying, "We owned him for their lord, and we should do as thou commandest us." So he wrote back to them such a reply as enjoined them to obey what he gave order for, and to cut off the heads of Ahab's sons, and send them to him. Accordingly, they fetched out of Samaria of forty thousand of the heads of the sons of Ahab, and commanded them to slay them, to cut off their heads, and send them to Jezreel. And when Jehu, as he was at supper with his friends, was informed that the heads of Ahab's sons were brought, he ordered them to make two heaps of them, one before each of the gates, and in the morning he went out to take a view of them, and when he saw them, he began to say to the people that were present, that "he did himself make an expedition against the kingdom [Joram and Ahaziah] to the house of Ahab, but that it was not he that slew all these: and he desired them to take notice, that as to Ahab's family, all things had come to pass according to God's prophecy, and his house was perished. This king thing as Elijah had declared, and when he had further destroyed all the kindred of Ahab that were found in Jezreel, he went to Samaria; and as he was upon the road, he met the relations of Ahab's king of Jerusalem, and asked them, whether they were going? they replied, that they came to salute Joram, and their own king Ahabiah; for they knew not that he had slain them both: so Jehu gave orders that they should destroy these, and kill them, being in answer forty-two thousand."

6. After these, there met him a good and a righteous man, whose name was Jehonadab, and who had been his friend of old. He saluted Jehu, and began to commend him, because he had done according to the word of God, in extinguishing the house of Ahab. So Jehu desired him to come up into his chariot, and to make his entry with him into Samaria; and told him, that "he would not spare one wicked man, but would punish the false prophets; and he would punish, and those that deceived the multitude, and persuaded them to leave the worship of God Almightv, and to worship foreign gods; and that it was a most excellent and a most pleasing sight to a good and righteous man to see, and to be punish'd." So Jehonadab was persuaded by these arguments, and came up into Jehu's chariot, and came to Samaria. And Jehu sought out for all Ahab's kindred, and slew them. And being desirous that none of the false prophets, nor Ahab's god, nor his ministration, he caught them deceitfully by this wife: for he gathered all the people together, and said, that "he would worship twice as many gods as Ahab worshipped, and desired that his priests, and prophets, and servants might be present, because he would offer costly and great sacrifices to Ahab's god, and that if any of his priests were wanting, they should be punished with death." Now Ahab's god was called Baal. And when he had appointed a day to offer sacrifices, he sent messengers through all the country of the Israelites, that they might bring the priests of Baal to him. So Jehu commanded to give all the priests vestments; and when they had received them, he commanded them to enter the house of Baal, and Jehonadab, and gave orders to make search whether there were not any foreigner or stranger among them, for he would have no one of a different religion to mix among their sacred offices. And when they said that there was no stranger there, and they were beginning their sacrifices, he set fourscore men without, being such of his soldiers as he knew to be most faithful to him, and bade them slay the prophets, and now vindicate the laws of their country, which had been a long time in disuse. He also threatened them with their own lives should they go for them. So they slew them all with the sword, and burnt the house of Baal; and by that means purged Samaria of its idolatrous worship. Now this Baal was the god of the Tyrians; and Ahab, in order to gratify his father-in-law, Ethbaal, who was the king of Tyre and Sidon, built a temple for him in Samaria, and appointed him prophets, and worshippers, and offered sacrifices to him, worship, although, when this god was demolished, Jehu permitted the Israelites to worship the golden calves. However, because he had done thus, and taken care to punish the wicked, God foretold by his prophet, that his sons should reign over Israel for four generations: and in this condition was Jehu at this time.

CHAP. VII.

How Ahabiah reigned over Jerusalem for five [six] years, when Jehoada, the High Priest, slew her, and made Jehoash, the Son of Ahabiah, King.

§ 1. Now, when Ahabiah, the daughter of Ahab, heard of the death of her brother Joram, and of her son Ahabiah, and of the royal family, she endeavoured that none of the house of David might be left. But she perceived that the whole family might be exterminated, that no king might arise out of it afterward; and, as she thought, she had actually done it; but one of Ahabiah's sons was preserved, who escaped, and came to manhood following: Ahabiah had a sister by the same father, whose name was Jehoheba, and she was married to the high priest, Jehoada. She went into the king's palace, and found Jehoash, for that was the little child's name, who was not above a year old, among those that were slain, but concealed with his nurse; so she took him with her into a secret bedchamber, and shut him up there, and she and her husband, Jehoada, brought him up privately in the land of Judah, six years, during which time Ahabiah reigned over Jerusalem, and the two tribes.

2. Now, on the seventh year, Jehoada communicated the matter to certain of the captains of hundreds, and persuaded them to be assisting to what attempts he was making against Ahabiah, and to join with him in asserting the kingdom to the child. He also received such oaths from them as are proper to secure those that assist one another from the fear of discovery; and he was then of good hope that they should depose Ahabiah. Now, those men whom Jehoada, the priest, had taken to be his partners, went into the country, and gathered together the priests and the Levites, and the heads of the tribes out of it, and came and brought them to Jerusalem, to the high priest. So he demanded the security of an oath of them, to keep private part of you guard him in the temple, which required both their silence and their assistance. So when they had taken the oath, and had thereby made it safe for him to speak, he produced his child that he had brought up in the palace of David, and said to them, "this is your king, of that house which you know God hath forsook should reign over you for all time to come: I exhort you, therefore, that one-third part of you guard him in the temple, and that a fourth part keep watch at all the gates of the temple, and that the next part of you keep guard at the gate which opens and
leads to the king's palace, and let the rest of the multitude be unarmed in the temple, and let no armed person go into the temple but the priest only, and every man have his order of the doxies, that a part of the priests and the Levites should be about the king himself, and be a guard to him, with their drawn swords, and to kill that man immediately, whoever he be, that should be so bold as to enter into the temple, and make them afraid of nobody, but persevere in guarding the king. So these men obeyed what the high priest advised them to, and declared the resolution of the resolution by the nation. Je- hoiada also opened that armoury which David had made in the temple, and distributed to the captians of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, all the spears and quivers, and what kind of weapons were there in the temple, and at them armed in a circle round about the temple, so as to touch one another's hands, and by that means excluding those from entering that ought not to enter. So they brought the child into the midst of them, and put on him the royal crown, and Jehoiada anointed him with the oil, and made him king; and the multitude rejoiced, and made a noise, and cried "God save the king!" Now Hazael makes an Expedition against the Prophets of Israel, and the inhabitants of Jerus.; and Jehoash, after Jehoahaz succeeded to the Government. Jehoahaz, the King of Jerusalem, at last is careful about the Worship of God, but afterward becomes impious, and commands Zachariah to be stoned. How Jehoash [King of Judah] was slain, and Amaziah succeeds him in the Kingdom.

1. Now Hazael, king of Syria, fought against the Israelites and their king, Jehu, and spoiled the eastern parts of the country beyond Jordan, which belonged to the Reubenites and Gadites, and the half of the half-tribe of Manasseh. He also took Gilead and Bashan, burning and spoiling, and offering violence to all that he laid his hands on; and this without impeachment from Jehu, who made no haste to defend the country when it was in this distress: yet he became a contemner of religion, and a despiser of holiness, and of the laws; and died when he had reigned over the Israelites twenty-seven years.

2. Now Jehoash, king of Jerusalem, had an inclination to repair the temple of God; so he called Jehoiada, and bade him send the Levites and the priests, to gather a contribution of half a shekel of silver for every head, towards the rebuilding and repairing of the temple, which was brought to decay by Jehoram, and Athaliah, and her sons. But the high priest did not do this, as concluding that no one would willingly pay that money; but on the twenty-third year of Jehoash's reign, when the king sent for him and the Levites, and complained that they had not obeyed, he enjoined them to take care of the rebuilding of the temple, and he used this stratagem for collecting the money, with which the multitude was pleased. He made a wooden chest, and closed it up fast in the temple; and the priests set it in the temple beside the altar, and desired every one to cast into it, through the hole, what he pleased, for the repair of the temple. This contrivance was acceptable to the people, and they strove one with another, and brought in jointly large quantities of silver and gold: and when the scribe and the priest that were over the treasuries had emptied the chest, and counted the money in the king's presence, they then set it in its former place, and did so every day. But when the multitude appeared to have cast in as much as was wanted, the high priest Jehoiada, and king Jehoash, sent to hire masters and carpenters, and bought large pieces of timber, and of the most curious sort; and when they had repaired the temple, they made use of the remaining gold and silver, which was not a little, for bowls, and basins, and cups, and other vases: and they went on to make the altar every day fat with sacrifices of great value. And these things were taken suitable care of, as long as Jehoiada lived. So long as he lived, he was dead, which was when he had lived one hundred and thirty years, having been a righteous, and in every respect a very good man, he was buried in the king's sepulchre at Jerusalem, (because he had recovered...
the kingdom to the family of David."

The principal men of the people were corrupted and joined together with him, and offended against their king. He had then his full soul, and his government was so firm that he obtained the reign of the people. He was made to understand that he was to be most for their good. Hereupon God was displeased with the change that was made on the king, and on the rest of the people; and set up a new king instead of virtue, and to bring them to leave off their wickedness: but they had gotten such a strong affection and love to those that had uf-fered to come to them, that they were not so easily punished, they and their entire families, nor could the fear of what the prophets now fore- told, bring them to repentance, and turn them back from their course of transgression to their former state. But the king could not believe that Zachariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada, should be stoned to death in the temple, and forget the kindnesses he had received from his hands. For when God had appointed him to prophecy, he went to his house, and gave this counsel to them and to the king, that they should act righteously, and foretold to them, that if they would not hearken to his ad-monition, he should have cause to repent. He said: But as Zachariah was ready to die, he appealed to God, as a witness of what he suffered, for the good counsel he had given them, and how he perished after a most severe and violent manner, for the good deeds his father had done to Jehoshah.

4. However, it was not long before the king suffered punishment for his transgression: for when Hazael, king of Syria, made an irruption into the land of Judah, and emptied all the treasures of God, and took all the kings [before him] and took down the gifts that had been sent to him, and sent them to the king of Syria, and procured so much by them, that he was not besieged, nor his kingdom quite endangered, but Hazael was induced by the greatness of the sum of money not to bring his army to Jerusalem. But Jehoshah fell into a severe distemper, and was set upon by his friends, in order to revenge the death of Zachariah the son of Jehoiada. These laid some designs against the king of the house of David; but they were not satisfied by then to be buried in Jerusalem, but not in the royal sepulchres of his forefathers, because of his in-justly. He lived forty-seven years, and Amaziah had succeeded him in the kingdom.

5. In the one-and-twenty year of the reign of Jehoshah, Jehohazak, the son of Jehu, took the government of the Israelites in Samaria, and held it seventeen years. He did not [properly] imitate his father, but was guilty of as wicked practices as those that first had God in contempt: but the king of Syria brought him low, and by an expedition against him did so greatly reduce his forces, that there remained no more of so great an army than ten thousand armed men, and fifty horsemen. He was slain within his great cities, and many of them also, and destroyed his army. And these were the things that the people of Israel suffered, according to the prophecy of Elisha, when he foretold that Hazael should kill his master, and reign over the Syrians and Damascus.

But when Jehoshah was under such trouble, he made himself his best advocate by prayer and supplication to God, and besought him to deliver him out of the hands of Hazael, and not overlook him, and give him up into his hands. Accordingly, God accepted of his repentance, instead of virtue, and gave rather to admonish those that might repent, and not to determine that they should be utterly destroyed, but granted him deliverance from war and dangers. So the country, having obtained God's forgiveness, returns to its former condition, and flourished as before.

6. Now, after the death of Jehoshaz, his son Joash took the kingdom, in the thirty-seven year of Jehosh, the king of the tribe of Judah. This Joash took hold of his hands and bade him Samaria, for he had the same name with the king of Jerusalem, and he retained the kingdom six-teen years. He was a good man, and in his dis-position not at all like his father. Now it was, the prophet Elisha, the prophet, who was already very old, and was now fallen into a disease, the king of Israel came to visit him; and when he found him very near death, he began to weep, and to call him his father, and his weapons, because it was by his means that he never made use of his weapons against his enemies, but that he overcame his own adversaries by his prophecies, without fighting; and so he was not only his father's, but his also.

Ch. IX. 11, 12. He was not only his father's, but his also.

"If thou hadst shot more arrows, thou hadst cut the kingdom of Syria up by the roots, but since thou hast been satisfied with shooting three times only, thou shalt fight and beat the Syrians no more times than three, that thou mayest recover that country which they cut off from thy kingdom in the time of my father." So the king heard that, he departed, and a little while after, the prophet died. He was a man celebrated for righteousness; and in eminent favour with God. He also performed wonderful and surprising works by prophecy, and such as were perpetually preserved in memory among the Hebrews. He also obtained a magnificent funeral, such a one indeed as it was fit a person so beloved of God should have. It also happened, that at that time certain robbers cast a man whom they had slain into Elisha's grave, and, upon his dead body coming close to Elisha's body, it revived again. And thus far have we enlarged about the actions of Elisha the prophet, both such as he did while he was alive, and how he had a divine power after his death also.

7. Now upon the death of Hazael, the king of Syria, that kingdom came to Adad his son, king to have been than a good man, and no idolater, with whom God's prophets used not to be so familiar. Upon the whole, since this king was so well accounted for, it is most likely that these different characters of Josiah suited the different parts of his reign, and that, according to this description to our common senses, he was a good king: he was afterwards reclaimed, and became a good one, according to Josephus.
with whom Josiah king of Israel made war, and when he had beaten him in three battles, he took from him all that country, and all those cities and villages which his father Hazael had taken from Judah king of Israel, the prophet now threatened to pass, however, according to the prophecy of Elisha. But when Josiah happened to die, he was buried in Samaria, and the government devolved on his son Jeroboam.

CHAP. IX.

How Amaaziah made an Expedition against the Edomites, and Amalekites, and punished them; but when he afterward made War against Josiah, he was beaten, and not long after was slain, and Uzziah succeeded in the Government.

§ 1. Now in the second year of the reign of Josiah over Israel, Amaaziah reigned over the tribe of Judah and Jerasham. His mother was a woman of Jerusalem. He was exceedingly careful in doing what was right, and this when he was very young; but when he came to the management of affairs, and to the government of his people, he punished those that he ought first of all to have avenged his father Jehoash, and to punish those his friends that had laid violent hands upon him; so he seized upon them all, and put them to death, and drove them away without mercy by burning and burning, and burnt their children in their houses, and acted therein according to the laws of Moses, who did not think it just to punish children for the sins of their fathers. After this he chose him an army out of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, of such as were in the flower of their age, and about twenty years old; and when he had collected about three hundred thousand of them together, he sent captains of hundreds over them. He also sent captains into the land of Edom, and hired a hundred thousand of his soldiers for a hundred talents of silver, for he had resolved to make an expedition against the nations of the Amalekites, and Edomites, and Geshalites: but as he was preparing for his expedition, and was not yet ready to send forth his armies, a prophet gave him counsel to dismiss the army of the Israelites, because they were bad men, and because God foretold that he should be beaten, if he made use of them as auxiliaries; but that he should make his election through the Lord, and he had but a few soldiers, when it so pleased God. And when the king grudged at his having already paid the hire of the Israelites, the prophet exhorted him to do what he should do, and he should thereby obtain much wealth from God. So he dismissed them, and said, that he still freely gave them their pay, and went himself with his own army, and made war with the Edomites. Now when he had beaten them in battle, he slew of them ten thousand, and took as many prisoners alive, whom he brought to the great rock which is in Arabia, and threw them down from it headlong. He also brought away a great deal of prey, and vast riches, from those nations. But while Amaaziah was engaged in this expedition, those Israelites whom he had hired, and then dismissed, were very uneasy at it, and taking their dismissal for an excuse for their defeat, avowing themselves that had not the business been done to them but out of contempt, they fell upon his kingdom, and proceeded to spoil the country as far as Bethhoron, and took much cattle, and slew three thousand men.

The news of the victory which Amaaziah had gotten, and the great acts he had done, was put upon, and began to overthrive God, who had given him the victory, and proceeded to worship the graven images of the country of the Amalekites. So a prophet came to him and said, that he wondered how he could esteem these to be gods, who had been of no advantage to their own people, who paid them honours and adored them from his hand, but had overlooked the destruction of many of them, and had suffered themselves to be carried captive; for that they had been carried to Jerusalem, in the same manner as any one might have taken some of the enemy alive, and led them thither.

This reproved the king to anger, and he commanded them to hold him out for danger to punish him if he meddled with his conduct. So he replied, that he should indeed hold his peace; but foretold, that as God would altogether overlook his attempted innovation. But Amaaziah was not able to contain himself under that prosperity which God had given him, although he had assured God thereof; but in a vein of insolence he wrote to Josiah king of Judah, and said, "he and all his people should be obedient to him, as they had formerly been obedient to his pro- genitors, David and Solomon; and he let him know, that if he would not be so wise as to do what he could for his own, he must answer for his dominion." To which message Josiah returned this answer in writing: "King Josiah to king Amaaziah. There was a vast tree high between Mount Lebanon, as also a thistle: this thistle sent their roots to the tree, and received them and the tree's daughter in marriage to the thistle's son; but as the thistle was saying this, there came a wild beast, and trod down the thistle; and this made the tree to be afraid of its shares, and to have a care, lest, upon thy good success in the fight against the Amalekites, thou growest so proud as to bring dangers upon thyself and upon thy kingdom." So Amaaziah had read this letter, he was more anger upon this expedition, which, I suppose, was by the impulse of God, that he might be punished for his offence against him. But as soon as he led out his army against Josiah, and were going to put battle with him, there came such a fear and consternation upon the army of Amaaziah, as God, when he is displeased, sends upon men, and discomfited them, even before they came to a close fight. Now it happened, that when they were in the field, they felt the terror that was upon them, Amaaziah was left alone, and was taken prisoner by the enemy, whereupon Josiah threatened to kill him, unless he would persuade the people of Jerusalem to open the gates to him, and receive him and his army into the city. Accordingly, Amaaziah was so distressed, and in such fear of his life, that he made his enemy to be received into the city. So he overthrew a part of the wall, of the length of the city of Jerusalem, and led Amaaziah captive along with him: by which means he became master of Jerusalem, and took from him the gold and silver that was in the king's palace, and then freed the king from captivity, and returned to Samaria. Now these things happened to the people of Jerusalem in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaaziah, who after this had a conspiracy made against him by his friends, and fled to the city of Lachish, and was there slain by the conspirators, who sent men thither to kill him. So they took up his dead body, and put it into the north gate of the city of Jerusalem. This was the end of the life of Amaaziah, because of his innovations in religion, and his contempt of God, when he had lived fifty-four years, and had reigned twenty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was Us- ziah.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Jeroboam, King of Israel, and Josiah the Prophet: and how, after the Death of Jeroboam, his Son Zachariab took the Government. And the Great Influence of Amaaziah, King of Judah, over the Nations that were round about him: and what befell him when he attempted to offer Incense to God.

§ 1. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaaziah, Jeroboam the son of Josiah reigned over
Israel and Samaria forty years. The king was guilty of continually against God, and became very wicked in worshipping of idols, and in many undertakings that were absurd and foreign. He was also the cause of ten thousand misfortunes to the people himself. When the prophet foretold to him, that he should make war with the Syrians, and conquer their army, and enlarge the bounds of his kingdom on the north-east, he did not, in manner did not, but lay down, to the lake of Ashtilim, for the bounds of the Canaanites originally were these, so Joshua their general had determined them. So Jeroboam made an expedition against the Syrians, and overran all the land of Israel, and the lefthand Prophecies, to make the king to reign over the two tribes in Jerusalem, in the first year of the reign of Jeroboam. He was born of Jecotiah, his mother, who was a citizen of Jerusalem. He was a good man, and by nature right-minded, and reigned many years in the taking care of the affairs of his kingdom. He made an expedition also against the Philistines, and overcame them in battle, and took the cities of Gath and Jabneh, and brake down their walls; after which expedition, he assaulted those Arabs that joined to Egypt. He also built a city upon the Red Sea, and put a garrison into it. He after this overthrew the Ammonites, and men of valor and of unceasing strength, and appointed that they should pay tribute to him, and also overcame the Canaanites, the falls, the bounds of Egypt, and then began to take care of Jerusalem itself for the rest of his life, for he rebuilt and repaired all those parts of the wall, which had either fallen down by the violence of the sword, or by the carelessness of the kings his predecessors, as well as all that part which had been thrown down by the king of Israel, when he took his father Amaziah prisoner, and entered with his army into the city. Moreover, he built many towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits high, and built walled towns in desert places, and put garrisons into them, and dug many canals for conveyance of water. He had also many beasts for labour, and an immense number of cattle; for his country was fit for pasturage. He was also given to husbandry, and took care to cultivate the ground, and planted it with all sorts of plants, and sowed it with all sorts of seeds. He had also about him an army composed of chosen men, in number three hundred and seventy thousand, who were governed by general officers and captains of thousands, who committed their strength, in number two thousand. He also divided his whole army into bands, and armed them, giving every one a sword, with brazen bucklers and breastplates, with bows and slings; besides, he carried with him, besides the engines of war, for besieging of cities, such as cast stones and darts, with grapplers, and other instruments of that sort. He also was in this state, and making preparation [for futurity], he was corrupted in his mind by pride, and became insolem, and this account of that abundance which he held of things that will soon perish, and despised that power which is of eternal duration, which counts the strength of the current, upon a storm, as far the Euxine, it is nowy impossible; and since the storm might have driven the ship while the king was in it, near to that Euxine, and since in three more days, while he was in the fish's belly, that current might bring him to the Asyrian coast, and not in that case, but in that case, he could have been nearer to Niniveh than could any coast of the Mediterranean; it is by no means an improbable determination in Josephus. This ancient piece of religion, of supporting there was great sin where there was great misery, and of causing the worst to discover the worst, not only among the heathen mariners, seems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition which prevailed of idol over all mankind, that Providence used to interpose visibly in all human affairs, and never to bring, or at least not long to continue, notorious judgments but for notorious sins, which the most ancient book of Job shows to have been those that were committed in the thirty years of our world, till the days of Job and Moses.
visited in piety towards God, and in the observa-
tion of his laws; so he fell by occasion of the good
success of his affairs, and was carried headlong
into those sins of his fathers which the splendour of
his family and his royal dignity could not prevent.
His actions he had done, led him into, while he was
not able to govern himself well about them. Ac-
cordingly, when a remarkable day was come, and a
general festival was to be celebrated, his body
put on the holy garment, and went into the
temple to offer incense to God upon the golden
altar, which he was prohibited to do by Azai-
rah the high priest, who had fourscore priests
with him to tell him, and also to tell that his Money
for him to offer sacrifice, and that "none besides
the posterity of Aaron were permitted so to do."
And when they cried out, that he must go out of
the temple, and not transgress against God, he
was writ at them, and threatened to kill them,
unless they would hold their peace. In the mean-
time, a great earthquake shook the ground,
and a rent was made in the temple, and the
bright rays of the sun shone through it, and fell
upon the king's face, insomuch that the leprosy
seized upon him immediately. And before the
city, at a place called Eroge, half the mountain
broke off from the rest on the west, and rolled
down with fire and great noise, and at the east
of the mountain, till the roads, as well as the king's
gardens, were spoiled by the destruction. Now,
as soon as the priests saw that the king's face
was infected with the leprosy, they told him of
the calamity that was under, and recommended
that he should go out of the city as a polluted
person. Hereupon he was so confounded at the sad
disaster, and sensible that he was not at liberty
to contradict, that he did as he was commanded,
and underwent this miserable and terrible pu-
nishment for an intention beyond what befitted a
man to have, and for that impiety against God
which was implied therein. So he abode out of
the city the space of time, and incurred the life,
while his son Jonathan took the government; af-
fter which he died with grief and anxiety at what
had happened to him, when he had lived sixty-
eight years, and reigned of them fifty-two; and
was buried by himself in his own gardens.

CHAP. XI.

How Zecharias, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah,
and Pekah, took the Government over the Israe-
lites; and how Pul and Tiglath-Pileser made a
reigning King over Jerusalem. How Joa-
tham, the son of Uzziah, reigned over the Tribe of
Judah; and what things Nahum prophesied
against the Assyrians.

§ 1. Now when Zecharias, the son of Jeru-
bosam, had reigned six months over Israel, he
was slain by the treachery of a certain friend
of his, whose name was Shallum, the son of Jabesh,
who took the kingdom afterward, but kept it no
longer than thirty days; for Neuhaem, the
general of his army, who was at that time in the
city of Shechem, and heard of what
Zecharias, removed thereupon with all his for-
ces to Samarias, and joining battle with Shallum,
slew him; and when he had made himself king,

* This account, of an earthquake at Jerusalem, at the
very same time when Uzziah usurped the private's office,
and went into the sanctuary to burn incense, and of the con-
sequences that earthquake, is entirely wanting in our
other copies, though it be exceeding like to a prophecy of
Jeremiah now in Zech. xiv. 4, 5, in which prophecy men-
tion the same thing tending from that same earthquake, as that
described from this earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of
Judah. 5 so that there seems to have been some consider-
able affinity between those historical and prophetical
earthquakes.

† Dr. Wall, in his critical notes on 2 Kings xv. 20, ob-
erves, that the death of Menahem is said to have been
due to the money of Israel, of all the mighty men of wealth,
of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give Pul, the king of

he went thence, and came to the city Tiphah-
but the citizens that were in it shut their gates,
and barred them against the king, and would
not admit him; but in order to be avenged on them for
their country round about it, and to subdue the
city by force, upon a siege; and being very much
disseased at what the inhabitants of Tiphah
had done, he slew them all, and spared not so
much as one soul; and therefore, as it was written,
that the sun ceased to shine upon the earth for
instances of cruelty and barbarity; for he used
such severity upon his own countrymen, as
would not be pardoned with regard to strangers
who had been conquered by him. And after
that he died, the king who succeeded to reign with cruelty and barbarity for ten years:
but when Pul, king of Assyria, had made an ex-
pedition against him, he did not think meet to
fight or encamp in battle with the Assyrians,
but he persuaded him to accept of a thousand talents
of silver, and so put an end to the war.
This sum the multitude collected for Me-
naehem, by exacting fifty drachmae as poll mone-
ny for every head; after which he died, and
was buried in Samaria, and left his son Pekahiah
his successor in the kingdom, who followed the bar-
barity of his father, and so ruled but two years
only, after which he was slain with his friends at
Zaphzenath, which place was the name of a
general of his horse, and the son of Reumah, who
laid snares for him. Now this Pekah held
the government twenty years, and proved a
true reprobate to his country, and a king of
Assyria, whose name was Tiglath-Pileser, who
when he had made an expedition against the
Israelites, and had overran all the land of Gilead,
and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining
countries which is called the country of Maedi and
Kadesh and Hazor, he made the inhabitants prisoners,
and transplanted them into his own kingdom. And
so much shall suffice to have related here con-
cerning the king of Assyria.

2. Now the life of Uzziah, reigned over the
tribe of Judah in Jerusalem, being a
 citizen thereof by his mother, whose name was
Jerusha. This king was not defective in any
virtue, but was religious towards God, and righ-
teous towards men, and careful of the worship
of the city, (for what parts sooner wanted to be re-
paired or adorned, he magnificently repaired and
adorned them.) He also took care of the foun-
dation of his kingdom, and the administration of
the courts, and repaired the walls that were fallen down, and built
very great towers, and such as were almost im-
pregnable: and if any thing else in his kingdom
had been neglected, so took great care of it. He
also took care of the education of the young,
and overcome them in battle, and ordered them
to pay tribute, a hundred talents and ten thou-
sand cori of wheat, and as many of barley
every year, and so augmented his kingdom,
that his enemies could not despise it, and his
own people lived happily.

3. Now there was at that time a prophet, whose
name was Nahum, who spake after this manner
concerning Uzziah: the word of the Lord came
unto Nahum, saying, Nineveh shall be a pool of water
in motion; so shall all her people be troubled, and
forsaken, and go away by flight, while they say one
Assyria, one thousand talents, this is the first public
money raised by any [Israel-] king by a tax upon the
people: that they used e-for to cow out it of the treasures of
the house of the Lord, or of their own house; that it was
a poll-money on the rich men [and them only] to raise
£2,000,000, or as others count a talent £20,000,000, at the
rate of one talent per house. The Ezech. xiv. 18, and 21, 18, to
such no thing should be done [at the Jews' restoration], but the
king should have none, and should not have to

* This passage is taken out of the prophet Nahum, ch.
ix. 8—13, and is the principal, or rather the only one that
shows that Menahem was a true and faithful king of
Israel. This passage is the only one that
shows that he himself always remembers, viz. that he made use of
to make captives out of their kinmen the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He also gave them counsel to let them go home without doing them any harm, for that if they did not obey God here-in, they should be punished. So the people of Israel came together to their assembly and considered of these matters, when a man whose name was Berechiah, and who was one of chief reputation in the government, stood up, and three others with him, and said, "We have sent the citizens to bring prisoners into the city, lest we be all destroyed by God: we have sins enough of our own that we have committed against him, as the prophets assure us: nor should we be thought to introduce new crimes." When the soldiers heard that, they permitted them to do what they thought best. So the forenamed men took the captives and let them go, and took care of them, and gave them provisions, and sent them to their own country, without doing them any harm. However, these four went along with them, and conducted them as far as Jericho, which is not far from Jerusalem, and returned to Samaria.

3. Hereupon the Jews, having been so thoroughly beaten by the Israelites, sent to Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, and sued for assistance from him in his war against the Israelites and Syria, and Damascus, and pleaded to send him enough money to send him such help as he thought fit. While he was doing thus with the Syrians, the king Ahaz took all the gold that was in the king's treasuries, and the silver, and what was in the temple of God, and what precious gifts were there, and he carried them with him, and came to Damascus, and gave it to the king of Assyria, according to his agreement. So he confessed he owed him thanks for all they had done for him, and returned to Jerusalem. Now the king was so sottish, and thoughtless of what was for his own good, that he would not leave off worshipping the Syrian gods when he was beaten by them, but he went on in worshipping them, and was so furious with his people that he was avaricious, and when he was beaten again, he began to honour the gods of the Assyrians; and he seemed more desirous to honour any other gods than his own paternal and true God, whose anger was the cause of his defeat; nay, he proceeded to such a degree of despise and contempt [of God's worship] that he shut up the temple entirely, and forbade them to bring in their appointed sacrifices, and took away the gifts that had been given to it. And when he had offered these indignities to God, he died, having lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned sixteen; and he left his son Hezekiah for his successor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Pekah died by the Treachery of Hoshea, who was a little after subdued by Shalmaneser; and how Hezekiah reigned instead of Ahaz; and what Actions of Piety and Justice he did.

§ 1. About the same time, Pekah, the king of Israel, died, by the treachery of a friend of his, whose name was Hoshea, who obtained the kingdom nine years' time, but was an evil and a wicked man, and despiser of the divine worship. And Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, made an expedition from cura. See all these parts particularly set down, and compared together, in the Essay on the Old Testament page 157.

BOOK IX.—CHAP. XII. XIII.

Another, stand stand, seize their gold and silver, for there shall be no one to wish them well, for they will rather save their lives than their money; for a terrible contention shall possess them one with another, and lamentation, and loathing of the mouth and the countenance shall be perfectly black with fear. And there will be the den of the lions, and the mother of the young lions. God says to thee, Nisan, that they shall encompass thee, and the lion shall no longer sleep toward thee, and give laws to the world. And indeed this prophet prophesied many other things besides these concerning Nisan, which I do not think necessary to repeat; and I think that I have said enough in regard to the prophecies which concern the Jews, and to those which concern the rest of the nations in our time.

§ 1. Now Jotham died when he had lived forty-one years, and of them reigned sixteen, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings; and the kingdom came to his son Ahaz, who proved good and most tender to his country, and a transgressor of the laws of his country. He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem, and offered sacrifices upon them to idols; to which end he offered his own son as a burnt-offering, that the land of Israel might be saved. His other actions were also of the same sort. Now as he was going on in this mad course, Rezin, the king of Syria and Damascus, and Pekah the king of Israel, who were now at amity with one another, made war with him: and when they had driven him into Jerusalem, they besieged that city a long while, making but a small progress, on account of the strength of its walls; and when they were in Syria, having at last taken the city Elath, upon the Red Sea, and had slain the inhabitants, he peopled it with Syrians, and when he had slain those in the [other] garrisons, and the Jews in their neighbourhood, and had driven them there, he left them there. And the inhabit-
against him, and overcame him, (which must have been because he had not God favourable or an enemy to him,) and brought him to submission, and ordered him to pay an appointed tribute. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Abjiah, a woman of Jerusalem. His name was good, and righteous, and religious; for when he came to the kingdom, he thought that nothing was prior, or more necessary, or more advantageous to himself, and to his subjects, than to worship God, and to deal kindly with the poor. Therefore, he called the priests and Levites, and made a speech to them, and said, "You are not ignorant, how by the sins of my father, who transgressed that sacred honour which was due to (God), the king and the people and the priests, and the Levites, were expelled from the temple; and after this, they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sang hymns to God, and played on their psalters, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon the ground, and said, that if they sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. He also granted the multitude sacrifices to feast upon, six hundred oxen, and three thousand other cattle; and the priests performed all things according to the law. Now the king was so pleased herewith, that he feasted with the people, and returned thanks to God. But as the feast of unleavened bread was now come, he ordered them to offer that sacrifice which is called the Passover, they after that offered other sacrifices for seven days. When the king had bestowed on the multitude, besides what they sanctified of themselves, two thousand bulls, and six thousand sheep, and a thousand and two hundred lambs, he said to his great men, that he had greatly opened the temple; and when they had set in order the vessels of God, and cast out what was impure, they laid the accustomed sacrifices upon the altar. The king also sent the priests to other countries that were under him, and called the people to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, for it had been intermitted a long time, on account of the wickedness of the forementioned kings, sent to the Israelites, and exhor- tated them to leave off their present way of living, and return to their ancient practices, and to worship God, for that he gave them leave to come to Jerusalem, and to celebrate, all in one body, the feast of unleavened bread; and this, he said, was by way of invitation only, and to be done of their own good-will, and for their own advantage, and not out of obedience to him, because it would make them happy. But the Israelites were coming of foreign countries, and upon their laying before them what they had in charge from their own king, were so far from complying therewith, that they laughed the ambassadors to scorn, and mocked them as fools: as and taunted the prophet and the people with the same exhortations, and foretold what they would suffer: they did not return to the worship of God, inasmuch that at length they caught them, and slew them: nor did this degree of transgression suffice them, but they had more wicked contrivances than what have been described: Nor did they leave off, before God, as a punishment for their impiety, brought them under; but of that hereafter. However, many there were of the tribe of Manasseh, and of Zebulon, and of Issachar, who were obedient to what the prophets exhorted them to do, and returned to the worship of God. Nor was it the magnificence of the city any thing to Hezekiah, that they might worship God [there.] 3. When these men were come, king Heze- kiah went up into the temple, with the rules and all the people, and offered for himself seven burn't-offerings, and as many for his servants, and as many kids of the goats. The king also him- self and the rulers, laid their hands on the heads of the sacrifices, and permitted the priests to complete the same. He, moreover, offered for the people they both slew the sacrifices, and burnt the burnt-offerings, while the Levites stood round about them, with their musical instruments, and sung hymns to God, and played on their psalters, as they were instructed by David to do, and this while the rest of the priests returned the music, and sounded the trumpets which they had in their hands: and when this was done, the king and the multitude threw themselves down upon the ground, and said, that if they sacrificed seventy bulls, one hundred rams, and two hundred lambs. 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BOOK IX.—CHAP. XIV.

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furnished him with three-score ships, and eight hundred men to row them; and when the Tyrians had come upon them in twelve ships, and the enemies’ ships were so far outnumbered, they sent three hundred men prisoners, and the reputation of all the citizens of Tyre was thereby increased: but the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts, who should hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege, and drank of the water they had out of the wells they dug. And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmanesser the king of Assyria.

3. But now the Cuthians, who removed into Samaria, (for that is the name they have been called by to this time, because they were brought out of the country of Cutha, and they had not a country of Persia, and there is a river of the same name in it,) each of them, according to their nations, which were in number five, brought their own gods into Samaria, and by worshipping them, as was the custom of their own countries, they provoked Almighty God to be angry and displeased at them; for a plague seized upon them, by which they were destroyed; and when they found no remedy for their misfortunes, the oracle was spread by the oracle that they ought to worship Almighty God, as the method for their deliverance. So they sent ambassadors to the king of Assyria, and desired him to send them some of those priests of the Israelites whom he had to burn captive. And when he thereupon sent them, and the people were by them taught the laws, and the holy worship of God, they worshipped him in a respectful manner, and the plague ceased immediately; and indeed they continued to make use of the very same customs to this very time, and are called in the Hebrew tongue Cuthians, but in the Greek tongue Samaritans. And when they see the way they were brought, and that they are changed, and allied to them, and call them kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, and had by that means an original alliance with them; but when they see them falling into a low condition, they say they are in no way related to them, and that the Jews have no right to expect any kindness or marks of kindness from them, but they declare that they are strangers, that come from other countries. But all of these we leave to have a more reasonable opportunity to discourse hereafter.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO YEARS AND A HALF.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES TO THE FIRST OF CYRUS.

CHAP. I.

How Semacherib made an Expedition against Hezekiah; what Threatenings Rabshakeh made to Hezekiah when Semacherib was gone out against the Egyptians; how Isaiah the prophet reproved the Rabshakeh; how Semacherib, having failed of Success in Egypt, returned thence to Jerusalem; and how, upon his finding his Army destroyed, he returned home; and what befell him a little afterwards.

§ 1. It was now the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes, when the king of Assyria, whose name was Semacherib, made an expedition against him with a great army, and took all the cities of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin by force; and when he was ready to bring his army against Jerusalem, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him beforehand, and promised to submit, and pay what tribute he should appoint. Hereupon Semacherib, when he heard of what offers the ambassadors made, resolved not to proceed in the war, but to accept of the proposals that were made him; and if he might receive hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, he promised that he would depart in a friendly manner; and he gave security upon oath to the ambassadors that he would then do him no hurt, but go away as he came. So Hezekiah submitted, and emptied his treasures, and sent the money, as supposing he should be freed from his enemy, and from any further distress about his kingdom. Accordingly, the Assyrians, when they heard that it was according to what he had promised; but while he himself went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians, he left his general Rabshakeh, and two other commanders, with great forces, to destroy Jerusalem. The names of the two other commanders were Tartan and Rabsear.
gers to Hezekiah: and, desired that they might speak with him; but he did not himself come out to them for fear, but he sent three of his most intimate friends; the name of one was Eliakim, who was over the king's house, and Shebna, and Joah, the recorder. So these men came out, and stood over against the commanders of the Assyrian array; and when Rabshakeh saw them, he bade them go and speak to Hezekiah in the language of the Chaldees. So they said: "The great king, the king of Assyria, that sent us, says: 'What answer have you to give him? And if you do not answer him, he is ready to destroy Jerusalem and Judah within a year. You have heard, no doubt, how our king, the king of Assyria, went out of Babylon and went to smite Egypt: and when he arrived at Pelusium, he heard of the death of King Ptolemy, and of the treachery of his brothers, and he turned away and came back to Babylon. Nor is this all: our king has also been at the siege of Carchemish, and has already resolved to carry it by force of arms, and to destroy all enemies of the Assyrian name. Now, therefore, answer me: it is a truth of the most profound moment, that we shall not be the first to come into Jerusalem, but that your king shall come to us. For I have been ordered by my master, the king of Assyria, to reduce all kings to a degree of subservience, by means of a massacre and a pillage, or by bringing the country under submission by the sword, or by some other form of government. And now, therefore, reply at once: the king of Assyria shall first of all attack Egypt, and then he will make an end of all the nations which are beyond it. But if you do not desist from this impiety, it will be with your destruction that I begin; for it is written: 'I will take vengeance; and I will return vengeance upon the nations.' Now, then, answer me, and let us see who will gain the victory.'"

4. About the same time also the king of Assyria wrote an epistle to Hezekiah, in which he said: 'I have heard that Thou art a faithless, deceitful king, and that Thou art resolved to escape from being his servant, since he had already brought under many and great nations; and he threatened, that when he took him in the city he would make it a desolation, and give orders that the gates should be opened, and willingly received his army into Jerusalem.' When he read this epistle, he despaired of the security that his king had in God, and that the hand of God might interpose against the king of Assyria, and that the king might be delivered. But he made his heart incline to God, and determined to send to the king of Assyria, the following letter: 'Hast not heard of the judgments and the testimonies which God has given to the heathen by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, when he had declared to them in saying, that, shall be brought by the sword, and the city and the little ones shall be given into the hand of the enemy, and they shall destroy it with fire? And shall not the Lord do this to this city, and to the king of Assyria? Now, let me beseech thee, that the hand of God may turn from this city; for I hear that thou hast besought him, and that he has heard thee. But if he do not hear thee, and if he do not hear me, let this city be given into the hand of the king of Assyria, and let him destroy it.' And the king of Assyria, on hearing this, was so much pleased with the letter, that he condescended to send back a message, wherein he declared that he would not come to Jerusalem, nor destroy it; and that the people of Judah should remain in their own country, and continue to their own city, as in the beginning. He sent a general letter to Hezekiah, in which he said: 'I have hearkened to thee, and have considered the message which thou hast sent to me, and I have given order that I will not come to thee, nor destroy this city, and its inhabitants. And now, therefore, take care that it may not be said that I have attacked the city of the Lord and of his people; for I have been commanded by my master, the king of Assyria, to make a concord with all the men of various nations, as it is written: "The Lord our God is one Lord." Now, therefore, be of good courage, and let this city be given into the hand of the king of Assyria, and he will destroy it; and let not this city be given into the hand of the heathen.' And thus, with these words, the king of Assyria concluded his letter.
commanded him, he could hardly believe it, both on account of the distemper he was under, which was very sore, and by reason of the sur- prising nature of what was told him, so he de- sired that Isaiah would give him some signs to wonder, that he might believe him in what he had said, and be sensible that he came from God: for things that are beyond expectation, are much more likely to be the work of God than to be producible by actions of like nature. And when Isaiah had asked him what sign he desired to be exhibited he desired that he should make the shadow of the sun, which he had already made to go down ten steps (for some ten steps he had come again to the same place, and to make it as it was before.) And when the prophet prays to God to exhibit this sign to the king, he saw what he desired to see, and was freed from his distemper, and went up to the temple, where he worshipped God and made vows to him.

2. At this time it was that the dominion of the Assyrians was overthrown by the Medes, but of these things I shall treat elsewhere. He was the king of Babylon, whose name was Bel-shad, sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, with presents, and desired he would be his ally and his friend. So he received the ambassadors gladly, and made them a feast, and showed them his treasures, and his armoury, and the other wealth he was possessed of, in precious stones, and in gold, and gave them presents to be carried to Bel-shad, and sent them back to him. Upon which the prophet Isaiah came to him, and the posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass. But the prophet rejoined, and said, "Know thou, that, after a little while, these riches of thine shall be carried away to Babylon: and the posterity shall be made eunuchs there, and lose their manhood, and be servants to the king of Babylon, for that God foretold such things would come to pass." Upon which words Hezekiah was troubled, and said, that he would himself unwilling that his nation should fall into such calamities, yet since it is not possible to alter what God had deter- mined, he prayed that there might be peace while he lived. Baruch also makes mention of this Bel-shad, as king of Babylon. Now concerning this prophet, [Isaiah] he was by the confession of all a divine and wonderful man in speaking truth; and out of the assurance that he had never written what was false, he wrote his prophecies, and left them behind him in books, that their accomplishment might be judged of apparent only, and performed by an aerial phosphorus, which imitated the sun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real sun, cannot be determined. Philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypothesis. However, it may be that Josephus did not understand it otherwise than we generally do, that the shadow was accelerated as much as at first forward as it was backward, and that the sun moved farther or shorter than usual, which, it must be conf-essed, agrees best of all to astronomy, whose eclipse occurred after the passage of the sun in its orbit in the same day as if this miracle had never happened. After all this wonderful signal was not, it seems, peculiar to Judaeans, who neither saw it, nor heard any account of it.

* We are here to take notice that these two sons of Unacheth, that ran away into Armenia, became the heads of two famous families there, the Arzaroni and Gumisi, of which see the particular histories in Mosco's Chronicles, p. 660.

† Josephus and all our copies place the sickness of He- zekiah after the destruction of Samariah's army, be- cause of a passage, where he says, that the first sound of the sound of the Assyrian army was going into Arabia and Egypt, where he pushed his conquests as far as they would go, and in order to de- sert, he had taken away all his treasures, but this copy but of Josephus says it was after that destruction, but only that it happened i in those days, or about that time of Heze- kiah, which does not at all ensue but either seen or not seen. The story of the sun's shadow occurring in the life after his sickness allow that sickness to have been longer than the former part of the 15th year of his reign, since chronology does not allow him in all above 39 years and 6 months, and after that destruction he went on from Damascus to Damascus, and there he was 14 years and 6 months, and after that he went to Syria, where he was killed by the Assyrians. Now this passage is very obscure, and the destruction of the Assyrian army, overthrow the Assyrian empire, seems to be too strong; for although they imme- diately cast off the Assyrian, and under Cyrus, they cast off their empire, yet it was some time before the Medes and Babyloniens overthrew Nineveh, and some genera- tions are to be reckoned from the destruction of Babyl- on.
from the events, by postcary; nor did this prophet do so alone, but the others, which were twelve in number, did the same. And whatsoever is done among us, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, comes to pass according to their prophecies; but of every one of these we shall speak hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Manasseh reigned after Hezekiah; and how, when he was in Captivity, he returned to God, and was restored to his Kingdom, and left it to [his Son] Amon.

§ 1. When King Hezekiah had survived the interval of time already mentioned, and had dwelt all that time in peace, he died, having completed fifty-four years of his life, and reigned twenty-nine: but when his son Manasseh, whose mother's name was Hephzibah, of Jerusalem, had taken the kingdom, he departed from the conduct of his father, and fell into a course of life quite contrary thereto, and showed himself in his manners most wicked in all respects, and omitted no sort of impiety, but imitated those transgressions of the Israelites, by the connivance of his own, and the multitude, punished those that sinned against God, whom they had destroyed; for he was so hard as to defile the temple of God, and the city, and the whole country; and by setting out from a contempt of God, he barbarously slew all the righteous men who were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he for every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood. So God was angry at these proceedings, and sent prophets to the king, and to the multitude, by whom he threatened the very same calamities to them, with which their brethren, the Israelites, upon the like affronts offered to God, were now under. But these men would not believe their words, by which they might have had the advantage of escaping all those miseries; yet did they in earnest learn that what the prophets had told them was true.

2. And when they persevered in the same course of life, God raised up war against them from the king of Babylon and Chaldea, who sent an army against Judea, and laid waste the country, and caught king Manasseh by treachery, and ordered him to be brought to him, and had him under guard to interrogate him, and the whither pleased upon him. But then it was that Manasseh perceived what a miserable condition he was in, and extolling himself the cause of all, he was to render his enemy human and merciful to him. Accordingly God heard his prayer, and granted him what he prayed for. So Manasseh was released by the king of Babylon, and escaped the danger he was in; and when he was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured, if it were possible, to cast out of his memory those things which he had done against God, of which he now repented, and to apply himself to a very religious life. He sanctified the temple, and purged the city, and returned the temple to its former ornament, and the whither had been added upon him. And by reflecting on the actions of his progenitors, he pronounced what they did wrong, like a very elderly man, and like one abundantly able to understand what was fit to be done; and when he found they had well done, he observed all the country was imitated the same. And thus he acted in following the wisdom and sagacity of his own nature, and in compliance with the advice and instruction of the elders; for by following the laws it was that he succeeded so well in the order of his government, and in piety with regard to the divine worship. And this happened because the transgressions of the former kings were seen no more, but quite vanished away; for the king was so hard in God's fear, he cut down the groves which were devoted to strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and if there were any gift, dedicated to them by his servants, he took it, to prevent any ignominies, and placed them down, and by this means he brought the people back from their opinion about them to the worship of God. He also offered his accustomed sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar. Moreover, he ordained certain judges and overseers, that they might order the matters to them severally belonging, and have regard to justice above all things, and distribute it with the same concern they would have about their own lives. And thereby wishing to get fame, and desired such as pleased to bring gold and silver for the repairs of the temple, according to every one's inclinations and abilities.

And when the money was brought in, he made one Manasseh the governor of the city, and Shaphan the scribe, and Joah the recorder, and Eliakim the high priest, curators of the temple, and of the charges contributed thereto, who made no delay, but set work at all, but prepared architects, and whatsoever was proper for those repairs, and set closely about the work. So the temple was repaired, and was made a public demonstration of the king's piety.

2. But when he was now seven years of his reign, he sent to Eliakim, the high priest, and gave order, that out of what money
was everywhere; he should eat cupan, and dishes, and meats, and wine, for ineration [in the temple]. Besides, they should bring all the gold and silver which was among the treasures, and expend also in making cupan and the like vessels. But as the high priest was bringing out the gold, he lit upon the ark that was laid up in the temple; and when he had brought them out, he gave them to Shaphan, the scribe, who, when he had read them, came to the king, and informed him that any words had been added, and desired that it should be done. He also read over the books to him, who, when he had heard them read, rent his garments, and called for Eliakim, the high priest, and for [Shaphan], the scribe, and John the recorder of the books, and of particular friends, and sent them to Huldah, the prophetess, the wife of Shallum, (which Shallum was a man of dignity, and of an eminent family,) and bade them go to her and say, that [he desired] she would appease God, and endeavour to read him propitious to them, for that there was cause to fear lest, upon the transgression of the laws of Moses by their forefathers, they should be in peril of going into captivity, as of being cut off from the sight of his prohibited, and that they should be in want of all things, and so end their days miserably. When the prophetess had heard this from the messengers that were sent to her, she went forth, and there called and anointed a young king, and said, that "God had already given sentences against them, to destroy the people, and cast them out of their country, and deprive them of all the happiness they enjoyed, which sentence none could prevent, and that they should repent in due season;" and she also threatened them against the king, and said, that "God had already given sentences against the people and cast them out of their country, and deprived them of all the happiness they enjoyed, which sentence none could prevent, and that they should repent in due season;" and she also threatened them that he would punish them for their sins and that he would send and end the multitude what miseries he had determined.  

2. So these messengers, upon this prophecy of the woman, came and told it to the king; whereupon he sent to the people every where, and ordered that the priests and the Levites should meet together at Jerusalem, and consult what course should be pursued: And when they were gathered together, he first read them the holy books; and he stood upon a pulpit, in the midst of the multitude, and obliged them to make a covenant, with an oath, that they would worship God, and keep the laws of Moses. Accordingly, they gave their assent willingly, and undertook to do what the king had commanded to them. So they immediately offered sacrifices, and that after an acceptable manner, and besought God to be gracious and merciful to them. He also enjoined the high priest, that if there remained in the temple any thing of Ahasuerus, which had been brought an offering, or anything which had been brought to it by any of the kings, they should cast it out. So when a great number of such vessels were got together, he burnt them, and scattered their ashes abroad, and the priests of the idols, that were not of the family of Aaron,  

4. And when he had done thus in Jerusalem, he came into the country and utterly destroyed what buildings had been made therein by King Jeroboam, in honour of strange gods; and he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam first built. And as the prophet [Jadon,] for Jeroboam, was offering sacrifice, and when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, viz. that "a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned;" And it happened that those predictions took effect after three hundred and sixty-one years.  

5. After these things Josiah went also to such other Israelites as had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices, and to leave off the honours they paid to strange gods, but to worship rightly their own Almighty God, and adhere to him. He also searched the houses, and the villages, and the cities, out of suspicion that somebody might have one idol or other in private; nay, indeed, he took away the altars of the sun that were set up in his royal palace, which burned the sacrifices, and offered the offerings to the sun; and sover there was besides which they worshipped as a god. And when he had thus purged all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there called a fast, and set the people to eat the pure and consecrated bread, and that called the Passover. He also gave the people, for paschal sacrifices, young kids of the goats and lambs thirty thousand, and three thousand oxen for burnt-offerings. The principal of the priests also gave to the priests, against the passover, two thousand and six hundred lambs; the principal of the Levites also gave to the Levites five thousand lambs and five hundred oxen, by which means there was great plenty of sacrifice; and the officers and com-  

CHAP. V.  

How Josiah fought with Necho [King of Egypt], and was mortally wounded in a little time, foreordained; as also, how Necho carries Jehoahaz, who had been made King, into Egypt, and delivered the Kingdom to Jehoiakim; and lastly, concerning Jeremiah and Ezekiel.  

§ 1. Now Necho, king of Egypt, raised an army, and marched to the river Euphrates, in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians, for he had a desire to reign over Asia. Now, when he was come to the city Mendes, which belonged to the kingdom of Josiah, he took an army and rode on Genesis 15:19; and see Deut. 8:20; Neh. 9:15; Ps. 81:16, 17.  

This is a remarkable passage of chronicles in the book of Kings, that about the last days of Josiah, and about the reign of Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobias's commentator, that 'Josiah, whom did not die for the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonians, and Assursum the Medes.' Tob. xiv. 15; see Dean Firdman's Conjectures, of the year 1612.  

In the days of Josiah, king of Judah, this prophecy was verified.  

It is due to recolect the account in the second book of Kings, that about the last days of Josiah, and about the reign of the Medes and Babylonians overthrew the empire of the Assyrians; or, in the words of Tobias's commentator, that 'Josiah, whom did not die for the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonians, and Assursum the Medes.' Tob. xiv. 15; see Dean Firdman's Conjectures, of the year 1612.
prove him to fight against him, because he obstructed his march to the place whither he had resolved to go. But Josiah did not admit of this advice of Neco, but put himself into a posture to hinder him from this intended march. I suppose it was fate that pushed him on to this conduct, that it might take an occasion against him; for as he was setting his army in array, and rode about in his chariot, from one wing of his army to the other, some of the Egyptians shot an arrow at him, and put an end to his eagerness of fighting; for being sorely wounded, he commanded a retreat to be sounded for his army. It was to Jerusalem; and died of that wound; and was magnificently buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, when he had lived thirty-nine years, and of them had reigned thirty-one. But all the people mourned greatly for him, lamenting and grieving on his account many days; and Jeremiah the prophet composed an elegy to lament him, which is extant till this time also. Moreover, this prophet denounced beforehand, the sad calamities that were coming upon the city. He also left behind him in writing a description of that destruction of our nation which has lately happened in our days, and the taking of Babylon; nor was he the only prophet who made predictions of this kind to the multitude, but so did Ezekiel also, who was the first person that wrote, and left behind him in writing, two books concerning these events. Now these two prophets were priests by birth; but of these the one died in Jerusalem, from their thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, until the city and temple were utterly destroyed. However, as to what befell this prophet, we will relate in its proper place.

2. Upon the death of Josiah, which we have already mentioned, his son, Jehoahaz by name, took the kingdom; being about twenty-three years old: he reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother was the daughter of Sarepta, of the city Libnah. He was a mighty man, and impure in his course of life: but as the king of Egypt returned from the battle, he sent for Jehoahaz to come to him to the city called Hamath, which belongs to Syria; and when he was come, he put him in bonds, and delivered the kingdom to a brother of his, by the father's side, whose name was Eliakim, and changed his name to Jehoiakim, and laid a tribute upon the land of a hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and this sum of money, and Jehoiakim paid by way of tribute: but Neco carried away Jehoahaz into Egypt, where he died when he had reigned three months and ten days. Now his brother, Jehoiakim, was the father of the city Ramah. He was of a wicked disposition, and ready to do mischief; nor was he either religious towards God or good natured towards men.

CHAP. VI.

How Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered the King of Egypt, made an Expedition against the Jews, and slew Jehoiakim, and made Jehoiakin his son King.

§ 1. Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Ephrath, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Ephrath, to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands of his soldiers in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Ephrath, and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judaea. But when Nebuchadnezzar had made an expedition with mighty forces against the Egyptians, and as it was a sight which was the eighth of Jehoiakin's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Egyptians, and as it was a sight which was the eighth of Jehoiakin's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Egyptians; and threatened his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at this threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.

2. But on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And to deeds the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the power of the Babylonians, and would be subdued by him. But what he thus spake proved to be of no advantage to them, because there was none that should escape; for both the multitude, and the rulers, when they heard this prediction, were not ready to put their faith in it; but being displeased at what was said, as if the prophet were a divider against the king, they accused Jeremiah, and bringing him before the court, they required that he might be given against him. Now all the rest gave their votes for his condemnation, but the elders refused, who prudently sent away the prophet from the court of [the prison] and gave the command to do Jeremiah no harm; for they said, that "He was not the only person who foretold what would come to the city, but that Micah signified the same before him, as well as many others, none of which suffered any thing of the kings that then reigned, but were honoured as the prophets of God." So they mollified the multitude with these words, and delivered Jeremiah from the punishment to which he was condemned. Now when this prophet had written the twenty-eight years of the captivity of Jerusalem, and was commanded to be lodged, and assembled at the temple, on the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakin, he read the book he had composed of his predictions, and the book of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and Zephaniah, and the multitude. And when the rulers heard of it, they took the book from him, and made him and Baruch, the scribe, to go their ways, lest they should be discovered by one or other; but they carried the book, and gave it to the king; so he gave order, in the presence of his friends, that his scribe should take it, and read it. When the king heard what it contained, he was angry, and tore it, and cast it into the fire, where it was consumed. And he also commanded that he should seek for Jeremiah and Baruch, the scribe, and bring them to him, that they might be punished. However, they escaped his anger.

3. Now, a little time afterward, the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakin, whom he received into the city, and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet; as supposing that he should suffer nothing that choly poem now lost, but extant in the days of Josephus, mentioning peculiarly to Josiah, cannot now be ascertained.†

† This ancient city Hamath, which is joined with Arpad, or Arslan, and with Damascus, 2 Kings xxvii. 34; Isaiah xxxiv. 9; Jer. xxxvi. 30-33; and Micah iii. 12; made the entrance of the Syræans to Egypt, since the borders of Judæa, was also itself evidently the same borders, though long ago utterly destroyed.
was terrible, because he neither shut the gates,
and taught against God; yet when he was come
into the city, he did not improve the covenants
he had made, but he slew such as were in the
flower of their age, and such as were of the grea-
test dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim,
who was a man of substance and honor, but be
tween them he put up walls, without any burial, and made his son Je-
hoiaohim king of the country, and of the city:
he also took the principal persons in dignity for
captives, three thousand in number, and led them
away to Babylon; king whom was the prophet
Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this
was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived
thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven;
but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom,
when he was only eight years of age. Nebu-
hish: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months
and ten days.

CHAPTER VII.

That the King of Babylon repented of making
Jehoiachin King, and took him away to Bab-
ylon, and delivered the Kingdom to Zedekiah.
This king would not believe what was declar-
ed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but joined himself
to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judo-
na, were reduced by the King of Babyl-
on: as also what befell Jeremiah.

§ 1. But a terror seized on the king of Baby-
on, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin,
and did not believe what was declared to him
by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and joined himself
to the Egyptians; who, when they came into Judo-
a, were reduced by the King of Babylon, and
took him away to Babylon, and delivered the
Kingdom to Zedekiah.

§ 2. Now Zedekiah was twenty and one old
when he took the government; and had the
same mother with his brother Jehoiakim, but
was a deeper of justice and of his duty, for
truly those of the same age with him were
wicked about him, and the whole multitude did
what unjust and insolent things they pleased; for
which reason the prophet Jeremiah came often
to him, and proposed unto him, and insisted, that
he "leave off his wickedness, and take upon
himself, and take care of what was right, and
neither give ear to the rulers, (among whom
were wicked men,) nor give credit to their false
prophets, but believe them, in the opposition of
Babylon would make no more war against them;
and as if the Egyptians would make war against
him, and conquer him, since what they said was
not true, and the events would not prove such
[as they expected them now, as to Zedekiah him-
self, while he heard the prophet speak, he be-
lieved him, and agreed to every thing as true,
and supposed it was for his advantage; but then

* Josephus says here, that Jeremiah prophesied not
only of the return of the Jews from the Babylonian capti-
vity, and the end under the Persians and Medes, as in our
and laid an accusation against him, under whom he endured all sorts of torments and tortures, and was reserved to be punished; and this was the condition he was in for some time, while he suffered what I have already described unjustly.

4. Now in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the king of Babylon took Jerusalem, and besieged it seven years and six months; and after that he burned it with fire, and cast it into the sea, and made a great sacrifice of it, and condemned it with a pestilential distemper, and made great havock of them: and though the prophet Jeremiah was in prison, he did not rest, but cried out, and proclaimed aloud, and of the multitude of their gates, and of the king of Babylon, for that if they did so, they should be preserved, and their whole families; but if they did not so, they should be destroyed; and he foretold, that if any one stayed in the city, he should presently come by one of these ways, either be consumed by the famine, or slain by the enemy's sword, but that if he would fly to the enemy he should escape death: yet did not these rulers who heard believe him, and did not so; but were in the midst of their sons' calamities, but they came to the king, and, in their anger, informed him what Jeremiah said, and accused him, and complained of the prophet as of a madman, and one that disheartened their people, to the denunciation of the multitude, and weakened the alacrity of the multitude, who were otherwise ready to expose themselves to dangers for him, and for their country, while he, in a way of threatening, warned them to fly to the enemy, and told them, that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed.

5. But the king himself was not at all irritated against Jeremiah, such was his gentle and righteous disposition; yet that he might not be enraged, he was pitted at such a time, by opposing what they intended, he let them do with the prophet whatsoever they would: whereupon, when the king had granted them all that they asked, he sent a man and told them, that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed. So he stood up to the neck in the mire, which was all about him, and black with blood; but the priests of the king's servants, who was in esteem with him, an Ethiopian by descent, who told the king what a state the prophet was in, and said, that his friends and his rulers had done evil in putting the prophet in prison, and by that means contrived against him that he should suffer a death more bitter than that by his bonds only. When the king heard this, he repeated of his having delivered up the prophet to the rulers, and bade the Ethiopian take thirty men of the king's guards, and cords with them, and whatsoever else they understood to be necessary for the prophet's preservation, and draw him up immediately. So the Ethiopian took the men he was ordered to the king, and told them, that the city should certainly be taken, and be utterly destroyed, and left him at liberty [in the prison].

6. But when the king had sent to call him privately, and inquired what he could say to him from God, which might be suitable to his present circumstances, and desired him to inform him of it, Jeremiah replied, that "he had somewhat to say;" but he said withal, he "should not be believed, nor, if he disbelieveth them, should be heard;" (which he, the friends have determined to destroy me, as though I had been guilty of some wickedness; and where are now those men who deceived us, and said that the king of Babylon would not come and fight against us any more; but I am afraid now to speak the truth, lest thou shouldst condemn me to die." And when the king had assured him upon oath, that he would neither himself put him to death, nor deliver him up to the rulers, he became at ease upon that security; and gave him this advice, that "he should deliver the city up to the Babylonians; and he said, that it was God that prophesied this by him, that (he must do so) if he would be preserved of the miseries that should come upon the city, and of the calamities that should befall his whole house." When the king heard this, he said, "he would willingly do what he persuaded him to, and what he declared would be to his advantage, but he was so far from the try that had fallen away to the Babylonians, lest he should be accused by them to the king of Babylon, "and be punished." But the prophet encouraged him, and said, "he had no cause to fear such punishment, for that he should not have the experience of any misfortunes, if he would deliver all up to the Babylonians, neither himself, nor his children, nor his wives, and that the temple should then continue unburnt. So the king sent a man, and told him, that he should go, and charged him "to betray what they had resolved on to none of the citizens, nor to tell any of the rulers, if they should have learned that he had been sent for, what he had said to him, and that he should persuade him that he might not be kept in bonds and in prison." And indeed he said so to them; for they came to the prophet, and asked him, what advice it was that he came to give the king relating to them? And thus I have finished what concerns this matter.

CHAP. VIII.
How the King of Babylon took Jerusalem, and burnt the Temple, and removed the People of Jerusalem and Zedekiah to Babylon. As also, who they were that had succeeded in the High Priesthood under the Kings.

§ 1. Now the king of Babylon was very intent and earnest upon the siege of Jerusalem; and he erected towers upon great banks of earth, and from them repelled those that stood upon the walls: he also made a great number of such engines, as were equal to those walls. However, those that were within bore the siege with courage and alacrity, for they were not discouraged, either by the famine, or by the pestilential distemper, but were the more valiant, and exerted themselves in the war, although those miseries within oppressed them also, and they did not suffer themselves to be terrified, either by the contrivances of the enemy, or by their engines of war, but contrived still different engines to oppose all the other withal, till indeed there seemed to be an entire struggle between the Babylonians and the people of Jerusalem, which had the greater success; and skill; the former party supposing they were not to be easily forced, and the latter, to take time for the destruction of the city; the latter placing their hopes of deliverance in nothing else but in persevering in such inventions in opposition to the other, as might defeat the engines of the enemy; and the former having great difficulty in using their engines, when the latter also had the same, so that at last the city was swept away, and all the people destroyed by the famine, and by the darts which the enemy threw at them from the towers.

§ 2. At the city was taken the ninth day of the fourth month, in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. They were indeed only generals of the king of Babylon, to whom Nebuchadnezzar committed the care of the siege, for he abode himself in the city of Riblah. The names of these generals who ravaged and subdued Jerusalem, if any one desire to know them.
were these, Neggal Sharozer, Sangar Nebo, Rabbi, Sarsechim, and Rabmag. And when the city was taken about midnight, and the ene-
gy's generals were enter in the temple, and when Zebediah was sensible of it, he took his wives, and his children, and his captains, and his friends, and with them fled out of the city, through the fortified doors, although the de-
sert; and when certain of the deserters said, Now the temple was formed the Babylonians of this, at break of day they made haste to pursue after Zebediah, and overtook him not far from Jericho, and encom-
panied him afar, and the captain and the cap-
tains of Zebediah who had fled out of the city with him, when they saw their enemies near them, they left him, and dispersed themselves some one way and some another, and every one remained to save himself; so the enemy took Zebediah alive, when he was deserted by all but a few, with his children and his wives, and brought him to the king. When he was come, Nebuchadnezzar began to call him a wicked wretch, and a covenant-breaker, and one that had forgotten his former words, when he promised to keep the country for him. He also reproached him for his ingratitude, that while the king gave him his child and his wife, who had taken it from Jehoiachin, and given it him, he had made use of the power he gave him against him that gave it; but (said he) God is great, who hateth that conduct of thine, and hath brought all to thee, and in all the works which he hath done toward thee. And these words to Zebediah, he commanded his sons and his friends to be slain, while Zebediah and the rest of the captains looked on, after which he put out his eyes, and bound him, and carried him to Babylon. And these things happened to him, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel had foretold to him, that he should be caught, and brought before the king of Babylon, and whose eyes should be put out, and should see his eyes with his own eyes; and thus far did Jeremiah prophesy; but he was also made blind, and brought to Babylon, but he did not see it, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.

3. We have said thus much because it was suffi-
cient to show the nature of God to such as are
gnant of it, that it is various, and acts many different ways, and that all events happen after a regular manner, in their proper season, and that God reigns in his kingdom, and is also sufficient to show the ignorance and incredul-
ity of men, whereby they are not permitted to foresee any thing that is future, and are, without any guidance, in error and calamities, so that it is impossible for them to avoid the experience of those calamities.

4. And after this manner have the kings of
David's race ended their lives, being in num-
er twenty one until the last king; who alto-
gether reigned five hundred and fourteen years, and six months, and ten days; of whom Saul, who was their first king, retained the govern-
ment twenty years, though he was not of the same line.

5. And now it was that the king of Babylon
sent Nebuzaradan, the general of his army, to Jerusalem, to pillage the temple, which had it also in command to burn it, and the royal palace, and to lay the city even with the ground, and transplanted the people into Babylon. According-
ly, he came to Jerusalem in the eleventh year of
king Zebediah, and pillaged the temple, and earned out the vessels of God, both gold and silver, and particularly that large laver which Solomon dedicated, as also the pillars of brass, and their chapiters, with the golden tables and the candlesticks; and when he had carried these off, he set fire to the temple in the fifth mouth, the first day of the month, on the eleventh year of the reign of Zebediah, and on the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar; he also burnt the pal-
ece and the temple. Now the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy six, months, and ten days after it was built. It was then one thousand and sixty-two years, six months, from the time that they had built the temple of Egypt; and from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, the whole interval was one thou-
sand nine hundred fifty-seven years, six months, and ten days; but from the generation of Adam until this befall the temple, there were three thousand five hundred and thirteen years, six months, and ten days; so great was the number of years here to belonging. And what actions were done during those years, we have particu-
larly related. But the general of the Babylonian
king now overthrew the city to the very founda-
tions, and removed all the people, and took for prisoners the high priest Seraiah, and Zebediah, and the priest of the temple, and the master of the men of war, and carried them to Babylon. And the ruler that guarded the temple, who were three in number, and the eunuch who were over the armed men, and seven friends of Zebediah, and his
scribe, and six other rulers; all which, together with the vessels, which they had taken, were
carried to the king of Babylon to Riblah, a city of Syria. So the king commanded the heads of the high priest and of the rulers to be cut off there; but that he was led to the captains, and Zebediah, to Babylon. He also led Josedek the
high priest away bound. He was the son of Se-
raiah, the high priest whom the king of Babylon had slain in Riblah, a city of Syria, as we have just now related.

6. And now, because we have enumerated the su-
cession of the kings, and who they were, and how long they reigned, I think it necessary to set down the names of the high priests, and who they were that succeeded one another in the high priestly order under the kings. The first high priest then at the temple which Solomon built, was Zadoc; after him his son Achimias received that dignity; after Achimias was Azariah, whom he forsook, and after him was Azionaeus; his son was Phidas, and Phidas's son was Suedas, and Suedas's son was Juelus, and Juelus's son was Jotham, and Jotham's son was Zeruia, and Zeruia's son was Nerias, and Nerias's son was Oedas, and his son was Sallu-
mus, and Sallumus's son was Eiclus, and his son [was Azariah, and his son was Sareas, and his
son was Josedek, who was carried captive to
Babylon. All these received the high priestly
order by succession, the sons from their father.

7. When the king was come to Babylon, he kept Zebediah in prison until he died, and buried him magnificently; and dedicated the vessels he had pillaged of the temple of God, in the names of his own gods, and planted the people in the country of Babylon, but freed the high priest from his bonds.

CHAP. IX.

How Nebuzaradan set Gedaliah over the Jews
that were left in Judea, which Gedaliah was a
little afterward slain by Ishmael; and how Jeho-
hanan, after Ishmael was driven away west

* This observation of Josephus about the seeming dis-
agreement of Jeremiah, chap. xxxii. 4, and xxxv. 5, and Ezekiel, etc. Zebediah, is very true and very remarkable; see ch. viii. sect. 5. Nor is it at all unlikely that the courts and the people of Judea were divided, in regard to their inclination to dissease Zebediah from believing either of those prophets, as Josephus here intimates he was disin-
sued thereby.

I have here inserted in brackets this high priest Azai-
rias, though he be omitted in all Josephus's copies, out of the Jewish chroniclers. See Seder Olam. And for this, I generally esteem such late rabbinical historians, because we know from Josephus himself, that the number of the high priests is not to be carried back to the time of Antig. R. xx. ch. 2, whereas his copies have here but few

rectors.
down into Egypt with the People, which People, Nebuchadnezzar, when he made an Expedition against the Egyptians, took captive, and brought them away to Babylon.

§ 1. Now the general of the army, Nebuzaradan, when he had carried the people of the Jews into captivity, left the poor, and those that had deserted, in the country, and made one, whose name was Gedaliah, the son of Nabi, a part of a noble family, their governor: which Gedaliah was of a gentle and righteous disposition. He also commanded them that they should cultivate the ground, and pay an appointed tribute to the king. So took Jeremiah, that was released out of prison, and would have persuaded him to go along with him to Babylon, for that he had been enjoined by the king to supply him with whatsoever he wanted: and if he did not like it, he desired him to inform him where he resolved to dwell, that he might signify the same to the king: but the prophet had no mind to follow him, nor to dwell anywhere else, but would gladly live in the land of his country. So Gedaliah, the king's emissary, dismissed Jeremiah. Accordingly, Jeremiah abode in a city of that country, which was called Mizpah; and desired of Nebuzaradan, that he would set at liberty his disciple Baruch,* the son of Neriah, one of a very eminent family, and exceeding skillful in the language of his country.

2. When Nebuzaradan had done thus, he made haste to Babylon: but as to those that fled away from him, Jerusalemites, and had been scattered over the country, when they heard that the Babylonians were gone away, and had left a remnant in the land of Jerusalem, and those such as were to cultivate the same, they came together from all parts to Gedaliah to Mizpah. Now the rulers that were over them were Johanan, the son of Kareah, and Jalozeth, and Seraiah, and others beside them. Now there was of the royal family one Ishmael, a wicked man, and very cruel, who tormenting the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and carried them all out into the country of the Ammonites, and abode with him during that time: and Gedaliah persuaded them, now they were there, to stay with him, and to fear no fear of the Babylonians, for that if they would cultivate the country, they should suffer no harm. This he assured them of by oath; and said, that they should have him for their patron, and that if any disturbance should arise, he should find them ready to defend and send them. He also advised them to dwell in any city, as every one of them pleased; and that they would send men along with his own servants, and rebuild their houses upon the old foundations, and dwell there, and he would assist them beforehand, that they should make preparation, while the season lasted, of corn, and wine, and oil, that they might have wherewith to feed during the winter. When they had thus persuaded them, he dismissed them, that every one might dwell in what place of the country he pleased.

3. Now when this report was spread abroad as far as the nations that bordered on Judaea, that Gedaliah kindly entertained those that came to him, after they had fled away, upon this [only] condition, that they should pay tribute to the king of Babylon, they also came readily to Gedaliah, and inhabited the country. And when the despotic rulers that were with him observed the country, and the humanity of Gedaliah, they were exceedingly in love with him, and told him that Baalz, the king of the Ammonites, had sent Ishmael to kill him by treachery, and secretly, that he might have the dominion over the Israelites, as being of the royal family, and they said that he might deliver himself from this treacherous design if he would give them ten talents of silver, and a cloak of raiment, and another, for what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had such a sum of money, could naturally be so approving to him, when he should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to deliver him to the king of Babylon, who, as he trusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal."

4. So Johanan, and the rulers that were with him, not being able to persuade Gedaliah, went out of the city, and fled with all the incho prelates over. Ishmael came again to Gedaliah, to the city of Mizpah, and ten men with him; and when he had feasted Ishmael and those that were with him in a splendid manner, at his table, and had given them presents, he let them go, and said, he would not believe what they said, when they told him of such a treacherous design, in a man that had been well treated by him; because it was not probable that one who, under such a want of all things, had such a sum of money, could naturally be so approving to him, when he should be found so wicked and ungrateful towards his benefactor, that when it would be an instance of wickedness in him not to save him, had he been treacherously assaulted by others, to endeavour, and that earnestly, to kill him with his own hand: that, however, if he ought to suppose this information to be true, it was better for himself to be slain by the other, than to deliver him to the king of Babylon, who, as he trusted his own safety to him, and committed himself to his disposal."

• Of this character of Baruch, the son of Neriah, and the greatness of his book that stands now in our Apo-

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- crypsia, and that it is really a canonical book, and an en-

they were removed; but the king of Babylon, who brought out the two tribes, placed no other nation in their country, by which means all Judas and Jerusalem, and the temple, continued to be a desert for seventy years: but the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites, to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Daniel, and what befell him at Babylon.

§ 1. But now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinmen of Zedekiah, their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies, and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered them into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. He also made some of them to be eunuchs, which course he took also with those of other nations, whom he had taken in the flower of their age, and afforded them their diet from his own table, and had them instructed in the institutes of the land of the Medes and Persians, and the Babylonians, and the Chaldeans; and they had now exercised themselves sufficiently in that wisdom which he had ordered them should apply themselves to. Now among these there were four of the family of Zedekiah, of most excellent and distinguished gifts, whom he called Daniel, another was called Ananiah, another Misael, and the fourth Azariah: and the king of Babylon changed their names, and commanded that they should bear the names of Greeks; Daniel he called Beltesar, Anaanias, Shadrach, Misael, Meshach, and Azariah, Abednego. These the king had in esteem, and continued to love, because of the very excellent temper they were of, and because of their knowledge, and the progress they had made in wisdom.

2. Now Daniel and his kinsmen had resolved to use a severe diet, and to abstain from those kinds of food which came from the king's table, and entirely to cease eating all living creatures; so he came to Aspenaz, who was that eunuch to whom the care of them was committed, and desired him to take and spend what was brought for them from the king, but to give them pulse and dates for their food, besides the flesh of living creatures, that he pleased; for that their inclinations were to that sort of food, and that they despised the other. He replied, that they should do what they desired, but he suspected that they would be discovered by the king, from their meager bodies, and the alteration of their countenances, because it could not be avoided but their bodies and colours must be changed with their diet, especially while they would be clearly discovered by the finer appearance of the other children, who would fare better, and thus they should bring him in danger, and occasion him to be punished: yet did he at last consent to their request, and gave them thus careful, to give them what food they desired for ten days, by way of trial, and in case the habit of their bodies were not altered, to go on in the same way, as expecting that they should not be hurt thereby afterward, but if he saw them

* Herodotus says, this king of Egypt [Pharaoh Hophra, or Necho II, king of Egypt], and his counselors told his daughter by his enemies, Jer. xiv. 50, 59, and that as a sign of the destruction of Egypt [by Nebuchadnezzar], he made these words: ‘It was that king was slain by Nebuchadnezzar himself.

1 We see here that Jeda was left in a manner desolate with the captivity of the two tribes, and was not repopulated with the remains of the exiles, but was deserted that the Jews were to repopulate it without opposition themselves. I also esteem the later and present desolation of both countries, of this same country, without being repopulated by foreign colonists, to be a like indication that the same Jews are the same people it again themselves, at their so long expected restoration.

1 That Daniel was made one of these exiles of which the king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar sp. tyred, as his companions also, seems to be plain, both here in Josephus and in our copies of Daniel, Denu. 1, 6, 7—11, 19, although it must be granted, that some learned persons, who had children, were experienced men, who had a general acceptance for courtiers, on account that so many of the ancient courtiers were real eunuchs. See Gen. xxi. 1.
antiquities of the jews

look anger and worse than the rest, he should reduce them to their former diet. Now, when it appeared that they were so far from becoming worse by the use of this food, that they grew plumper and fuller in body than the rest, insomuch that he thought those who dined on what came from the king's table, seemed less plump and full, while those that were with Daniel looked as if they had lived in plenty, and all sorts of luxury: Arioich, from that time, seriously took him to task for the king's evil example from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the foregoing diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had the longer time for steady labour, for they neither had the former oppressor and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminates on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

3. Now, two years after the destruction of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar saw a wonderful dream, the accomplishment of which God showed him in his sleep, but when he awoke out of his bed, he forgot the accomplishment; so he sent for the wise men, the astrologers, and the magicians, and informed them that he had forgotten the accomplishment of what he had seen, and he enjoined them both what the dream was, and what it was its signification; and they said that this was a thing impossible to be discovered by men, but they promised him, that if he would explain to them what dream he had seen, they would discover its signification and its accomplishment, and he threatened to put them to death, unless they told him his dream: and he gave command to have them all put to death, since they confessed they could not do what they were commanded to do.

Now when Daniel heard that the king had given a command, that all the wise men should be put to death, and that among them himself and his three kinsmen were in danger, he went to Arioich, who was captain of the king's guards, and he imparted the secret of the dream to the reproach of the king, and the reproach of them, that he had given command that all the wise men, and Chaldeans, and magicians, should be slain. So when he had learned that the king had a dream, and had forgotten it, and that he was not able to inform it to the king, they had said they could not do it, and had therefore provoked him to anger; he desired of Arioich that he would go in to the king, and desire relief for the magicians for one night, and to put off their slaughter so long, for that he hoped within that time to obtain, by prayer to God, the knowledge of the dream. Accordingly, Arioich informed the king of what Daniel desired; so the king bade them desist the slaughter of the magicians till he knew what Daniel's promise would come to; but the young man retired to his own house, with his kinsmen, and besought God that whole night to discover the dream, and the interpretation thereof. When morning was come, and the king rose, he remembered Daniel, and those that were in danger, and out of regard to the wisdom of Daniel, made known to him the dream and its interpretation, that so the king might understand by him its signification also. When Daniel had obtained this knowledge from God he arose very joyous, and told it to his brethren and made them glad, and to hope well, that they should receive the king's evil example from his supper, according to custom, to the children, but gave them the foregoing diet, while they had their souls in some measure more pure, and less burdened, and so fitter for learning, and had the longer time for steady labour, for they neither had the former oppressor and heavy with variety of meats, nor were the other effeminates on the same account; so they readily understood all the learning that was among the Hebrews, and among the Chaldeans, as especially did Daniel, who being already sufficiently skilled in wisdom, was very busy about the interpretation of dreams; and God manifested himself to him.

4. When Daniel was come in to the king, he excused himself at first, that he did not pretend to interpret dreams, for that he was a foreigner and knowing nothing of the signs of the times, and for that reason, when, upon their entire inability to discover his dream, he was undertaking to inform him of it, for this was not by his own skill, or on account of his having better cultivated his understanding than the rest, but he said, "God hath not set it upon us, when we were in danger of death, and when I prayed for the life of myself, and of those of my own nation, hath made manifest to me both the dream, and the interpretation thereof for the great matter which concerned for the king, and for the sorrow that we were by thee condemned to die, while thou didst so unjustly command men, both good and excellent in themselves, to be put to death, to enjoin thee to do what was entirely above the power of the king and the men that were searched not the work of God. Wherefore, as thou in thy sleep wast solicitous concerning those that should succeed thee in the government of the whole world, God was desirous to show thee all those that should reign after thee, and to that end exhibited to thee the following dream: Thou seemedst to see a great image standing before thee, the head of which was of gold, and the arms and the arms of silver, and the feet of brass, but the legs and the feet of iron; after which thou sawest a stone broken off from a mountain, which fell upon the image, and threw it down, and brake it to pieces, and did not permit any part of it to remain whole; but the gold, the silver, the iron, and the brass, became smaller than meat, which, upon the blast of a violent wind, was by force carried away, and scattered abroad in the whole earth; and the stone grew and increased till it reached to the feet of the iron; and, in the end, the stone overset the image of the iron, and the iron was broken in pieces. And the stone was large, and round, and strong, and the iron was broken in pieces, and the stone took the kingdom, and became great; and the king awoke from his sleep; and the vision was explained. This is the dream which thou sawest, and its interpretation is as follows: The head of gold denotes thee, and the kings of Babylon that were before thee; the arms of silver denote the kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and the arms and the feet of brass denote the kingdom of Greece; the two hands and arms signify this, that your government shall be dissolved by two kings: another king that shall come from the west, armed with brass, shall destroy that government; and another government that shall be like iron shall put an end to the power of the former, and shall have dominion over all the earth, on account of the nature of iron, which is stronger than that of gold; of silver; and of brass. Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king," but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not those things that are future: ye may easily understand that the words of Daniel, if he will find among the sacred writings.

5. When Nebuchadnezzar heard this, and read the words of Havercamp, ch. v. sect. 4. "Now is this to be wondered at, that he would not now meddle with things future, for he had no mind to provoke the Romans, by speaking of the destruction of this city, which they called the eternal city."
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selected his dream, he was astonished at the
sight of Daniel; and fell upon his face, and re-
lated Daniel in the manner that men worship
God, and gave command that he should be sa-
crificed to as a god. And this was not all, for
he also imposed the name of his own god upon him.
[Daniel,] and made him a ruler of his whole kingdom; which kinsmen of
his happened to fall into great danger by the
enraged people [of their enemies]; for they
afforded the king upon the occasion following:
he offered them an image of gold, with sixty
cubits, and its breadth six cubits, and set it
in the great plain of Babylon; and when he
was going to dedicate the image, he invited the
principal men out of all the earth that was under
his dominion, in order to place, that when they should hear the sound of
the trumpet, they should then fall down and
worship the image; and he threatened that those
who would not; for as to that matter, I have already
mentioned. When, therefore, all the rest, upon the
hearing the sound of the trumpet, worshipped the
image, they related that Daniel’s kinsmen did not do it, because they would not transgress the
laws of their ships [of war], and commit to the fire
convicted and cast immediately into the fire, but
were saved by divine Providence, and after a
surprising manner escaped death. For the fire
did not touch them; and I suppose that it touched
nothing at all; and I think that they were cast into it without any fault of theirs,
and that therefore it was too weak to burn the
young men when they were in it. This was
owed to the power of God, who made their
lives, and made them strong, and gave to them,
not consume them. This it which recommended
them to the king as righteous men, and
men beloved of God, on which account they con-
descended in great esteem with him.

8. And now in his sleep, in a dream, he saw the Jews, and the Jews, in a sleep,
visions: how he should be slain from his
dominion, and foiled among the wild beasts,
and that when he had lived in this manner in the
desert for seven years, he should recover his
dominion again. When he had seen this dream, he
called the magicians together again, and in-
quired of them about it, and desired them to tell
him what it signified; but when none of them could
explain to him, he was overthrown and they came
to the king, Daniel was the only person
who explained it: and as he foretold, so it came to
to pass; for after he had continued in the wilder-
ess the forementioned interval of time, while
no one was able to explain the dream of the
king, he appeared to him in the likeness of a lion:
ring those seven years, he prayed to God that he
might recover his kingdom, and he returned to
it. But let no one blame me for writing down every
thing of this nature, as I find it in our an-
cient books; for as to that matter, I have already
assured those that desire to be defective in any

such point, or complain of my management, and
have told them at the beginning of this history,
that I intended to do no more than translate the
Hebrew books into the Greek language, and
promised them to explain those things, without
adding any thing to them of my own, or taking
any thing away from them.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Nebuchadnezzar and his Successors;
and how their Government was dissolved by the
Persians; and what things befell Daniel in
Media, and what Prophecies he delivered there.

§ 1. Now, when Nebuchadnezzar had reigned
forty-three years, he ended his life. He was an
active man, and made more formidable appearances
that were before him. Now Berosus makes
mention of his actions in the third book of his
Chaldaic history, where he says thus: * When
father, Nebuchadnezzar, [Nabopolassar,]
heard that the governor whom he had set over
Egypt, and the places about Cusoe and
Pheomia, had revolted from him, while he was
not himself able any longer to undergo the hard
test, he committed to Nebuchadnezzar, who was
yet but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent him against them.

So when Nebuchadnezzar had given battle, and fought with the rebel, he beat him, and reduced the
country from under his subjection, and made it a branch of his own kingdom; but about that
time it happened, that his father Nebuchadno-
vor [Nabopolassar] fell ill, and ended his life in
the city of Babylon, when he had reigned two
years and sixty days, and he was only sixteen
years old, as he was in a little time, that his father Ne-
buchadnezzar [Nabopolassar] was dead, and hav-
ing settled the affairs of Egypt, and the other
countries, as also those that concerned the capti-
nation, and medicine, and those of the Egyptian nations, and having com-
mitted the conveyance of them to Babylon to
certain of his friends, together with the gros-
se army, and the rest of their ammunition and
forces, he went himself hastily, accompanied
with a few others, over the desert, and came to
Babylon. So he took upon him the management
of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had
been kept for two years and sixty days, which had
belonged to the Chaldeans, and he received the entire
dominations of his father, and appointed, that
when the captives came, they should be placed
as colonies, in the most proper places of Baby-
on, and adorned the temple of Bel with them, and the rest of the temples, in a
magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in war. He also added another city to that which
was there of old, and rebuilt it, such as would
besiege it hereafter might no more turn the
course of the river, and thereby attack the city

markable, both in merited and profane authors, that men a
vacancy of eight years at the least, at the latter end of
his reign, must be allowed to agree very well with Daniel’s
accounts, that after a seven years’ brutal life he might re-
turn to his reason, and regain his former station of regal
authority, for one whole year at least before his death.

‘Those 43 years for the duration of the reign of Ne-
buchadnezzar are, I have shown, the very same number in Procopius’s casualty. Moses Chorenninza does
also confirm this captivity of the Jews under Nebuchad-
nezzar; and adds, what is very remarkable, that one of
those Jews that were carried by him into captivity got
away into Armenia, and raised the great family of the
Babylonians.

‘Those 21 years here referred to one named Nebu-
laezer in the first book against Apion, or to Nabopolassar,
the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, are also the very
same with those with which he is described before, that Dr. Prideaux says, at the year 619, that
Nebuchadnezzar must have been a common name of oth-
ors kings of Babylon, besides the great Nebuchadnezzar
himself, is a groundless mistake at some modern chronologers
only, and destitute of all proper original authority.
brought out of that temple. He also gave an account of the temple, its structure, and the priests who served there, and it was said to be the greatest temple in the world.

When the Magi arrived, they were received by the high priest, who showed them the temple and its treasures. The Magi were amazed by the grandeur and splendor of the temple, and they were impressed by the devotion of the priests who served there. The high priest told them of the history of the temple, from its construction to its current state.

The Magi were also amazed by the beauty of the temple, which was adorned with fine sculptures and paintings. They were told that the temple was the center of religious life in the city, and that it was the site of important religious ceremonies and festivals.

The high priest spoke of the importance of the temple in the life of the city, and of the dedication of the people who served there. He spoke of the devotion of the priests, and of the sacrifices they made in the temple.

The Magi were impressed by the devotion of the people, and they were moved by the beauty of the temple. They were grateful for the opportunity to see such a magnificent temple, and they were impressed by the devotion of those who served there.

When the Magi left the temple, they were moved by the beauty and majesty of the place. They were grateful for the opportunity to see such a magnificent temple, and they were impressed by the devotion of those who served there.

These days were among the happiest of the Magi's lives. They were grateful for the opportunity to see such a magnificent temple, and they were impressed by the devotion of those who served there.
not learnt to honour God, and not to admit things above human nature, by what punishment his progenitor had undergone, for the injuries he had offered to God; and because he had quite forgotten how Nebuchadnezzar was removed to feed among wild beasts, for his impieties, and did not recover his former life among men, and his kingdom, but upon God's mercy to him, after many supplications and prayers; who did thereupon offer a sacrifice, and his two sons, and his one daughter, as a signification of his acknowledgement of God's love to him, and God therefore saw this, and was angry with him, and declared by this writing beforehand, what was the sad conclusion of his life he should come to. And he explained the writing thus:—MAN. This, if it be expounded in the Greek language, signifies a Number, because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life, and for thy government, and that there remains but a small portion. THEN. This signifies a Weight, and means that he had numbered the food and drink in his presence, and found it going down already. PHARIS. This also, in the Greek tongue, denotes a Fragment; God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians.

4. When Daniel had obtained the knowledge of the writing upon the wall signified these events, Baltazar was in great sorrow and affliction, as was to be expected, when the interpretation was so heavy upon him. However, he did not refuse what he was commanded to do, and hastened to the great Cyrus, the king of Persia, who fought against him; for it was Baltazar under whom Babylonia was taken, when he had reigned seventeen years. And this is the end of the posterity of king Nebuchadnezzar, of whom the story is recorded in another place. Babylonia was taken by Darius, and when he, with his kinsman Cyrus, had put an end to the dominion of the Babyloniens, he was sixty-two years old. He was the son of Astyages, and had another name, named Darius. When he had taken Daniel the prophet, and carried him with him into Media, and honoured him very greatly, and kept him with him; for he was one of the three presidents whom he set over his three hundred and sixty provinces, for into so many did Darius part them.

5. However, while Daniel was in so great a dignity, and in so great favour with Darius, and was alone intrusted with every thing by him, as having somewhat divine in him, he received by the rest; for those that see others in greater honour than themselves with kings, envy them: and when those that were grieved at the great favour Daniel was in with Darius, sought for an occasion against him, he afforded them no occasion at all, for as he was above all the temptations of money, and despaired bribery, and esteemed it a very base thing to take any thing by way of reward, even when it might be justly given him, he despised all the world's goods, not fearing any censure for an accusation. So when they could find nothing for which they might calumniate him to the king; nothing that was shameful or remissful, and thereby deprive him of the honour he was in with him, they sought for some other method whereby they might destroy him. Wherefore they saw that Daniel prayed to God three times a day, that they not lie gotten an occasion by which they might ruin him; so they came to Darius, and told him that the princes and governors had thought proper to allow the multitude a relaxation for thirty days, that no one might offer a sacrifice or pray to himself, or to the gods, but that he who should transgress this decree should be cast into the den of lions, and there perish.

6. Whereupon the king, being not acquainted with their wicked designs, nor suspecting that it was a contrivance of theirs against Daniel, said, he was pleased with this decree of theirs, and he promised to confirm what they desired: he also published an edict to all the people, both great and small, that the princes having met with the occasion they so earnestly sought to find against Daniel, came presently to the king, and accused him, that Daniel was the only person that transgressed the decree; and the king commanded them to cast him into the den of lions; and the princes and governors prayed to the king that he would grant them a little time to reconsider of the matter. This discovery they made, not because of his impiety, but because they had watched him, and observed him out of envy: for supposing that Darius did thus out of a greater kindness to Daniel, and his kindness to them, he was ready to grant him a pardon for this contempt of his injunctions, and envying this very pardon to Daniel, they did not become very favourable to him, but desired he might be cast into the den of lions, not mean lions, but wild lions that God would deliver him, and that he would undergo nothing that was terrible by the wild beasts, but he would bear this accident cheerfully: and when he was cast into the den, he put his seal to the stone that lay upon the mouth of the den, and went his way; but he passed all the night without food, and without sleep, being in great distress for Daniel. But when it was day, he got up upon the bank of the den, and when he saw that the stone was entire, which he had left the stone sealed withal; he also opened the seal, and cried out, and called to Daniel, and asked him, if he were alive? And as soon as he heard the king's voice, he was comforted, and said the king that he had given order that he should be drawn up out of the den. Now when his enemies saw that Daniel had suffered nothing which was terrible, they would not own that he was preserved by God, and by his providence; but they said, that the lions had been filled full with food, and on that account it was, as they supposed, that the lions would not touch Daniel, nor come to him; and this they alleged to the king: but the king, out of compassion of their wickedness, gave a further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that they might learn that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the lions; and when they had filled themselves, he gave further order that Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den, that they might learn that they would not touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions departed none of them of the flesh of them, and the enemies were filled full, which would touch them or not. And it appeared plain to Darius, after the princes had been cast to the wild beasts, that it was God who preserved Daniel, for the lions departed none of them of the flesh of them, and the enemies were filled full, which would touch them or not. It was now very improbable that Daniel's enemies might suggest this reason to the king, why the lions did not meddle with him, and that they might suspect the king's kindness to Daniel had procured these lions to be so filled beforehand, and that hence it was that he encouraged his
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

That when it was broken off, four horns grew up
that were exposed to each of the four winds, and
he wrote that out of them arose another lesser
horn, which, as he said, waxed great; and that
God showed to him, that it should fight against
this man, and take their city by force, and
bring the temple-worship to confusion, and for
bid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand
two hundred and ninety-six days." Daniel wrote
that he saw these visions in the plain of Sues,
and informed, that God interpreted the
appearance of this vision after the following
manner: "He said that the ram signified the
kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the
horns those kings that were to reign in them;
and that in the land of Chaldaea, where it
appeared, he should exceed all the kings in riches
and glory; that the goat signified that one should
come and reign from the Greeks, who should
twice fight with the Persian, and overcome him
in battle, and should receive their loss of
territory; that by the great horn which sprung out of
the forehead of the he-goat was meant the first
king; and that the springing up of four horns upon its
temple, and the conversion of them to the four
borders of the earth, signified the successors that
should arise after the death of the first king, and
the partition of the kingdom among them, and that they
should be neither his enemies, nor his
companions; for God would reign over the
inhabitable earth for many years; and that
from among them there should arise a certain
king that should overcome our nation and their
laws, and should take away their political
government, and their laws, and all likeness to
to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also
wrote concerning the Roman government, and
that our country should be made desolate by
them.

All these things did this man leave in
writing, as God had revealed them to him, in
much, that such as read his prophecies, and see
how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at
the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel;
and may thence discover how the Epicureans are
in an error, who say that God is not a
ruler and a creator; which, were it destitute of a
guide to conduct it, as they imagine, it would be like
ships without pilots, which we see drowned by
the winds, or like chariots without drivers, which
are overturned, so would the world be dashed to
pieces by its being carried without a Providence,
and so perish, and come to nought. So that,
by the forementioned predictions of Daniel, those
men are convinced, to me very much more, that
true God, who determine, that God exercises no
providence over human affairs; for if that were the
case, that the world went on by mechanical necessity,
we should not see that all things would come to pass
as the very winds and the tempests; and this I
have so described these matters as I have
found them and read them; but if any one is in
clined to another opinion about them, let him
enjoy his different sentiments without any blame
from me.

What Josephus here says that the stones of the
sacredness of these men, that provoked them [to de
stroy the princes] for if it so please God, that
wickedness might, even by those irrational crea
tures, be esteemed a plain foundation for their
punishment.

7. And therefore, those that had intended
to destroy Daniel by treachery, were them
selves destroyed, king Darius sent letters over
all the country, and praised that God whom
Daniel worshipped; and said, that "he was the
chosen one of the Lord, and had all power.
" And he had also
Daniel in very great esteem, and made him the
principal of his friends. Now when Daniel was
become so illustrious and famous, on account of
the opinion men had that he was beloved of God,
he was the best judge of wisdom, and it was
most elegant building, and wonderfully made,
and it is still remaining, and preserved to this
day; and to such as see it, it appears to have
been lately built, and to have been no older than
our time itself; for buildings suffer the same as men do, they grow old as well as
they, and by numbers of years their strength is
diminishing, and their beauty withering away.

Now they bury the kings of Media, of Persia, and Parthia,
in this tower to this day; and he who was in
trusted with the care of it, was a Jewish priest;
which thing is a solid advantage to all children to
care for in church, but it is a fit point to give an account of what this man did,
which is most admirable to hear, for he was so
happy as to have strange revelations made to
him, and those as to one of the greatest of the
prophets, and of the greatest government, that while he
had the esteem and applause both of the kings
and of the multitude, and now he is dead, he re
tains a remembrance that will never fail, for the
several books that he wrote and left behind him as
a legacy to his children; for thus we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for
he did not only prophesy of future events, as did
the other prophets, but he also determined the
time of their accomplishment: and while pro
phets used to foretell a number of years, and
account were disagreeable both to the kings and
to the multitude, Daniel was to them a prophet
of good things, and this to such a degree, that,
by the agreeable nature of his predictions, he
proceeded to the accomplishment of all his
words. The accomplishment of them he procured the belief
of their truth, and the opinion of [a sort of] divinity for himself, among the multitude. He also wrote
several things that are not only to the
accuracy and undeniable veracity of his predic
tions; for he saith, that "when he was in Sues,
the metropolis of Persia, and went out into the
field with his companions, there was, on the
sudden, a motion and concussion of the earth
and that he was left alone by himself, his friends
flying away from him; and that he was disturbed,
and fell on his face, and on his two hands, and
that a certain person touched him, and, at the
same time, made him rise and see what would befall his countrymen after many generations.

He also related, that when he stood up, he was
shown a great ram, with many horns growing
out of his head, and that the last was higher
than the rest; that after that he looked at the west,
and saw a he-goat carried through the air from
that quarter, that he rushed upon the ram with
violence, and snote him twice with his horns,
and then threw him to the ground, and trampled
upon him: that after that very great horn
growing out of the head of the he-goat, and

* What Josephus here says that the stones of the
sacredness of the kings of Persia at this tower, or those perh
pse of the same sort that are now commonly called the
muses of Persia, continued so entire and unshattered in its
building that they were sitting out there. * I. T. says Re
land, that here seems to be true, as to those stones of the
Persian kings' mausoleum which Corn. Bruscus broke off
and gave me." He ascribed this to the hardness of the
stone, which scarcely yields to iron tools, and proves fre
quently too hard for cutting by the chisel, but sometimes
breaks it into pieces.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS—FROM THE FIRST OF CYRUS, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

CHAP. I.

Ehew Cyrus, King of the Persians, delivered the Jews out of Babylon, and suffered them to return to their own Country, and build their Temple, for which Work he gave them Money.

§ 1. In the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the seventieth from the day that our people were removed out of their own land into Babylon, God commiserated the captivity and calamities of the people, and sent through a prophet, called Jeremiah, to foretell their deliverance, and to encourage them to return to their own land. So God sent Cyrus the king, to prevent the calamity, and to comfort them. According to some relations, the king Nebuchadnezzar, having the Babylonians in subjection, and the Jews in captivity, sent to build Jerusalem, and to make the temple to be finished; and when it was finished, he might deliver them to the priests and rulers of the multitude, in order to their being restored to the temple. Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria, the contents whereof here follow:

"King Cyrus to Shmmeres and Sathrabuzanes, sendeth greeting:

"I have given leave, to as many of the Jews that dwell in my country as please, to return to their own country, and to rebuild their city, and to build the temple of God at Jerusalem, on the same place where it was before. I have also sent to my treasurer, and Zoroabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple, and may build it sixty cubits high, and of the same latitude, making three edifices of polished stones, and one of the wood of the country; and the same order extends to the altar, whereon they offer sacrifices to God. I require also, that the sacrifices for these things may be given out of my revenues. Moreover, I have also sent to Nebuchadnezzar, which king Nebuchadnezzar pillaged out of the temple, to give them to Mithridates, the treasurer, and to Zoroabel the governor of the Jews, that they may have them carried to Jerusalem, and may restore them to the temple. Now their number is as follows: sixty chargers of gold, and five hundred of silver; forty Thureican cups of gold, and five hundred of silver, fifty basons of gold, and five hundred of silver; thirty vessels for pouring (the drink-offerings), and three hundred of silver; thirty vials of gold, and two thousand four hundred of silver; with a thousand, other large vessels. I permit them to have the same honour which was used to be from their forefathers, as also for their small cattle, wine and oil, two hundred and five thousand and five hundred drachmae; and for wheat flour, twenty thousand and five hundred arats; and I give orders, that these expenses shall be given them out of the tributes due from Samaria. The priests shall also offer these sacrifices according to the laws of Moses in Jerusalem: and when they offer them, they shall pray for God the preservation of the king and his family, and the kingdom of Persia may continue. But my will is, that those who disobey these injunctions, and make them void, shall be hung upon a cross, and their substance brought into the king's treasury. And such was the import of this epistle. Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two."

* This Cyrus is called God's shepherd by Xenophon, as well as by Isaiah, Is. xlvii. 28, as also it is said of him by the same prophet, that "I will make men more precious than a man than the golden wedge of Ophir," Is. xliii. 12, which character makes Xenophon’s most excellent history of him very credible.

1 This leave to build Jerusalem, sect. 2. 2. and the epistle to Cyrus to Simmes and Sathrabuzanes, to the same purpose, were most unfortunately omitted in all our copies of Xenophon. But this is the more lamentable, and by far omission the famous prophecy of Isaiah, Is. xlvii. 28, where we are informed, that God said of Cyrus,
CHAPTER II.

How upon the Death of Cyrus, the Jews were hindered in building the Temple by the Cuthceans, and the neighbouring Governors: and how Cambyses entirely forbade the Jews to do any such thing.

§ 1. When the foundations of the temple were laying, and when the Jews were very zealous about it, the neighbouring nations, especially the Cuthceans, whom Shalmanezar, king of Assyria, had brought out of Persea and Media, and had plighted in Samaria, when he carried the people of Israel captive, because the governors that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by the Jews with money, they sold the Cuthceans their interest for rendering this building a slow and a careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Medes and Persians, and died. But when Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom, the governors in Syria, and Phœnecia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to Cambyses; wherein they would say that the work advanced very slow; Cambyses; we thy servants, Rathmus the historian, and Semelius the scribe, and the rest that are thy judges in Syria and Phœnecia, send greeting: It is fit, O king, that thou shouldst consider the works which were carried to Babylon, are come into our country, and are building that rebellious and wicked city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls, and raising the temple; but when these things are finished, they will not be willing to pay tribute, nor will they submit to thy commands, put will resist kings, and will choose rather to rule over others, than be ruled over themselves. We therefore thought it proper to write to thee, O king, while the works about the temple are going on so fast, and not to overlook this matter, that thou mayest search into the books of thy fathers, for thou wilt find in them, that the Jews have been their enemies; and when kings, as hath their city been also, which, for that reason, hath been till now laid waste. We thought proper also to inform thee of this matter, because other nations in the greatness of it, that if this city be once inhabited, and be entirely encompassed with walls, thou wilt be excluded from thy passage to Colos Syria and Phœnecia.

2. Now the Cambyses had read the epistle, being naturally wicked, he was irritated at what they told him; and wrote back to them as follows:—

Cambyses the king, to Rathmus the historian, and Semelius the scribe, and the rest that are in communion, and dwelling in Samaria and Phœnecia, after this manner: I have read the epistle that was sent from you; and I gave order that the books of my forefathers be searched into; and I have learned from thence, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its inhabitants have raised seditious and wars. We also are sensible that their kings have been powerful and tyrannical, and have had the tribute of Colos Syria and Phœnecia. Wherefore I give order that the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city, lest such mischief as they used to bring upon kings be greatly augmented. When this epistle was read, Rathmus, and Semelius the scribe, and their associates, got suddenly on horseback, and made haste to the Jerusalem; they also brought a great company with them, and forbade the Jews to build the city, and the temple. Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years, and more than nine years, and within that time overthrew Egypt, and when he was come back, he died at Damascus.

CHAPTER III.

How after the Death of Cambyses, and a Status of the Magi, but under the Reign of Darius, Zoroaster was superior to the rest in the Solution of Problems, and thereby obtained this Favour of the King, that the Temple should be built.

§ 1. After the slaughter of the Magi, who, upon the death of Cambyses, attained the government, they made war on those nations which were called the seven families of the Persians, appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. Now he, while he was a private man, had made a vow to God, that if he should come to the king, and should be a word spoken of God that were in Babylon to the temple at Jerusalem. Now it so fell out, that about this time Zoroaster, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to the king, and said: There was an old friendship between him and the king. He was also, with two others, thought worthy to be guards of the king's body; and obtained that honour which he honoured.

2. Now in the first year of the king's reign, Darius feasted those that were about him, and those born in his house, with the rulers of the Medes, and princes of the Persians, and the to-parchs of India and Ethiopia, and the generals of the armies of his hundred and twenty-seven provinces: but when they had eaten and drunk to satiety, and abundantly, they every one departed to go to bed at their own houses, and Darius also went to his; but Zoroaster, after he had eaten a little part of the night, he awoke, and not being able to sleep any more, he fell into conversation with the three guards of his body, and promised, that to him who should make an admirable discovery, that he should be put in Egypt, of such as should be most agreeable to truth, and to the dictates of wisdom, he would grant it as a reward of his victory, to put on a purple garment, and to ride a horse that was covered with a robe and to have a chariot with bridles of gold, and a head-tire of fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck, and to sit next himself on account of his wisdom; and, says he, he shall be called my cousin. Now when he had promised to give them these gifts, he asked the first of them, whether wine was not the strongest? The second, whether kings were not such? And the third, whether women were not such? Or, whether there was not the fire of the earth? When he had proposed that they should make their inquiries about these problems, he went to rest; but in the morning he sent for his great men, his princes, and to-parchs of Persia and Media, and to have himself down in the place where he used to give audience, and bade each of the of a war to avenge his father's death upon the Scythians and Massagetae, and to prevent those nations from overrunning his northern provinces, which would have been the natural consequence of his father's ill success and defeat of Cyrus. He therefore left the day of the dec-ary begun by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, page 94, and conquered that kingdom; nor is there, that I ever heard, any mention of an enmity or any war against the Scythians and Massagetae that he ever engaged in all his life.
guard by such a watch, and such as were it were fixed down to the place through for no one dares leave him, even when he is asleep, nor does any one go away and take care of his own affairs, but he esteems this one thing the only work of necessity, to guard the king, and according to this he wholly devotes himself. He can it be otherwise, but that it must appear that the king exceeds all in strength, while so great a multitude obeys his injunctions?"

3. Now when this man, filled with peace, the third of them, who was Zoroabel, began to instruct them about women, and about truth, who said thus: "Wine is strong, as is the king also, whom all men obey, but women are superior to it in power; for no one was able to bring the king into the world; and for those that plant the vines and make the wine, they are women who bear them, and bring them up; nor indeed is there any thing which we do not receive from them: for the women weave garments for us, and our household affairs are by their means to be taken care of, and preserved in safety; nor can we live separate from women. And when we have overcome the great deal of gold and silver, and any great amount of other things of great value, or regard, and see a beautiful woman, we leave all things, and with open mouth fix our eyes upon her countenance, and are willing to forsake what we have, that we may enjoy her beauty, and signs that procure it to us, and delight. We, women, and mother, and the earth that nourishes us, and frequently forget our dearest friends, for the sake of women: nay, we are so hardy as to lay down our life and strength, and even our children, when they make you take notice of the strength of women, is this that follows: Do not we take pains, and endure a great deal of trouble, and that both by land and sea, and when we have procured some great matter of our labours, we consult them to the women, as to our mistresses; and bestow them upon them? nay, I once saw the king, who is lord of so many people, smitten on the face by Apane, the daughter of Rabsassas Thesamus, his eunuch, and his diadem taken from him, and put upon her own head, while he bore it patiently; and when she smiled he smiled, and when she was angry he was sad; and according to the change of her passions, he flattered and censured his wife, and drew her by the ear, and angry she, by the great humiliation of himself to her, if at any time he saw her displeased at him."

4. And when the princes and rulers looked one upon another, he said to them, and he said, "I have already demonstrated how powerful women are; but both these women themselves, and the king himself, are weaker than truth; for although the earth be large, and the hearse high, and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous, for which cause we also ought to esteem truth to be stronger of all things, and that what is unrighteous is of no concern to us. Moreover, we know that we have any strength are mortal, and short-lived, but truth is a thing that is immortal, and eternal. It affords us not indeed such a beauty as will wither away by time, nor such riches as may be taken away by fortune, but righteous rules and

The reader is to note, that although the speeches or papers of these three of the king’s guards are much the same, in our third book of Esdras, chap. iii. and iv. as they are here in Josephus, yet that the introduction of them is entirely different, while in our Esdras the whole is related as the history of the end of the captivity, and of the return of the exiles; and even the mighty rewards are spoken of as proposed by themselves, and the speeches are related to have been spoken in the presence of the king, while all is contrary in Josephus. I need not say how amongst the most probable, the matters speak for themselves; there can be no doubt but Josephus’s history is here to be very much preferred before the other. Nor, indeed, does it seem to me at all unlikely, that the whole
the land of their forefathers to them again. So they betook themselves to drinking and eating, and for seven days they continued feasting, and kept a festival for the rebuilding and restoration of their country. After this they chose themselves, rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle, who travelled to Jerusalem with joy and pleasure, under the conduct of those whom Darius sent, and also with pipes, and drums, and cymbals. The rest of the Jewish multitude also besides accompanied them with rejoicing.

10. And thus did these men go, a certain and definite number, and others also who went up to Jerusalem. I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families, that I may not take off the mind of my readers from the connection of the historical facts, and make it hard for them to follow the coherence of my narration; but the sum of those that went up, above the age of twelve years, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, was four hundred sixty-two myriads and eight thousand; the Levites were seventy-four: they numbered in all, the multitude together was forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites one hundred and twenty-eight. There were also priests of the children of Aaron, sacred ministers three hundred and ninety-two; there were also others besides these, who said they were Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, six hundred and sixty-two. But Darius also kept account of the number of the priests, and of the number of the servants of the priests, and of the number of the men that were married, and of the number of the restored, and of the multitude that returned every one to their own countries.

CHAP. IV.
How the Temple was built, while the Cuthimans disapproved in vain to obstruct the Work.

§ 1. Now in the seventh month, after they were departed out of Babylon, both Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the son of Shealtiel, the son of Sallathiel, the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Joseshua the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers, who also contributed of the hundred pound of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means, therefore, the priests and the Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that were in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem, but the rest of the multitude returned every one to their own countries.
BOOK XI—CHAP. IV.

The appointed sacrifices upon it to God, according to the laws of Moses. But while they did this, they still retained all the outward ceremonies of the same; who all of them bare an ill-will to them. They also celebrated the feast of Tabernacles at that time, as the legislator had ordained concerning it, and the observance of the other sacrifices that were called the daily sacrifices, and the obligations proper for the Sabbaths, and for all the holy festivals. Those also that had made vows performed them, and offered their sacrifices, from the first day of the second month, which began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the workmen, and to the carpenters, and what was necessary for the maintenance of the workmen. The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar-trees from Lebanon, to bind them together, and to make a united float of them, and to bring them to the port of Joppa, for that was what Cyrus had commanded them at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius.

2. In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem, as the Jews were there in the second month, the building of the temple went on space; and when they had laid the foundation, on the first day of the second month of that second year, they set at overseers of the work, such Levites as were full twenty years old; and Joshua, and his sons and brethren, and Cneiel the brother of Azarel, and Johanan the son of Amahas, and the temple, by the great diligence of those that had the care of it, was finished sooner than any one would have expected. And when the temple was finished, the priests, adorned with their dress, and the Levites with their trumpets, while the Levites, and the sons of Asaph, stood and sang hymns to God, according as David first of all appointed them to bless God. Now the priests and Levites, and the elder part of the people, were there, and shouting, and rejoicing, and much greater and more sumptuous the old temple had been, seeing that now made, how much inferior it was, on account of their poverty, to that which had been built of old, considered with the comparison of that and the former temple, as if this were below their expectations; but the vaunting of the old men, and of the priests, on account of the deficiency of this temple, in their opinion, if compared with that which had been demolished, overcame the sounds of the trumpets and the rejoicings of the people.

3. But when the Samaritans, who were still enemies to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, heard that the Jews were building together, and desired to know what was occasion of this tumult? and when they perceived that it was from the Jews, who had been carried captive to Babylon, and were now made free to Zorobabel, and to Joshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them in building it, the Samaritans were afraid of God, and especially pray to him, and are desirous of your religious settlement, and this ever since Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria, transplanted us out of Cuthah and Media to this place. 

4. When the Samaritans heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they had indignation at it, and persuaded the nations of Syria and the chief of the princes to desire of the king of Babylon, that he would put an end to this work, as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterward, to put a stop to the building of the temple, and to endeavour to delay and protract the Jews in their zeal about it. Now at this time Siximess, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Saturbrauaenes, with certain others, came up to Jerusalem, and asked the rulers of the Jews, "By whose grant it was that they built the temple in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple? and for what reason it was that they built cloisters and walls, and those strong ones too, about the city!" To which Zorobabel and Joshua, the high priest, answered, that they were the servants of God Almighty: that this temple was built for him by a king of theirs that lived in great prosperity, and one that exceeded all men in virtue, and that it continued a long time, but that because of the sins of their fathers, God, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Babylonians, and of the Chaldeans, took their city by force, and destroyed it, and pillaged the temple, and burnt it down, and transplanted the people whom he had taken captive, and carried them to Babylon: that Cyrus, who after him was king of Babylonia and Persia, wrote to them to build the temple, and committed the gifts and vessels, and whatsoever Nebuchadnezzar had carried out of Jerusalem, to Zorobabel, in the name of God; and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple when it was built; for he had sent to them to have it done speedily, and commanded Sanahazar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations: and although it hath been in building from that time to this, and has been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies. If therefore you have a mind, and think it proper, write this account to Darius, that when he hath consulted the records of the kings, he may find that we have told you nothing that is false about this matter.

5. When Zorobabel and the high priest had made this answer, Siximess, and those that were with him, did not resolve to hinder the building, until they had informed king Darius of all this. So they immediately wrote to him about these affairs; but as the Jews were now under terror, and afraid lest the king should change his resolutions as to the building of Jerusalem and the temple, therefore the two prophets at that time among them, Haggai and Zechariah, who encouraged them, and bade them be of good cheer, and to suspect no discouragement from the Persians, for that the king had vowed this to them in dependence on those prophets, they applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.

6. Now Darius, when the Samaritans had written to him, and in their epistle had accused the Jews, how they fortified the temple, and built the temple more like to a citadel than a temple; and said, that their doings were not expedient for the king's affairs; and besides, they should save the temple of Cambyses, wherein he forbade them to build the temple; and when Darius thereby understood that the restoration of Jerusalem was not expedient for his affairs, and when he had
read the epistle that was brought him from Si- isines, and those that were with him, he gave order that what concerned these matters should be sought for among the royal records. Where- upon a search was made in the tower that was in Media, wherein was written as follows: "Cyrus the king, in the first year of his reign, com- manded that the temple should be built in Jerusa- lem; and the altar: in height three score cubits, and in breadth, the same, were to be made of polished stone, and one edifice of stone of their own country; and he ordained that the expenses of it should be paid out of the king's revenue. He also commanded that the vessels which Nebu- chanadrezzar had carried away, and had delivered in Babylon, should be restored to the temple, and had carried to Jersalem, and that the care of these things should belong to Semascus, the go- vernor and president of Syria and Phoenicia, and to the priests, that they might behold with that place, but may permit the servants of God, the Jews and their rulers, to build the temple. He also ordained that they should assist them in the work, and to hold a tithe of the produce of the tribute of the country where they were governors, on account of the sacrifices, bulls and rams, and lambs, and kids of the goats, and fine flour, and oil, and wine, and all other things that the priests purposed to bestow on the temple, and that they should pray for the preservation of the king, and of the Persians, and that for such as transgressed any of these orders thus sent to them, he com- manded that they should be caught and hung upon a javelin. And when the letter was delivered to the king's use. He also prayed to God against them, that if any one attempted to hinder the building of the temple, God would strike him down, and thereby restrain his wickedness." When the king had read the letter, he sent for Semascus, and the king's associates, whose contents were these: "King Darius to Semascus the governor, and to the priests and Levites, saluteth. Having heard the reading of this epistle and the records of Cyrus, I have sent it you; and I will that all things be done as is therein written. Fare ye well." So when Semascus, and those that were with him, understood the intendment of the king, they resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the samedrim, and the members of the temple was with diligence brought to a conclusion, by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, according to God's com- mands, and by the injunctions of Cyrus and Da- rius, the kings. Now the temple was built in seven years' time, and in the thirty year of the reign of Darius, on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, which is by us called Aadar, by the Macedonians Dystrus, the priests and Lev- ites, and the other multitude of the Israelites, offered sacrifices, as the renovation of the former prosperity after their captivity, and be- cause they had now the temple rebuilt, a hun- dred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve kids of the goats, according to the number of their tribes, (for so many are the tribes of the Israelites,) and this last for the sins of every tribe. The priests also and the Levites set the porters at every gate, according to the number of the gates. The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple, that were round about the temple itself.

8. And as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, in the first month, which, according to the Macedonians, is called Xanuthus, but ac- cording to us, Nisan, all the people ran together out of the villages to the city, and celebrated the festival, having purifed themselves, with their wives and children, according to the law of their country: and they offered the sacrifice which was called the Passover, on the fourteenth day of the same month, and feasted seven days, and spared for no cost, but offered whole burnt-offer- ings to God, and performed sacrifices of thank- givings for the deliverance out of the land of their fathers, and to the laws thereunto be- longing, and had rendered the mind of the king of Persia favourable to them. So these men offered the largest sacrifices on these accounts, and this was a magnificent and joyous occasion for the Jews, and dwell in Jersalem, and made use of a form of government that was aristocratical, but mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of their affairs, until the poste- rity of Darius was become of age: and in every de- cennlament, before they might engage in any government, for before their captivity, and the disso- lution of their polity, they at first had kingsy government from Saul and David, for five hun- dred and thirty-two years, six months, and ten days; but before those kings, and before princes, governors, and as Judges and MerchantsARTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

They were under the care and charge of a king, or president of Syria and Phoenicia, and in the time of Cyrus and Darius, and the Samarians, being evil and envi- ously disposed to the Jews, wrought them many mischiefs, by reliance on their riches, and by their pretence that they were allied to the Persians, on account that these were their friends; and, in such case, they were not to pay the Jews by the king's order out of their trib- utes, for the sacrifices, they would not pay it. They had also the governors favourable to them and assisting them for that purpose; nor did they persecute them, either by themselves, or by others, as far as they were able. So the Jews determined to send an embassage to king Darius, in favour of the people of Jersalem, and in order to ameliorate the Samaritans. The message was to Zorobabel, and for others of the rulers: and as soon as the king knew from the ambassadors the accusations and complaints they brought against the Samaritans, he gave them an epistle to be carried to the governors, the king, and council of Samar. The contents of which epistle were these: "King Darius to Tanganas and Sambhas, the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadrases and Bobelo, and the rest of their fel- low citizens, and their king, and Zeror, and Mordecai, ambassadors of the Jews, complain of you, that you obstruct them in the building of the temple, and do not supply them with the expenses which I commanded you to do for the offering their sacrifices. Moreover, therefore, is, that upon the reading of this epistle, you supply them with whatsoever they want for their sacrifices, and that out of the royal treas- ury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priests and Levites have said they may not leave offering their daily sacrifices, nor praying to God for me and the Persians." And these were the contents of that epistle.

CHAP. V.

How Xerxes, the Son of Darius, was well dispo- sed to the Jews: as also concerning Esdras and Nehemiah.

§ 1. Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom, who, as he inherited his fa- ther's kingdom, so did he inherit his piety to- wards God, and honour of him; for he did all things suitably to his father relating to divine worship, and he was exceedingly friendly to the Jews. Now about this time, a son of Jeshua, whose name was Josiach, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Jersalem a righteous
ness, and one that enjoyed a great reputation
among the multitude; he was the principal
priest of the people, and his name was Esdras. He
was very skilful in the law of Moses, and was
determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take
with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon,
and he desired that the king would give him an
epistle to the governors of Syria, by which they
might receive him with honor. Accordingly, he wrote
the following epistle to those governors:
"Xerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, and
reader of the divine law, greeting: I think it
acceptable to that love which I bear to mankind,
to command you to send thither such of the
captives, as are disposed, as well as those of the priests and
Levites that are in our kingdom, to go together to
Jerusalem. Accordingly, I have given command for that purpose; and let every one that hath a mind, go, according as it hath seemed good to me, and to my seven counsellors, and this in order to their review of the affairs of Juden, to see whether they be agreeable to the law of God. Let them also take away the law, which I and my friends have vowed, with all the vessels of silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonna,
ians, as dedicated to God, and let all this he carried to Jerusalem, to God for sacrifices. Let it be a testimony of the king's stiles to his subjects, to make as many vessels of silver and gold as thou pleasest. Thou shalt also dedicate those holy
vessels which have been given thee, and as many more as thou hast a mind to make, and shalt take them to the king, even this day. I have moreover written to the treasurers of Syria
and Phœnicia, that they take care of those affairs that Ezra the priest, and reader of the
laws of God, is sent about. And that God may not
be displeased with the king's officers, and me, I grant all that is necessary for sacrifices to God,
according to the law, as far as a hundred cori of
wheat. And I enjoin you not to lay any terrors
upon the country, nor to destroy the strange wives,
or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred
servants, or scribes of the temple. And do thou, O Ezra, appoint judges according to the
wisdom [given thee] of God, and those Jews that are in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if any one of the people transgress the law of God, or
that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing the law of God, and what is more,
that he knows it indeed, but boldly desises, and
tempts it; and such may be punished by death, or
by paying fines. Farewell." 1

2. When Esdras had received this epistle, he
was very joyful, and began to worship God, and
confessed that he had been the cause of the king's
great favour to him, and that for the same reason
he gave all the thanks to God. So he read the
epistle at Babylon to those Jews that were there,
but he kept the epistle itself, and sent a copy of
it to all those of his own nation that were in Medias.
And when these Jews had understood what
pleased the king towards God, and what kindness
he had done to them, they were pleased; and, many of them took their effects with
them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of
going down to Jerusalem, but then the entire
body of the people of Israel remained in that
country, and celebrated the Passover in their
church, yet not so agreeable to the mercy of God to remit even to these the
punishment due to them." 2

3. After Esdras had said this, he left off prays
and when all those that came from their
wives and children were under lamentation,
one whose name was Jechonias, a principal man
in Jerusalem, came to him, and said, that they
had sinned in marrying strange wives; and he

1. Dr. Horsley takes notice here, that this kind of brass or copper or rather mixture of gold and brass or copper,
was called auri-chalcum, and that this was of old esteemed, the most precious of all metals.

2. Three days, and ordained a fast for them, that they might make prayers to God for their preservation, that they might suffer no misfortunes by the way, either from their enemies, or from God himself; and whereas Esdras had said beforehand, that he had told the king how God would preserve them, and so he had not thought fit to request that he would send horsemen to conduct them. So when they had finished their fast, he delivered the epistle, and sealed it
with seven seals, and delivered it to the priest Ezra, the twelfth day of the first month of the seventh
year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year. Now Esdras presented the sacred money to the king, and the money of the two tribes, the number of silver six hundred and fifty talents, vessels of
silver one hundred talents, vessels of gold twenty
talents, vessels of brass, that was more precious than gold, twelve talents by weight, for these presents had been made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that stayed at Babylon. So when Esdras had delivered these things to the priests, he gave to God, as the appointed sacrifices twelve bullocks of the first
creation of the people, ninety rams, and seventy
two lambs, twelve kids of the goats, for the
remonstration of sins. He also delivered the king's
gifts, the sum of a thousand talents, and the
honours of Colosera and Phœnicia; and as they were under necessity of doing what was enjoined
by him, they honoured our nation, and were assistant to them in all their necessities.

3. Now the king of Persia, under the conduct of Esdras, and he succeeded in them, because God esteemed him worthy of the success of his conduct, on account of his goodness and righteousness. But some time afterward there came some complaining against certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites, who had transgressed their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their priests and Levites, or Levites, or sacred singers, or porters, or sacred servants, or scribes of the temple. And so do thou, O Ezra, appoint judges according to the wisdom [given thee] of God, and those Jews that are in all Syria and Phœnicia; and do thou instruct those also who are ignorant of it, that if any one of the people transgress the law of God, or
that of the king, he may be punished, as not transgressing the law of God, and what is more,
that he knows it indeed, but boldly desises, and
tempts it; and such may be punished by death, or
by paying fines. Farewell." 2
proceeded him to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them, and that those should be put away, and the parents would need to observe the law. So Ezra was hearkened to this advice, and made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jehohanan. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johnnua, the son of Eliasib, and as he had hitherto tasted nothing at all for grief, so he abode there that day and the night following. And then he went by the way of Shiloh, that all those of the captivity should gather themselves together to Jerusalem, and those that did not meet there in two or three days should be banished from the multitude, and that their names should be approposited to the uses of the temple, according to the sentence of the elders, those that were of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin came together in three days, viz. on the twelfth day of the month, which, according to the Hebrews, is called Tebeth, and according to the Macedonians, Apelleus. Now, as they were sitting in the upper room of the temple, where the elders also were present, but were not entered into the temple, Ezra stood up, and accused them, and told them that they had sinned in marrying wives that were not of their own nation; but that now they would do a thing both pleasing to God, and advantageous to themselves, and put those wives away. Accordingly they all cried out, that they would do so. That, however, the multitude was great, and that the season of the year was winter, and that this would require more than one day, or two days, "Let their rulers, therefore, [said they], and those that have married strange wives, come hither at a proper time, while the elders of every place, that are in common to estimate the nation, be here to judge them, and they may be there also." Accordingly, this was resolved on by them, and they began the inquiry after those that had married strange wives on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, and found a great many of the posterity of Joshua the high priest, and of the priests, and of Levites, and Israelites, who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affections; and they were present both of their wives, and the children which were born of them. And in order to appease God, they offered sacrifices, and slew rams, as obligations to him; but it does not seem that they really believed that they were under any more obligations to God than to their wives and children. So when Ezra had reformed this sin about the marriages of the forementioned persons, he reduced that practice to purity, so that it continued in that state for the time to come.

5. Now when they kept the feast of tabernacles in the seventh month, and almost all the people were come together to it, they went up to the open part of the temple, to the gate which looked eastward, and desired of Ezra that the law of Moses should be read in the gates, and the counsel of God, and the teaching of the law and the precepts of God, and the judgements of the priests and Levites, and the decisions of the prophets, and the teaching of the law; and also the laws that were given by the hand of Moses, and the commandments, and the testimonies of God, and all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, and the words of the law, and the testimonies, and the commandments, and the judgements, and the statutes and the ordinances of Moses, and of the judges, and of the priests the Levites which were the priests of the Lord. And when Ezra had made an end of reading, they that understood praised the word of God; and they that understood it gave glory to the Lord. And Ezra bless ed the Lord, the God of heaven. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen. And all the people were assembled in the streets of Jerusalem, and they made music with cymbals, with harps, and with trumpets. And when they had made an end of praying, the king and all Israel sat down to eat and drink, and to cause their brethren which stood by them to do so. And when they had made an end of eating and drinking, they cursed the enemies of Israel, and they made a covenant to walk in the law of God, which was given by Moses, and to observe and to do it, and they took the oath. And Ezra read from morning until evening; and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the law of the Lord. And Ezra the scribe stood on his foot to read, and all the people had standing by him, and they stood, and the children, and the women, and the senators, and all that could hear with understanding, came to hear the words of this book. And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; (for he was above all the people) and when he had made an end of reading, they answered, Amen, Amen. And they worshipped the Lord with their voice, with his voice, with their voice, with their voice, with their voice. And Nehemiah, and Mordecai, and the rest of the Jews, had light and gladness, and joy and honour. And when they came to Jerusalem, and were assembled in the street of that city, they made all men glad. And it came to pass, when all the people saw the happy ending of this thing, they gave praise and thanksgiving unto God, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem made a feast. And when all the people were gathered together in the street of that city, they made all men glad. And it came to pass, when all the people saw the happy ending of this thing, they gave praise and thanksgiving unto God, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem made a feast. And when all the people were gathered together in the street of that city, they made all men glad. And it came to pass, when all the people saw the happy ending of this thing, they gave praise and thanksgiving unto God, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem made a feast.
wells of Jerusalem, the city where are the sepulchres of my fathers, are thrown down to the ground, and that its gates are consumed by fire; but do thou grant me the favour to go and build its walls, and to finish the building of the temple." Accordingly, the king gave him the signet, that he should go; gave him his commission, and told him that he should carry an epistle to the governor, that they might pay him due honour, and afford him whatsoever assistance he wanted, and as he pleased. It is the same sort of work, and king and be cheerful in the performance of thy office hereafter." So Nehemiah worshipped God; and gave the king thanks for his promise, and cleared up his sad and cloudy countenance, by the assurance he obtained from the king. Accordingly, the king called for him the next day, and gave him an epistle to be carried to Aeadus, the governor of Syria, and Phcenicia, and Samaria; wherein he sent him to pay due honour to Nehemiah, and to supply him with what he wanted for his building.

7. Now when he was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily came forth from Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes: and when he had shown the epistles to God, he gave them to Aeadus, and to the other governors. He also called together all the people to gather in the marketplace of the temple, and made the following speech to them:

"You know, O Jews, that God hath kept our fathers Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in mind continually, and for the sake of their righteousness. And also, to the multitude of them, he hath assisted me in gaining this authority of the king to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple. I desire you, therefore, who well know the ill-will our neighbouring nations have against us, according to the manner they are made sensible of that we are in earnest about building, they will come upon us, and contrive many ways of obstructing our works, that you may, in the first place, put your trust in God, as in him that will assist us against their hatred, and to intermit building neither night nor day, but to use all diligence, and to hasten on the work; now we have this especial opportunity for it." When he had ended this, he said, that the rulers should measure the wall, and part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one's abilities should require. And when he had added this promise, that he himself would give them the city, watchman by watchman, dissolved the assembly. So the Jews prepared for the work: that is the name they are called by from the day they came up from Babylon, which is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places, and thence both they and the country gained that appellation.

8. But now when the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria, heard that the building was going on, they took it heinously, and proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and some few of the prophets also for their service, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. They also put the Jews in fear, and disturbed them, and spread abroad rumour, as if many nations were ready to make an expedition against them, by which means they were harassed, and had almost left off the building; but none of these things could deter Nehemiah from being diligent about the work; he only set a number of men of his acquaintance in all the body, and so unweariedly persevered therein, and was insensible of any trouble, out of his desire to perfect this work. And thus did he at great cost and incumbrance, with continual fear of his own safety, not that he feared death, but out of this persuasion, that if he were dead, the walls for his citizens would never be raised. He also gave orders, that the builders should keep their persons and their workmen, and that the work should be continued night and day. Accordingly, the mason had his sword on, as well as he that brought the materials for building. He also appointed that their shields should lie very near them; and he placed trumpet-pieces at every five hundred feet, and charged them, that if their enemies appeared, they should give notice of it to the people, that they might fight in their armour, and their enemies might not fall upon them naked. He also went about the completion of the walls by night, being never discouraged, neither about the work itself, nor about his own diet and sleep, for he made no use of those things for his pleasure, but out of necessity. In the course of seven years and four months, for so long time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month. Now when the walls were finished, Nehemiah and the people offered sacrifice to God for the building of them, and they continued in fasting eight days. However, when the nations which dwelt in Syria heard that the building of the wall was finished, they had indignation at it: but when Nehemiah saw that the city was in the power of the Levites, he exhorted the priests and the Levites, that they would leave the country, remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expense; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithe of their fruits to Jerusalem, that the priests and Levites having whereof they might live perpetually, might not leave the divine worship; who willingly hearkened to the constitutions of Nehemiah, by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things, he died in the eighty and first year of his age, in a glorious manner, he came to a great age, and then died. He was a man of a good and righteous disposition, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy: and he had left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument for himself. Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Esnaer, and Mardocr, and Haman, and how, in the Reign of Artaxerxes, the whole Nation of the Jews was in Danger of Perishing.

1. After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be divided among his sons, and the Greeks called Artaxerxes. When this man had obtained the government over the Persians, in building; and that they were finished in the 24th of Xerxes, sect. 7, 8. It may also be remarked further, that Josephus hardly ever mentions more than one invariable astronomical character, I mean an eclipse of the sun, and that this latter event took place on the death of Herod the Great, Antiq. B. xviii. ch. vi. sect. 4. Now on these two chronological characters in a great measure depend some of the most important parts of the life of Christ, viz., the great prophecy of Daniel's 70 weeks, and the duration of our Saviour's ministry, and the time of his death, in correspond to these. See the Supplement to the 1st Accomp. of Prop. p. 76.
the whole nation of the Jews,* with their wives and children, were in danger of perishing: the occasion whereof we shall declare in a little time, for it is proper, in the first place, to explain something relating to this king, and how he came to marry a Jewish wife, who was herself of the royal family also, and who is related to have saved our nation; for when Artaxerxes had taken the kingdom, and had set governors over all the hundred proumian, from Indin even unto Ethiopia, in the third year of his reign, he made a costly feast for his friends, and for the nations of Persia, and for the hundred proumian, as well as for the non-proumian, to make a king to make, when he had a mind to make a public demonstration of his riches, and this for a hundred and fourscore days, after which he made a feast for other nations, and for their ambassadors at Susaian, for seven days. Now this feast was ordered after the manner following: he caused a tent to be pitched, which was supported by pillars of gold and silver, with curtains of purple and purple spread over them, that it might afford room for many ten thousand to sit down. The cups with which the waiters ministered were of gold, and adorned with precious stones, for pleasure and for sight. He also gave orders that they should not forbear to drink, by bringing them wine contumeliously, as is the practice of the Persians, but to permit every one of the guests to enjoy himself according to his own inclination. Moreover, he set a law that no one should break the clothes of others, and that they should have a remission of their labours, and should keep a festival many days, on account of his kingdom. In like manner did Vashti, the queen, gather her guests together, and made them a feast in the palace. Now the king was desirous to show her, who exceeded all other women in beauty, to those that feasted with him, and he sent some to command her to come and sit down in his lap. But she, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king; and though he oftentimes sent the eunuchs to her, she did nevertheless stay away, and refused to come. Now the king was very much offended, and called those seven who had the interpretation of the laws committed to them, and accused his wife, saying that he had been afflicted by her, because that when she was frequently called to him, and feasted with him, she did not obey him. He therefore gave order that they should inform him what could be done by the law against her. So they said in whose name were, that "this affront was offered not to him alone, but to all the Persians, who were in danger of leading their lives very ill with their wives, if they must be thus despaired by them; for that none of their wives would have any reverence for their husbands, if they had such an example of arrogance in the queen towards thee, who rules over all. Accordingly, he exhibited to punish her, who had been guilty of so great an affront to him, after a severe manner; and when he had so done, to publish to the nations what had been decreed about the queen. So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another person, who should do what he desired to do. But when his friends saw him so uneasy, they advised him to cast the memory of his wife, and his love for her, out of his mind, but to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should like best for a wife, because his passion for his former wife would be quenched by the introduction of another. The king accordingly made a public proclamation to all the nations of Persia, and of the hundred proumian, and of all other nations, to send virgins married to the king, who were most comely. So when a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon, whose parents were both dead, and she was brought up with her elder sister, and was in all respect, and was no other than Esther. This uncle was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was one of the principal persons among the Jews. Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was Esther, was the most beautiful of all the rest, and that the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her: so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take the care of her; and she was very exposed to the violence of the eunuchs, who are so great and so cruel, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed with: and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were number four hundred. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, he ordered them to go on, as was now fit to go to the king's bed, she sent one to be with the king every day. When he had accompa-

* Since some sceptical persons are willing to discard this book of Esther as no true history; and even our learned and judicious Dr. Wetstein in his late posthumous critical notes upon all the other Hebrew books of the Old Testament, gives us none upon the Canticles or upon Esther, and has so far as he gave us, written upon this book, as he gives upon the Canticles, as indefensible; I shall venture to say, that almost all the objections against this book of Esther are gone at once, if we sufficiently own to do, and as Dean Prideaux has justly done, we place this history under the Canticles Longinmarmi, as do both the Septuagint Interpreters and Josephus. The learned Dr. Low, in his posthumous notes in the and Philostratus, says, that the truth of this history is demonstrated by the feast of Purim, kept up from that time to this very day, and by the grand proclamation of the king in favour of a captive people, thereby constantly commemorated, standeth even upon a firmer basis than that there ever was in any other book in the gospels and all the other sacred histories of the world, in which there is no such grand and solemn ceremony as at this day to be found anywhere. Nor will they, I dare say, compare in this, or in any other of the sacred histories, find it a very easy matter to reconcile the different accounts which were given by historians of the affairs of this king, or to confirm any one fact of his whatsoever, with the same evidence which is here given for the principal fact above mentioned. See note at Esther 2:20. See also at Esther 5:1. See also above at Esther 5:1. See also at Esther 4:11. See also at Esther 4:12.

1 If the Chaldean paraphrase be in the right, that Artaxerxes intended to show Vashti to his guests, it is as uncertain as the existence of such a person, of whom so great things are related, but upon granting this book of Esther, or Esther, we may very well see the book of Esther, as it is placed in some of the most ancient copies of the same, and we have a very most true and certain testimony of its existence: but still, if it were not in the book of Esther, it is no way so indecent, as the Persian law, which bore no manner of reverence to the laws of modesty. And that the king had such severe laws seems not improbable, for otherwise the principal of these laws would not have so much danger to the queen, nor surpassed her beauty, so far as decency permits, to be brought before the king, and of the many princes of whom which the Jewish or any nation ever had, we must not be further solicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce Vashti, and marry Esther.
money very willingly, that the kingdom might be freed from such a misfortune.

6. When Haman had made this petition, the king both forgave him the money, and granted him the men to do what he would with them. So Haman, having gained what he desired, sent out immediately a decree, as from the king, to all nations, the contents whereof were these:—

"Ar-"baces, the great king, to the rulers and the governors, and the captains and the governors of the provinces, from Egypt even to Ethiopia, sends this writing: Whereas I have governed many nations, and obtained the dominion of all the habitable earth, according to the will of my desire, and therefore have not been afraid to do any thing that is insolent or cruel to my subjects by such my power, but have showed myself mild and gentle, by taking care of their peace and good order, and have sought how they might enjoy those blessings for all time to come. And whereas I have been kindly informed by Haran, who, on account of his prudence and justice, is the first in my esteem, and in dignity, and second to no man, for his fidelity and constant good-will to me, that there is an ill-natured nation intermixed with all mankind, that is averse to our laws, and not subject to kings, and of a different conduct of life from others, that with open face and of a designing spirit are pernicious to our affairs, I give order that these men, of whom Haran our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children, and that none of them be spared, and that this be done before the coming of the decree to this decree. And this I will be executed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth month of this present year, that so when all that have any part in us are destroyed, and this in one day, we may be allowed to bend the rest of our lives under our dominion.

Now when Mordecai, the son of Ammata, by birth an Amaelekite, that used to go in to the king; and the foreigners and Persians worshipped him, as Artaxerxes had commanded that such honour should be paid to him; but Mordecai despised the princes of the country's laws, that he would not worship the man. When Haman observed this, he inquired whence he came? and when he understood that he was a Jew, he had indignation at him, and said to the king, that he was free, worshipped him, this man, who was no better than a slave, does not vouchsafe to do so. And when he desired to punish Mordecai, he thought it too small a thing to requite the man who had brought reproach to his name; he rather determined to abolish the whole nation, for he was naturally an enemy to the Jews, because the nation of the Amaelekites, of which he was a prince, had carried away into captivity the people of the Jews, and secondly, he came to the king, and accused them, saying, "There is a certain wicked nation, and it is dispersed over all the habitable earth that is under thy dominion; a nation separate from others, insubordinate, neither admitting the same sort of divine worship that others do, nor using laws like to the laws of others: at enmity with thy people, and with all men, both in their manners and practices. Now, if thou wilt be a benefactor to thy country, thou shouldest exterminate them utterly, and not leave the least remains of them, nor preserve any of them either for slaves or for captives." But that the king might not be displeased by the less of the tributes which the Jews paid him, Haman promised to give him out of his own estate forty thousand talents whenever he pleased; and he said, he would pay this

* Herodotus says, that this law [against any one's coming uncalled to the kings of Persia when they were sitting on their thrones] was first enacted by Drioeas [i.e. by him who was companion to Alexander the Great] and was afterwards amended by Amyrites, and himself first reigning over them. Thus, dice, says Suidas, stood guards, with their axes, about the thrones, and no man was allowed to enter them, unless by the offender might be thereby punished immediately.

† Whether this edict required of Mordecai to his
the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him a copy of what was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther, and charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an humble habit, for the safety of her nation, where- in she might deprecate the ruin of the Jews, who were lauded in it; for that he, who was to the dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she sent to Mordecai again, and told him that she had been notified by the angel of his having gone into him without being called, is to be slain, unless, when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being asked, if that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he bade him tell her that she must not refuse to make her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to them from God some other way, but she and her maid would be deceived by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a congregation, and to fast two days from all sorts of food; and on the third day to come to the king; for that it was not the custom, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.

8. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought God, together with them, "not to overlook his nation, particularly at that time, when it was about to be destroyed by that person so far from being had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that destruction which was denounced against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because (said he) I did not worship him, nor could I endure to pay the tax which he paid to thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger he contended this present mischief against those that have not transgressed thy laws." The same supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would have mercy on their deliverance, and not free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days; and as she entreated (to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her words and beauty she might succeed, for the anger of his majesty's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also, that he would excite a hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and that the hand of Haman might be contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contemned by him.

9. When Esther had used this supplication for the sake of those that were in that position, she took off those garments, changed her habit, and adorned herself as she should have done to a queen, and took two of her handmaids with her, the one of which supported her, as she gently leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large train (which swept along the ground), and the extremity of her hair, and thus she came to the king, having a blushing redness in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come into the inner room of his palace, and he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones which made him seem to her more terrible, especially when he looked at her somewhat severe. When she had done speaking of his Majesty, and was about to touch the golden sceptre, he, not being able to bear the sight of her, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a swoon; but the king changed his mind, which happened, as I suppose, by the will of God. But her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and he leaped from his throne and took her in :arms, and recovered her, by embracing her, and speaking good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was said on account of her coming to him with out being called, because that law was made for subjects, but that she, who was a queen, as well as his wife, might have come in. And it was said that he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had recovered herself by these encouraging promises, she was so much affected by what had happened on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and terrible, my spirit departed from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with a very low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to expect better fortune, since he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant her what she asked. And Esthér desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, so they were drinking, he bade Esther to "tell him what she desired: for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom." But she put off the discovery of her petitions till the same evening, together with Haman, to her banquet.

10. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he alone had the honour of supping with the king at Esther's banquet, and free the Israelites of the same honour with kings but himself; yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he paid him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed, not only from the king, but from the queen also, for as he alone had that day been called in to the banquet, together with the king, so was he also invited again for the next day; but, he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew is the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him to give order that a gallows should be made for Mordecai the Jew, and that he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew what the event would be, was delighted at it. For that night he took away the king's sleep; and so the king was not in his usual disposition when he rose up, but to spend it in something that
might be of advantage to his kingdom, he commanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of the former kings, and the records of his own actions; and when he had brought them and was reading them, one was found to have received a certain account of his excellent management on a certain occasion, and the name of the scribe was written down; another was found to have had a present made him on account of his fidelity: thus the scribe came to Bigthan and Teresh, the two sons of Grandav, and said, "Thus saith the king, which Mordecai had discovered, and when the scribe said no more but that, and was going on to another history, the king stopped him, and inquired, "Whether it was not added thereto that the king had been given unto the scribe, who said there was no such addition, he bade him leave off, and he inquired of those that were appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night it was! and when he was informed that it was already day, he gave order, that if they found any of his friends already come, and standing before the court, they should tell him. Now it happened that Haman was found there, for he was come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to have Mordecai be hanged, and the scribes and false witnesses said, that Haman was before the court, he bade them call him in; and when he was come in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my master, I am thy servant." Then Mordecai asked him how he may honour one that I greatly love, and that after a manner suitable to my magnificence."

Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what opinion he should give would be for himself, satisfaction in his heart, and for the king: so he gave that advice which he thought of all others the best; for he said, "If thou wouldst truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou dost love, give order that he may ride on horseback before thee gloriously, and in the next door, and with a gold chain about his neck, and let one of thy intimate friends go before him, and proclaim through the whole city, that whatsoever the king honoureth, obtaineth this mark of his honour."

This was the advice which Haman gave, out of a supposition that such a reward would come to himself. Hereupon the king was pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou, therefore, and do as thou hast said to the king and the scribes and false witnesses, and put him there, and call upon me."

However, he went out, and led the horse, and took the purple garment, and the golden chain for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the court, clothed in sable, he bade him put that garment off, and put the purple garment on: but Mordecai gave no consent, he said, "I do not know what thou sayest, unless it be that thou wilt make me the king's servant, and the king's minister, and the king's friend."

Thus the king discovered that he was a good man, and that he was worthy of the highest degree of honour, and that he was a true friend of the king. He therefore gave him a sword, and appointed him a minister, and a place of honour in the court. He also gave him a gold ring, and said, "Thus wilt thou have the best of all the power of the king, and the best of all the authority of the king."

11. Now while these men were thus talking one to another, Esther's eunuch hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eunuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallows that was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one of his servants, for what purpose they had prepared it? So he was made to know, that it was for the king's uncle, because Haman was about to petition the king that he might be punished, but at present he held his peace. Now when the king, with Haman, were all set, he called the queen to tell him what gift he desired to obtain, and assured her that she should have whatsoever she had a mind to. She then lamented the anger her people were in; and said, that "She and her nation were given unto Esther, that she should ask of the king, that he should not destroy them, as she had been accustomed to do;" and that she, on that account, made this her petition; that she would not have troubled him if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction. And when the king inquired of her who was the author of this misery to them? she then openly accused Haman, and convicted him, that he had seen the wickedness of the Jews; and Haman was afraid to forgive them, as he had offended, for he perceived that he was in a very bad case. And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in, and being still more provokes at her to say, "O thou wretch, (said he) thou vilest of all mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And when Haman was astonished at this, and not able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas the eunuch came in and took him, and accused him before the king, saying, "He found a gallows at his house prepared for Mordecai, for that the servant told him so much upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call him to supper; he said afterwards, 'That the gallows was fifty cubits high.' Which when the king heard, he determined that Haman should be punished after no other manner than that which had been devised by him against Mordecai: so he gave order, that he should be hanged upon that gallows, and be put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the wicked, but in giving them punishment which he should undergo the very same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also, because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that what mischief any one prepares against another, he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately abused the honour he had from the king, was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she was akin to him,) and gave that ring to Mordecai, which he had before given to Haman. Then the queen also gave to Mordecai a robe of purple, and prayed the king to deliver the nation of the Jews from the fear of death, and showed him what had been written over all the country by Haman the son of Ammedes. For he that was granted a king's favour, and was powerful in his country was the king's friend, and his countrymen were to perish, she could not bear to live herself any longer. So the king promised her, that he would not do any thing that should be disagreeable to her, nor contradict what she pleased, but he bade her write what she pleased about the Jews, in the king's name, and seal it with his seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that those who read epistles whose authority is secured by having the king's seal to them, would now contradictory what was written therein. So
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

He commanded the king's scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews' behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty and seven provinces, from hence to the utmost parts of his empire, and declare to them the contents of this epistle were these: "The great king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting: Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefactions which have been bestowed on them, and because of the great honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been the means of their rise, and so they take away the gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abundance they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they shall lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and the magnitude of their own, or against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusations and accusations; nor is this kind of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to your orders or to such as are your friends. This hath befallen the case of Haman, the son of Ammavath, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we showed him, and so great esteem was to be called my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor his and the magnitude of his prosperity with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my chief and my favour, and by base and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transferred the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies: and when the king had told Esther the number of those that were slain in that city, and since I perceived that some of your subjects in the provinces, he asked her, whether she would have any thing further done against them for that it should be done accordingly: upon which she desired that the Jews might be permitted to treat their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; and also that they might hang the ten sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews so to do, and Thrown gathered themselves together again on the fourth day of the month Dystrus, and slew about three hundred of their enemies, but touched perpetuated a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. that knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, he provided another for the king, which was Ahasuerus, the son of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. v. 7, 34, 35, while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, he gave them up to death. He knew he could not be said to be tributary to the king that could not have preserved his life and his household, he not only obtained the decree for the Jews, but also that for his own people, which might perhaps have himself signed this decree for the Jews' slaughter, instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by just these irrecoverable."

[Some words give an indication of if Artaxerxes was threatened such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly proclain the contents of this epistle to all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them: that at the same season whereof their miserable estate did belong, they may be delivered from the same, and destroy the violence, the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is Adar, for God hath made that day a day of salvation instead of a day of destruction to them; and may it be a good day to the children of the punishment of the conspirators against us: I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is comitted in this epistle, shall be destroyed by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their enemies."
nothing of what riches they had. Now there was slain by the Jews that were in the country, the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept it as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Samaria gathered themselves together, and feasted on the fourteenth day, for that which followed it; whence it is, that even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days, and send portions to one another. Moreover they also wrote to those Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days, and celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, and that it might never fail in oblivion. For so they were about to be destroyed on these days by Haman, they would do a right thing, upon escaping the danger in them, and on them inflicting punishments on their enemies, to observe those days, and give thanks to God on them: for which cause the Jews still keep the forementioned days, and call them days of Phurim or Purim.\footnote{Concerning this other Artaxerxes, called Mænas, and the Persian affliction and captivity of the Jews under him, occasioned by the murder of the high priest's brother, see Josephus, Antiquities, lib. xiv. c. 4. 49. And if any wonder why Josephus wholly omits the rest of the king of Persia after Artaxerxes Mænas, till he comes to the last king Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great, I shall give them Vossius's and Dr. Hudson's answer, though in my own words, viz. that Josephus did not, till in omitting those kings of Persia with whom the Jews had no concern, because he was giving the history of the Jews, and not of the Persians [which is a sufficient reason also why he entirely omitted the history of Darius, and the Persian wars, as not particularly relating to that nation.] He justly therefore returns to the Jewish affairs after the death of Longinianus, without any mention of the last king of Darius.} And Mordecai became a great and illustrious king, and accepted him in the government of the people. He lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.\footnote{As to this whole book of Esther in the present Hebrew copy, it is so very imperfect, in a case where the providence of God was so very remarkable, and the Septuagint and Syriac versions and the Targum of Jonathan, that it be not so much as the name of God once in it; and it is hard to say any man who made that epitome which the Massoretes have given us for the Old Testament, who was well versed in the儒学 of the prophets, and well acquainted with the authors of it, whose education obliged them to have a constant regard to God, and whatsoever related to his worship; nor do we know that there ever was so imperfect a copy of it in the world till after the days of Barbecho, in the second century.}

CHAP. VII.


1. When Eliasbath the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son Jesus took the dignity: on whose account it was also called in that change. Artaxerxes's army polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a friend of Bagosse, who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus provoked his brother, that in his anger his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horridly was it thought a thing done neither by the Greeks nor barbarians. However, God did not neglect its punishment, but the people were on that very account enslaved, and the temple was polluted by the Persians. Now when Bagosse, the general of Artaxerxes's army, knew that John, the high priest of the Jews, had slain his own brother Jesus in the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have ye had the impudence to murder your temple?" And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagosse made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a brother, whose name was Mænas. Now there was one Samballat, who was sent by Darius, the last king of Persia, into Samaria. He was a Greek by birth, of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Colos sia; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaeo, in marriage to Mænas, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Samballat and Mænas, and the Temple which they built on Mount Gerizim, as also how Alexander made his Entry into the City Jerusalem: and what Benefits he bestowed on the Jews.

1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Egea by Pausanius, the son of Ceraestes, who was derived from the family of Orestes, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army, and took possession of the territory of Granicum. So he marched over Lydia, and subdued Ionia, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelled with him, and he therefore hastened to this man's marriage a step to such as should be desirous of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of fathers about to be done, and the marriages of wives that were not of their own country, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Mænas to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the place.
the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him, that “Although he loved his daughter Nicanor, yet was he not so desirous of her, as that he should take away from her account, which was the principal dignity in their nation, and always continued in the same family.” And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to promote him in his power and dignity of a high priest, and would make him governor of all the places he himself now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also declared to him, that he would build him a temple like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the king. Moreover, he was elevated with these promises, and said with Sanballat, upon a supposition that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. But there was now a great disturbance among all the king’s priests and Levites, because many of those priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them money, and divided among them land for tillage, and houses to dwell in, and all this in order every way to gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and had taken possession of the lands in the region of Grecia, and was proceeding farther: whereupon he gathered together an army of horse and foot, and determined that he would meet the Macedonians before they should assault and conquer all Asia. So he passed the river Euphrates, and came over Taurus, the Cilician mountain; and at Issus of Olicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was glad that Darius was come down; and told Manasseh, that Manasseh was elevated with these promises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius should come back, after he had beaten his enemies; for not only, but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians were a mighty people, and that the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the event proved otherwise than they expected, for the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and was beaten, and lost a great part of his army. His horse were taken captive, and he fled into Persia. So Alexander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and when he had obtained Sidon he besieged Tyre, which is the principal town of Phoenicia.

“To send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the priesthood of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing.” But the high priest answered the messengers, “that he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said, that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land. But when he went up upon his horse and answered, Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against Tyre and Damascus; through him he taught all men to whom they must keep their oaths. So when he had, with a good deal of pains during the siege, took Tyre, and had settled its affairs, he returned, and sent his brother to him, both the city and him who was governor of the garrison, whose name was Babemessas.

4. But Sanballat thought he had now gotten a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he sent a letter by his men, to persuade them to come to Alexander and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him, that he delivered up to him those men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, in whose hands it lay, to decide what he thought; he received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about this present affair. He told him, that “he had a son-in-law, Manasseh the brother to Jaddus; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king’s advantage to have the temple and the sacrifices, and that he would be the greatest promoter of it; that there would be great benefit in it, when the nation is of one mind and united, and that he would put in his name, and that he would do all that he could to assist in it.” Whereupon Alexander gave Manasseh leave so to do; who used the utmost diligence, and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward, that his daughter’s children should have that dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died. Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddus the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and alighting before he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and that they should make a feast, that they might entreat God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifices, that “he would not come against them, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any man, and that God would prevent.” Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the amount of the king’s siege of Gaza. Now Alexander was a man of a very kind nature, and did not suffer any to be wounded, nor to be slain either enemies or friends. In a word, he was of a mild, temperate, and liberal nature; and all other nations thought that he was a man of so much justice and integrity, that it was better to trust to him in all cases, and to die rather than to wrong him. And the Jews, when they were in captivity, did despise all the kings that were before, but did esteem Alexander, and esteemed him so highly, that they said, “He was a true high priest of the Jews!” To whom he replied, “I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with this high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia. But when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, esteem me to
Book XI.—Chap. VIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

Chap. I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Juden by Deceit and Treachery; and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

§ 1. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had put an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had settled the affairs in Judæa after the former form, he lived a few years; and as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia: Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedon; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seizes upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those kings wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of that denomination of behavioir which they then had. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and

for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath-day, as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and he cause on that day they were at rest and quietness; and he had been trained in it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost our liberty; where he says thus: "There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseemly superstition." This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives, both from the mountaneous parts of Judæa, and from the plains about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt.
and settled them there." And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants, and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an ambassador to them, after he had been defeated in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity, and be content with the empire and sovereignty, and the places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy. However, there was much among that multitude, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and they therupon contended one with another, while the chief of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphus procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue; and set many Captives free; and dedicated many Gifts to God.

§ 1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphia then took the kingdom of Egypt, and the Jews, which was written in the law to be interpreted; and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion was this: Demetrius Philalethes, who was in the same time king of Macedonia, and under the king, was now endeavoursing, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was any where written; and reconcileable to the king's nation, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed that there were many books of the Jews worthy of inquiry after, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristaeus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristaeus had the custody of the kings' guards, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas; and persuaded them to assist him in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristaeus endeavoured to make such a project as those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay the thing before you; for since we have the means not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom! Do thou then what is best for the king, and free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry, for I was in his service long years ago, to the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zeus, or Life, of Jupiter; because he breathed life into all men. Therefore do thou restore these slaves, and thou wilt do to the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And know this farther, that though I be not of him to them by birth, nor one that the Jews esteem; as I have said, that he ought to offer such a thank-offering as was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down a hundred and two thousand for every one of the slaves. What he promised to

...
publish a magnificent decree, about what they requested, which should confirm what Aristides had proposed, and especially what God willed should be done: whereby, he said, he would not only set those free who had been led away captive by his father and his army, but those who were in his kingdom before, and those also, if any such there were, who had been brought away since. And the number of these captives would amount to above four hundred talents, he granted it. A copy of which decree I have determined to preserve, that the magnanimity of this king may be known. Its contents were as follows: "Let all those who were soldiers under our father, and who, when they overran Syria and Phœnicia, and laid waste Judea, took the Jews captives, and made themselves slaves, and brought them into our cities, and into this country, and then sold them; as also all those that were in my kingdom before them, and if there be any that have been lately brought thither, be made free by those that possess them; and let them accept of a hundred and twenty talents, which are free slaves. And let the soldiers receive this redemption money with their pay, but the rest out of the king's treasury; for I suppose that they were made captives without our father's consent, and against the just rights of nations, and by cruel force, and raised by the insolence of the soldiers, and that, by removing them into Egypt, the soldiers have made a great profit by them. Out of regard therefore to the petition, and to the enemies they have been tyrannized over, contrary to equity, I enjoin those that have such Jews in their service to set them at liberty, upon the receipt of the before-mentioned sum; and that no one use any deceit about it, by which the Jewish captives might be injured. And I will, that they give in their names, within three days after the publication of this edict, to such as are appointed to execute the same, and to produce the slaves before them also. And let them be very much concerned in these affairs: and let every one that will, inform against those that do not obey this decree; and I will that their estates be confiscated into the king's treasury." When this decree was read to the king, he first contained the threat that he intended, and omitted only those Jews that had formerly been brought, and those brought afterward, which had not been distinctly mentioned; so he condemned the Jews to liberty, and gave them with great generosity. He also gave order that the payment, which was likely to be done in a hurry, should be divided among the king's ministers, and among the officers of his treasury. Whereupon the king's command was quickly brought to a conclusion; and this in no more than seven days' time, the number of the talents paid for the captives being above four hundred and sixty, and this because their masters required the [hundred and] twenty drachmae for the children also, the king having in effect commanded that these should be paid for, when he said in his decree that they should receive the forementioned sum for every slave.

After this, so magnificent a manner, according to the king's inclination, he gave order to Demetrius to give him in writing his sentiments concerning the transcribing of the Jewish books, for no part of the adaptations, he said, but that all things are managed with great circumspection. On which account I have subjoined a copy of these epistles, and set down the multitude of the vessels sent us gifts [to show] how very much, that the exactness of the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest, and this on account of the collection of the rest of them by themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose; "Demetrius to the great king: When thou, O king, gavest me a charge concerning the collection of books that were wanting to fill thy library, and concerning its completion, it was thought to be ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And I let you know, that we want the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to be. Therefore, since they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldest have accurate copies of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely sublime. Which, being the legislative book of that which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of those men who lead their lives according to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published to the profane, nor any such like. Wherefore, O king, thou wouldest give to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe, and those such as are most skilful in the laws, that by the means of which we clear and agreeable sense of these books, we may obtain an accurate interpretation of its contents, and so may have such a collection of these as may be suitable to thy desire."

5. When the epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that they should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been in slavery. He also gave orders that they should give gold for the making of large basons, and vases, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the king what they pleased, in whatever sort of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be sent to the temple for sacrifices, and how I will give a portion to the building of some of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, who had obtained that dignity with the highest honour. When the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest: I have given good day to many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captives. These were honoured by my father; some of them I placed in the bishopric, and gave them greater pay than ordinary: to others of them, when they came with him into Egypt, he committed his garrisons, and the guarding of them, that they might be a terror to the Egyptians. And when I gave them that place, I treated all men with humanity, and especially deem them at a chapter, as at a dearer rate. There is great reason to presume that Aristides collection of the names and numbers of the slave of old was, at the utmost, but thirty shackles, or sixty drachmas, see Exod. xxi. 32, while in the present circumstances of these Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philoibopus would rather re-
those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and those that are of a fit age, I have admitted them into the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court; I have put them in such a post, as thinking this (kindness done to them) to be a very great and excellent thing, which I devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of the law, and to have it translated into Hebrew and into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, who are now elders in age, and six in number out of every tribe. These, by their sagacity, and the be skilful in the laws, and of abilities to make an accurate interpretation of them: and when this shall be finished, I shall think that I have done a work glorious to myself. And I have sent to thee, also, to the end that, and Aristotle, men whom I have in very great esteem by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices; and who have the knowledge of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldst have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to me, I met with a man who with all the respect possible: "Elezar the high priest, king Ptolemy, sendeth greeting: If thou and thy queen Arsinoe, and thy children, be well, we are entirely satisfied."

7. When we received this epistle the king appeared rejoiced at the intelligence; and when the multitude were gathered together, we read it to them, and thereby made them sensible of the piety thou hast towards God. We also showed them the twenty vials of gold, and thirty of silver, and the large basins, and the table for the show-bread; as also the hundred talents for the sacrifices, and for the making what shall be needful at the temple. Which things Andreas and Aristotle, those most honoured friends of thine, have been put to this great expense: for they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then, that we will gratify thee in what is fitting, whether we be able to do, or not to do before, for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our laws may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We are also six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, which we translated, and to return those to us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two] elders sent by Eleazar and by Elea, who carried the law, which yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and artistically contrived vessels which the king sent to God that all may see how great a regard the king had for God; for the king allowed a vast deal of expenses for these vessels, and came often to the workmen, and viewed their works and suffered nothing of carelessness or negligence to be any damage to their operations. And if I had not described how rich they went as well as I am able, although perhaps the nature of this history may not require such a description, but I imagine I shall thereby recommend the elegant taste and magnanimity of this king to those that read hereafter."

8. And first I will describe what belongs to the table. It was indeed in the king's mind to make this table vastly large in its dimensions; but then he gave orders that they should learn what could be made and was already at Jerusalem, and how large it was, and whether there were a possibility of making one larger than it. And when he was informed how large that was which was already there, and that nothing hindered but a larger might be made, he said, that "he was willing to have one made that should be five times as large as the present table, but his fear was that it might be too useless in their sacred ministrations; for he desired that the gifts he presented them should not only be there for show, but should be useful also in their sacred ministrations. According to which reasoning, the king ordered that a table twice as large for the size, and not for want of gold, he resolved that he would not exceed the former table in largeness; but would make it exceed in the variety and elegance of its materials. And as he made the king's palace the finest building of all things, and in having a just notion of what was new and surprising, and where there were no sculptures, he would invent such as were proper, by his own skill, and would show them to the workmen, and that the work should be so fine that it should now be made, and that those which were delineated, should be most accurately formed by a constant regard to their delineation."

8. When, therefore, the workmen had under taken to make the table, they took in length two cubits [and a half], in breadth one cubit, and in height one cubit and a half; and the entire structure of the work was of gold. They wrought made a crown of a hundred thousand pieces, with which they wrought, about it, with a certain kind of engraving which imitated a cord, and was admirable turned on its three parts; for as they were of a triangular figure, every angle had the same decoration; and its diameter, after they turned them about, the very same form of them was turned about without any variation. Now that part of the crownwork that was enclosed under the table had its sculptures very beautiful, but that part which went round on the outside was more elaborately adorned with most beautiful ornaments, because it was exposed to sight, and to the view of the spectators; for which reason it was that both those sides which were exposed to view, the crowns were, were decorated; and some of the angles, which we before told you were three, appeared less than another, when the table was turned about. Now into the crownd work that was enclosed under the table were inserted in rows parallel one to the other, enclose rings, and small cisterns, which had oozes in them; but the parts which were on the side of the crown, and were exposed to the sight, were adorned with a row of excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated gold; and placed laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under those oval figures, thus engraved, the workman had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was represented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes of Egypt at this time; size, of the Egyptian king of ter land. See Antiq. xx. c. xx. sect. 1, upon the coin of Phœnicians, this known inscription, the we Phœnicians, this known inscription, the we
BOOK XII.—CHAP. II.

11. And these were what gifts were sent by Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God in the temple there. But when these gifts were presented, the priests did not accept them, but reverently and devoutly after the ceremonies for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concourse of vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

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* The Talmudists say, that it is not lawful to write the law in letters of gold, contrary to this certain and very ancient example. See Tillman's and Caland's notes here.
the promise of money whereby Haman bought the destruction of their nation. He also gave him, in the sight of those that was proclaimed at Shushan, to be carried to Esther; and he charged her to petition the king about this matter, and not to think it a dishonourable thing in her to put on an humble habit, for the safety of her nation, whereina he must deprecate the madness of the Jews, who were in danger of it; for that Haman, whose dignity was only inferior to that of the king, had accused the Jews, and had irritated the king against them. When she was informed of this, she was moved for her nation, and looked at herself, and knew that she was not called by the king, and that he who goes in to him without being called, is to be slain, unless, when he is willing to save any one, he holds out his golden sceptre to him; but that to whomsoever he does so, although he go in without being called, that person is so far from being slain, that he obtains pardon, and is entirely preserved. Now when the eunuch carried this message from Esther to Mordecai, he came to him, so as to tell her that she must not only provide for her own preservation, but for the common preservation of her nation, for that if she now neglected this opportunity, there would certainly arise help to the Jews from some other quarter; but she and her father's house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised. But Esther sent the very same eunuch back to Mordecai [to desire him] to go to Shushan, and to gather the Jews that were there together to a certain house, and to fast and abstain from all sorts of food on her account, and [to let him know that] she with her maidens would do the same; and then she promised, that if it would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it she would not refuse it.

4. Accordingly, Mordecai did as Esther had enjoined him, and made the people fast; and he besought them with the more earnestness "not to overlook his nation, particularly at this time, when it was going to be destroyed; but that, as he had often before provided for them, and forgiven when they had sinned, so he would now deliver them from that danger out of which he was determined against them; for although it was not all the nation that had offended, yet must they so ingloriously be slain, and that he was himself the occasion of the wrath of Haman, because (said he) I cannot but express a horror of that continual desire to pay that honour to him which I used to pay thee, O Lord; for upon that his anger hath he contrived this present mischief against those that have not treated of laws." The many supplications did the multitude put up; and entreated that God would provide for their deliverance, and free the Israelites that were in all the earth from this calamity which was now coming upon them, for they had it before their eyes, and expected its coming. Accordingly, Esther made supplication to God after the manner of her country, by casting herself down upon the earth, and putting on her mourning garments, and bidding farewell to meat and drink, and all delicacies, for three days' time; and she entreated God to have mercy upon her, and make her words appear persuasive to the king, and render her countenance more beautiful than it was before, that both by her beauty and grace she might succeed, for the averting of the king's anger, in case he were at all irritated against her, and for the consolation of those of her own country, now they were in the utmost danger of perishing; as also, that he would cause his hatred in the king against the enemies of the Jews, and those that had contrived their future destruction, if they proved to be contumacious by him.

5. Esther had used this supplication for three days she put off those garments, changed her habit, and adorned herself as became a queen, and took two of her handmaidens with her, the one of which supported her, as she feebly leaned upon her, and the other followed after, and lifted up her large body (as it lay [on the ground,) with the extremities of her fingers: and thus she came to the king, having a blushingenance in her countenance, with a pleasant agreeableness in her behaviour, yet did she go in to him with fear; and as soon as she was come over against him, as he was sitting on his throne, in his royal apparel, which was a garment interwoven with gold and precious stones, which made him seem to her more terrible, and might be thought more severe, and with a countenance on fire with anger, her joints failed her immediately, out of the dread she was in, and she fell down sideways in a fainting and swooning; but she happened, as I suppose, by the will of God, and was concerned for his wife, lest her fear should bring some very ill thing upon her, and be leaped from his throne and took her in its arms, and re- comforted her, and made her to sit comfortably to her, and exhorting her to be of good cheer, and not to suspect any thing that was said on account of her coming to him when being called, because that law was made for the preservation of the Jews, and that she should not be afraid of it, as she might be entirely secure: and as he said this, he put the sceptre into her hand, and laid his rod upon her neck, on account of the law; and so freed her from her fear. And after she had thus comforted her, and heard her particular matters, she said, "My lord, it is not easy for me, on the sudden, to say what hath happened, for as soon as I saw thee to be great, and comely, and my spirit departs from me, and I had no soul left in me." And while it was with difficulty, and in a low voice, that she could say thus much, the king was in a great agony and disorder, and encouraged Esther to be of good cheer, and to comfort him, considering that he was ready, if occasion should require it, to grant to her the half of his kingdom. Accordingly, Esther desired that he and his friend Haman would come to her to a banquet, for she said she had prepared a supper for him. He consented to it; and when they were there, as they were drinking, he had Esther to "let him know what she desired: for that she should not be disappointed, though she should desire the half of his kingdom: and he desired that she should open to him her petition till the next day, if he would come again together with Haman, to her banquet.

6. Now when the king had promised so to do, Haman went away very glad, because he saw that nothing was to be feared from the order of the Esther's banquet, and because no one else partook of the same honour with kings but himself: yet when he saw Mordecai in the court, he was very much displeased, for he feared him no manner of respect when he saw him. So he went home, and called for his wife Zeresh, and his friends, and when they were come, he showed them what honour he enjoyed, not only from the king, but from the queen also, for he alone that day supped with her, together with the king, so that he also invited again for the next day; yet, said he, am I not pleased to see Mordecai the Jew in the court. Hereupon his wife Zeresh advised him, that he might procure that he should be invited again, and that they should both be invited. But the king was fifty cubits high, and that in the morning he should ask it of the king, that Mordecai might be hanged thereon. So he commended her advice, and gave order to his servants to prepare the gallows, and to place it in the court, for the punishment of Mordecai thereon, which was accordingly prepared. But God laughed to scorn the wicked expectations of Haman; and as he knew that the event would be, was delighted at it, so that he might take away the king's hope of the king's power, and the king was not willing to lose the time of his lying awake, but to spend it in something that
BOOK XL—CHAP. VI. 231

might be of advantage to his kingdom, he con-
mmanded the scribe to bring him the chronicles of
the former kings, and the records of his own so-
time; and when he had brought them and was
reading them, one was found to have received a
country on account of his excellent management
as a certain occasion, and the name of the scribe
was set down; another was found to have
been present made him on account of his fidel-
ity: then the scribe came to Bigtham and Teresch,
the scribes that had made a conspiracy against
the king, which Moyses gave to tell him when
the scribe said no more but that, and was
mourned on another history, the king stopped him,
and inquired, "Whether it was not added to
those who had given their names to the king,
where he said there was no such addition?" So he
bade him leave off, and he inquired of those that were
appointed for that purpose, what hour of the night
it was: and when he was informed that it was al-
ready day, he gave order, that if they found any
one of his friends already come, and standing be-
fore the court, they should tell him. Now it hap-
pered that Haman was found there, for he was
come sooner than ordinary to petition the king to
his house; and when Mordecai had informed the
kings that Haman was before the court, he
bade them call him in; and when he was come
in, he said, "Because I know that thou art my
only friend, I desire thee to give me advice,
you being now appointed to forgive him, and him
that after a manner suitable to my magnificence."
Now Haman reasoned with himself, that what
opinion he should give would be for himself,
saying, "Mordecai and I are not in the same
king: so he gave that advice which he thought
of all others the best: for he said, "If thou wouldst
truly honour a man whom thou sayest thou
dost love, give order that he may ride on horse-
back before thee, and the eunuchs come in the
weakest, and with a gold chain about his neck,
and let one of thy intimate friends go before him,
and proclaim through the whole city, that who-
ssoever the king honoureth, obtaineth this mark of
his honour." This was the advice which he gave,
out of a supposal that such a reward
would come to himself. Hereupon the king was
pleased with the advice, and said, "Go thou,
therefore, for thou hast the horse, the garment,
and the gold chain about his neck, and give him
g those things, and go before his horse,
and proclaim accordingly; for thou (said he)
your intimate friend, and hast given me good
advice, thou hast pleased me with that which I
advised thee to do." This shall be his reward from
me, for preserving my life." When he heard this
order, which was entirely unexpected, he was
confounded in his mind, and knew not what to do.
However, he went out, and led the horse, and
took the purple garment, and the golden chain
for the neck, and finding Mordecai before the
court, clothed in sackcloth, he bade him put that
purple garment off, and put the purple garment on:
but Mordecai would not hear the truth of the matter,
but taking that it was done in mockery, said,"O thou wretch, the vilest of all mankind, dost thou thus abuse our calamities?" But when he was satisfied that the king bestowed this ho-

11. Now while those were thus talking to another, Esther's eunuchs hastened Haman away to come to supper; but one of the eu-

nuchs, named Sabuchadas, saw the gallowsthat was fixed in Haman's house, and inquired of one

of his servants, for what purpose they had pre-
pared it? So he knew that it was for the queen's
uncle, because Haman was about to petition the
king that he might be punished, but at present
he held his peace. Now when the king, with
Haman, were at the banquet, he desired the
queen to tell him what that gift which was sent
and assured her that she should have whatsoever
she had a mind to. She then lamented the dan-
ger her people were in; and said, "She and
her nation were given up to be destroyed, and
that she, on that account, made that the king
might not have troubled him if he had only
given order that they should be sold into
bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would
not have been intolerable; but she desired that they
might be delivered from such destruction." And
when the king inquired of her who was the au-
thor of this misery to them? she then openly ac-
hanced Haman, and convicted him, that he had
been the wicked instrument that had
formed this plot against them. When the king
was hereupon in disorder, and was gone hastily
out of the banquet into the gardens, Haman
began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her
for her people, to what he said he perceived that he was in a very bad case.
And as he had fallen upon the queen's bed, and
was making supplication to her, the king came
into the room, and being still more provoked at what he
saw, "O thou wretch, (said he) thou vilest of all
mankind, dost thou aim to force my wife?" And
when Haman was astonished at this, and not
able to speak one word more, Sabuchadas
said to him, "Haman, Mordecai has found a
gallows at your house prepared for
Mordecai, for that the servant told him so much
upon his inquiry, when he was sent to him to call
him to supper." He said farther, "That the
gallows was fifty cubits high." Which when the
king heard, he determined that Haman should
be punished after so other manner than that
which had been devised by him against Morde-
ca: so he gave order immediately that he
should be hang up upon the gallows before the
people, and put to death after that manner. And from hence I cannot
forbear to admire God, and to learn hence his
wisdom and his justice, not only in punishing the
wicked, but also in saving the godly, for he
should undergo the same punishment which he had contrived for another; as also,
because he thereby teaches others this lesson, that
what mischief any one prepares against another,
he, without knowing of it, first contrives it against
himself.

12. Wherefore Haman, who had immoderately
abused the honour he had from the king, was
destroyed after this manner, and the king granted
his estate to Mordecai: he also anointed
Mordecai, (for Esther had informed him that she
was akin to him,) and gave that ring to Morde-
ca, which he had before given to Haman. The
queen also gave Haman's estate to his son,
and prayed the king to deliver the nation of
the Jews from the fear of death, and showed
him what had been written over all the country
by Haman the son of Ammedatha: for that if
his country were to perish, and his estate were
to be perished, she could not bear to live herself
any longer. So the king promised her, that he
would not do any thing that should be disagree-
able to her, nor contradict what she desired. And
he bade her write to the freedmen of the Jews,
in the king's name, and seal it with his
seal, and send it to all his kingdom, for that
those who read epistles whose authority is se-
cured by having the king's seal to them, would
noway contradict what was written therein.

So
be commanded the king’s scribes to be sent for, and to write to the nations on the Jews’ behalf, and to his lieutenants and governors, that were over his hundred twenty-seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia, to weigh the contents of this epistle which were these: “The praiseworthy king Artaxerxes to our rulers, and those that are our faithful subjects, sendeth greeting: Many men there are, who, on account of the greatness of the benefactions that they received on this account, speak of the honour which they have obtained from the wonderful kind treatment of those that bestowed it, are not only injurious to their inferiors, but do not scruple to do evil to those that have been their benefactors. If, therefore, you discern a take-away of gratitude from among men, and by their insolent abuse of such benefits as they never expected, they turn the abounding they have against those that are the authors of it, and suppose they lie concealed from God in that case, and avoid that vengeance which comes from him. Some of these men, when they have had the management of affairs committed to them by their friends, and the magnitude of their own against some others, by deceiving those that have the power, persuade them to be angry at such as have done them no harm, till they are in danger of perishing, and this by laying accusation of their enemies; nor is there a leaf of things to be discovered by ancient examples, or such as we have learned by report only; but by some examples of such impudent attempts under our own eyes, so that it is not fit to attend any longer to calumny and accusations that are the pernicious actions of others, but to determine what any one knows of himself to have been really done, and to punish what justly deserves it, and to grant favours to such as are innocent. This hath befallen the case of Haman, the son of Ammedatha, by birth an Amalekite, and alien from the blood of the Persians, who, when he was hospitably entertained by us, and partook of that kindness which we have received, it may be a degree of grace be called to my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor the magnificence of his own with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my noble kinsman; and he was detected by base-witted and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the power of the kingdom to me, and to my ancestors. I do not easily free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, or described to me, was written to, which he by his own refuge, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that con- trived such things against them, with his family, before the gates of Shushan, that punishment being sent upon him by God, who seeth all things. And I give you in charge, that you publicly publish the copies of this epistle to all my kingdom, that the Jews may be permitted peaceably to use their own laws, and that you assist them: that at the same season whereunto their miserable estate did belong, they may derive some help, if you do yourself a kindness. For, according to the sentence of the conspirators against us: and I will that you take notice, that every city, and every nation, that shall disobey any thing that is con- tinued in this epistle, shall he demoralized by fire and sword. However, let this epistle be published through all the country that is under our obedience, and let all the Jews by all means be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may avenge themselves upon their ene- mies.”

13. Accordingly the horsemen who carried the epistles, proceeded on the ways which they were to go with speed: but as for Mordecai, as soon as he had placed the epistles on his head, he went along with his crown of gold, and had put the chain about his neck, he went forth in a public procession; and when the Jews who were at Shushan, saw him in so great honour with the king, they thought his countenance and countenance was comely, and the crown and joy and a beam of salvation encompassed the Jews, both those that were in the cities, and those that were in the countries, upon the publication of the epistles, and the comfort which was caused to them, it may be a degree of grace be called to my father, and to be all along worshipped, and to have honour paid him by all in the second rank after the royal honour due to ourselves, he could not bear his good fortune, nor the magnificence of his own with sound reason; nay, he made a conspiracy against me and my life, who gave him his authority, by endeavouring to take away Mordecai, my noble kinsman; and he was detected by base-witted and treacherously requiring to have Esther, the partner of my life, and of my dominion, brought to destruction; for he contrived by this means to deprive me of my faithful friends, and transfer the power of the kingdom to me, and to my ancestors. I do not easily free them from the punishment which the former epistle, which was sent by Haman, or described to me, was written to, which he by his own refuge, you shall do well, but I will that they have all honour paid to them. Accordingly, I have hanged up the man that con- 

* The true reason why king Artaxerxes did not more properly revoke his former barbarous decree for the universal slaughter of the Jews, but only impoverished and ex- terminated for their rigour, by casting them into Hell, that, on account of his suspicions, if any of the enemies ofJerusalem had attempted their destruction, seemed to have been that old law of the Medes and Persians, not yet laid aside, that none should break the law of the Medes and Persians, and his lords, could not be changed, but remained unalterable. (See v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17; Esth. i. 19, and v. 8. And so all persons, being received in the royal court, must be judged according to the royal court.employs himself signed this decree for the Jews’ slaughter, instead of the ancient lords, and so might have rendered it by their rule irrevocable.

1 These words give an exception as if Artaxerxes sup- pected a deeper design in Haman than openly appeared, viz. that knowing the Jews would be faithful to him, and that he could never transfer the crown to his own family, who were not willing to accept the crown. In that age, Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 8, 33, 32, while they were alive, and spread over all his dominions, and have been used as a symbol of the king’s authority, as it is improbable, that those 75,000 of the Jews’ enemies which were soon destroyed by the Jews, on the permission of the king, were not of the royal court, whose great love to the Amalekites, their old and hereditary enemies, Ezra xx. 14, 15, and that thereby was fulfilled Boas’s prophecy, “Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever.” Num. xxv. 27.
nothing of what riches they had. Now there was slain the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and the Jews were slain in the thirteenth day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival. In like manner the Jews that were in Shushan gathered themselves together, and feast on the fourteenth day and the fifteenth, when they had even now all the Jews that are in the habitable earth keep these days festival, and send portions to one another. Mordecai also wrote to those Jews that were in the kingdom of Ahasuerus to observe these days, and call them days of Purim. And Mordecai became great and illustrious among the people, and was ranked in the government of the people. He also lived with the king; for that the king was his friend, and the Jews were by their means better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.4

CHAP. VII.

How John slew his Brother Jesus in the Temple: and how Bagozes offered many Injuries to the Jews; and what Sanballat did.

§ 1. When Elisahib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded in the high priesthood: and when he was dead, his son John took that dignity; on whose account it was also that Bagozes, the governor of Artaxerxes's army, who polluted the temple, and imposed tributes on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels. Now Jesus was the brother of John, and was a pupil of Bagozes, and who had promised to procure him the high priesthood. In confidence of whose support, Jesus quarrelled with John in the temple, and so John was to be destroyed; but his brother slew him. Now it was a horrible thing for John, when he was high priest, to perpetrate so great a crime; and so much the more horrible, that there never was so cruel and impious a thing done neither among the Jews, nor among the pagans.

* * *

9 Taka here part of Stand's note on this disputed passage: — In Josephus's copies these Hebrew words are found in the days of Phurim, or Latis, as in the Greek copies of Esther, c. v. 38, 39, 40. It is read days of Phurim, or days of Protection, by all the ancient versions, except the Septuagint. But which emendation, says he, nothing is more certain "And had we any assurance that Josephus's copy mentioned the names of the two men, as our other copies do. Ezek. li. 7, I should fully agree with Rashi, and as it now stands, it seems to me to be by no means certain.

1 As to this whole book of Esther in the present Hebrew scriptures, as well as to the history of the Jews after the death of Zerubbabel, or the Persians which is a sufficient reason also why he entirely omitted the history and the book of Job, as not particularly relating to that nation.) He justly therefore returns to the Jews after the death of longimanus, without any mention of Darius II. before Artaxerxes II. Thus or of Ochus, as a Persian, or of Ahasuerus, as a Mede. As for Darius III., of course nor had he probably mentioned this other Artaxerxes, as we Bagozes, one of the governors and commanders under him, had occasioned the pillage of the Jewish temple, and had greatly distressed the Jews upon that occasion. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage as a step to such a union of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married not of their own nation, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manaseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in our temple? And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagozes made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

2 Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a daughter, whom he married to his first cousin Darius, the last king of Persia into Samaria. He was a Canaanitish by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Colosseia; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaea, in marriage to Manaseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him. 

CONCERNING SANBALLAT AND MANASEH, AND THE TEMPLE WHICH THEY BUILD ON MOUNT GERIZIM, AS ALSO HOW JACOB MADE HIS ENTRY INTO THE CITY JERUSALEM; AND WHAT BENEFICS HE BESTOVED ON THE JEWS.

§ 1. About this time it was that Philip, king of Macedon, was treacherously assaulted and slain at Samos, the son of Cestus, who was derived from the family of Orestes, and his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom; who, passing over the Hellespont, overcame the generals of Darius's army in a battle fought at Granicus. So he marched over Lybia, subdued Indus, and overran Caria, and fell upon the places of Pamphylia, as has been related elsewhere.

2. But the elders of Jerusalem being very uneasy that the brother of Jaddua the high priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the high priesthood, quarrelling with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage as a step to such a union of transgressing about the marriage of [strange] wives, and that this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners, although the offence of some about marriages, and their having married not of their own nation, had been an occasion of their former captivity, and of the miseries they then underwent; so they commanded Manaseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the high priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the temple, he came upon the Jews immediately, and began in anger to say to them, "Have you had the impudence to perpetrate a murder in our temple? And as he was aiming to go into the temple, they forbade him so to do; but he said to them, "Am not I purer than he that was slain in the temple?" And when he had said these words, he went into the temple. Accordingly, Bagozes made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus.

3. Now when John had departed this life, his son Jaddua succeeded in the high priesthood. He had a daughter, whom he married to his first cousin Darius, the last king of Persia into Samaria. He was a Canaanitish by birth; of which stock were the Samaritans also. This man knew that the city Jerusalem was a famous city, and that their kings had given a great deal of trouble to the Assyrians, and the people of Colosseia; so that he willingly gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaea, in marriage to Manaseh, as thinking this alliance by marriage would be a pledge and security that the nation of the Jews should continue their good-will to him.

4. Concerning Sanballat and Manaseh, and the Temple which they build on Mount Gerizim, as also how Jacob made his entry into the City Jerusalem; and what benefits he bestowed on the Jews.
the altar. Whereupon Manasseh came to his father-in-law, Sanballat; and told him, that "Al-
though he loved his daughter Nicoa, yet was he not willing to preserve the sanctity and
dignity on her account, which was the principal dign-
ity in their nation, and always continued in the
same family." And then Sanballat promised him
not only to preserve to him the honour of his
princess, but also his daughter, to the utmost
dignity of a high priest, and would make him
governor of all the places he himself now ruled,
if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He
also told him, that he would give him a temple
like to that at Jerusalem, upon mount Ge-
rizim, which is the highest of all the mountains
that are in Samaria, and he promised him that
he would do this with the approbation of Darius the
king; and that he would make him a priest with
promises, and stand with Sanballat, upon a supposi-
tion that he should gain a high priesthood, as bestow-
ed on him by Darius, for it happened that San-
ballat was then in years. But there was now a
great disturbance among the chief of the Jews,
because many of those priests and Levites were
entangled in such matches; for they all re-
volted to Manasseh, and Sanballat afforded them
money, and divided among them land for tillage,
salaries, and all in this order every way to
gratify his son-in-law.

3. About this time it was that Darius heard how
Alexander had passed over the Hellespont, and
had beaten his lieutenants in the battle of Grani-
cus. Alexander set out in a further voyage to
Asia, and gathered together an army of horse and foot,
and determined that he would meet the Macedonians
before they should assault and conquer all Asia.
So he passed over the river Euphrates, and came
over Taurus, the Cilician mountain; and at Issus of
Cilicia he waited for the enemy, as ready there
to give him battle. Upon which Sanballat was
glad that Darius was come down; and told Ma-
nasseh that Darius had sent word with his prom-
ises to him, and this as soon as ever Darius
should come back, after he had beaten his ene-
emies; for not he only, but all those that were in
Asia also, were persuade that the Macedonians
would not return, as much as come to battle with
the Persians, on account of their multitude. But the
event proved otherwise than they expected, for
the king joined battle with the Macedonians, and
was beaten, and lost a great part of his army.
Darius, however, was not so much surprised with
his defeat, as Sanballat was, because he, having been
taken captives, and he fled into Persia. So Alex-
ander came into Syria, and took Damascus; and
when he had obtained Sidon he besieged Tyre,
which he had sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest,
"To the high priest and the Jews of the house of David,
and all the people of the Lord.
"To whom it may concern:
"Whereas Sanballat the high priest, and all the people
of the city, have Việnanied to me, through the hand of
their messengers, and have said, Sanballat the high
wishes to have a temple in the city, whereas there
was none: and that the Jews have not the power of
keeping their sanctuary: now therefore I beseech you,
that you will not use force against them, but that you
will put to them all that you can, by conciliating
them, that they may be willing to dwell among you, as
they are used to dwell in all other cities: and if you shall
not be content, then will I go to the king Darius, and
tell him of your petition, so that he may give you
what you shall require." And the king granted the
request, and the people gave the request, and the people
Of the Jews, the temple, and the city, were given to
them, and they had the honour and the power of the
sanctuary, as they had before. And the high priest
sent word to Sanballat, that he had granted the
request, and that the Jews should have the temple,
and the city, as they had before. And the high priest
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BOOJ XII.—CHAET. VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF A HUNDRED AND SEVENTY YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF JUDAS MACHABEUS.

CHAPTER I.

How Ptolemy, the Son of Lagus, took Jerusalem and Judea by Deceit and Treachery, and carried many of the Jews thence, and planted them in Egypt.

4. Now when Alexander, king of Macedon, had set an end to the dominion of the Persians, and had made the affairs of all the nations flourishing, as the forementioned manner, he ended his life. And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babyloni; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus possessed Thrace; and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, settle upon Egypt. And while these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of their inhabitants in these times of distress, insomuch that all Syria, by the means of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, underwent the reverse of his banishment and devastation which he had then. He also seized upon Jerusalem, and

for that end made use of deceit and treachery; for as he came into the city on a Sabbath day, as if he would offer sacrifices, he without any trouble gained the city, while the Jews did not oppose him, for they did not suspect him to be their enemy; and he gained it thus, because they were free from suspicion of him, and because on that day they were at rest and quiescence; and when he had gained it, he ruled over it in a cruel manner. Nay, Agatharchides of Cnidus, who wrote the acts of Alexander's successors, reproaches us with superstition, as if we, by it, had lost much liberty; where he says thus: “There is a nation called the nation of the Jews, who inhabit a city strong and great, named Jerusalem. These men took no care, but let it come into the hands of Ptolemy, as not willing to take arms, and thereby they submitted to be under a hard master, by reason of their unseasonable superstition.” This is what Agatharchides relates of our nation. But when Ptolemy had taken a great many captives with him, the mountainous parts of Judea, and from the place about Jerusalem and Samaria, and the places near mount Gerizim, he led them all into Egypt,

selves Jews, for such is the disposition of the Samaritans, as we have already elsewhere declared, that when the Jews are in adversity they deny that they are of him to them, and then they are able to conquer them; but fast the Jews have their good fortune bestowed on them, they immediately pretend to have communion with them, saying, that they belong to them, and derive their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Accordingly, they made their address to the king with splendour, and showed great alacrity in meeting him at a little distance from Jerusalem. And when Alexander had commanded that immediately upon his approach to bring with them the troops that Sanballat had sent him, and they desired that he would come to their city, and do honour to their temple also. To whom he promised, that when he returned he would come to them. And when they petitioned that he would remit the tribute of the seventh year to them, because they did not sow thereon, he asked who they were that made such a petition; and when they said that they were Hebrews, but had the name of Sidonians, living at Shechem, he asked them again, whether they were Jews; and when they said they were not Jews, "it was to the Jews (said he) that I granted that privilege; however, when I returned am I the rather informed by you of this matter, I will do what I shall think proper." And in this manner he took leave of the Shechemites, but ordered that the troops of Sanballat should not come into Egypt, because there he designed to give them leave, which he did a little after in Thapsus, when he ordered them to guard that country.

7. Now when Alexander was dead, the government was passed among his successors, but the temple upon mount Gerizim remained. And if any one were accused by those of Jerusalem, of having eaten the sabbath bread, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, both; but when they perceived that if any of them would list themselves in his army, on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his war.

6. So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he led his army into the neighboring cities; and when all the inhabitants, to whom the government was given, as their government was induced, the same, the Samaritans, who had then Shechem for their metropolis, (a city situated at mount Gerizim, and inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation,) seeing that Alexander had so greatly honored the Jews, determined to profess themselves Judean, the son of Lagus, who took Jerusalem and Judea by deceit and treachery.
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

and settled them there." And as he knew that the people of Jerusalem were most faithful in the observation of oaths and covenants, and this from the answer they made to Alexander, when he sent an embassado to them, after he had beaten Darius in battle; so he distributed many of them into garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal privileges of citizens with the Macedonians themselves; and required of them to take their oaths, that they would keep their fidelity, and the constancy of their residence; and the roof fruited those places to their care. Nay, there were not a few other Jews, who, of their own accord, went into Egypt, as invited by the goodness of the soil, and the plenty of Potibility. However, there were disorders among their posterity, with relation to the Samaritans, on account of their resolution to preserve that conduct of life which was delivered to them by their forefathers, and that therefore contended one with another while those of Jerusalem said, that their temple was holy, and resolved to send their sacrifices thither; but the Samaritans were resolved that they should be sent to mount Gerizim.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolemy Philadelphia procured the Laws of the Jews to be translated into the Greek tongue; and set many Captives free, and dedicated many Gifts to God.

§ 1. When Alexander had reigned twelve years, and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years, Philadelphia then took the kingdom of Egypt, and continued king thirty years. He preserved the law to be interpreted; and set free those that were come from Jerusalem into Egypt, and were in slavery there, who were a hundred and twenty thousand. The occasion of this: Demetrius Phalerius, who was library-keeper to the king, was now endeavouring, if it were possible, to gather together all the books that were in the habitable earth, and buying whatsoever was remarkable and valuable, and capable to the king's inclination, (who was very earnestly set upon collecting of books;) to which inclination of his, Demetrius was zealously subservient. And when once Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, but that, in a little time, he should have fifty times ten thousand. But he said, he had been informed that there were many books of the life of the Jews worthy of inquiry, and worthy of the king's library, but which being written in characters and in a dialect of their own, will cause no small pains in getting them translated into the Greek tongue; that the character in which they are written seems to be like to that which is the proper character of the Syrians; and that its sound, when pronounced, is like theirs also; and that this sound appears to be peculiar to themselves. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest that he should act accordingly.

2. Now there was one Aristæus, who was among the king's most intimate friends, and on account of his modesty very acceptable to him. This Aristæus, therefore, went before now, to petition the king that he would set all the captive Jews in his kingdom free; and he thought this to be a convenient opportunity for the king to do a mighty act. So he determined, on the first place, with the captain of the king's guards, Sothis of Tarentum, and Andreas and persuaded them to assist in what he was going to intercede with the king for. Accordingly, Aristæus brought the same opinion with those that have been before mentioned; and went to the king, and made the following speech to him: "It is not fit for us, O king, to overlook things hastily, or to deceive ourselves, but to lay things open for us, since we have only to get not only the laws of the Jews transcribed, but interpreted also, for thy satisfaction, by what means can we do this, while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom! Do thou then what is just and equitable to thy majesty and nation to thy good nature; free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God, who supporteth thy kingdom, was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry, and was admired by the philosopher of the same God, the framer of all things. We call him, and that truly, by the name of Zeus, or Life, of Jupiter; because he breathes life into all men. And the king, who is the framer of these men in their own country, and this do to the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to him. And I know this farther, that though I be not of kin to them by birth, nor one of the educated, yet do I have this opinion with these favours to be done them, since all men see the workmanship of God; and I am sensible that he is well pleased with those that do good. I do, therefore, put up this petition to thee, to do good.

3. When Aristæus was saying thus, the king looked upon him with a cheerful and joyful countenance, and said, "How many ten thousands dost thou suppose there are of such as want to be restored to their country?" But when Aristæus had been heard by, he said, "A few more than ten times ten thousand." The king made answer, "And is this a small gift that thou askest, Aristæus?" But Sothis, and the rest that stood by, said, that he was more desirous of doing good, and that what he had said was worthy of his greatness of soul, to that God who had given him his kingdom." With this answer he was much pleased; and gave order, that when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should lay down a hundred and two thousand pieces for every one of the slaves. And he promised to

* The great number of the Jews and Samaritans that were formerly carried into Egypt by Alexander, and now by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, appear afterward in the vast multitude who, as we shall see presently, were more renowned by Philadelphia, and by him made free, before he sent for the seventy-two interpreters; in the many garrisons, and other soldiers of that nation in Egypt; in the factions of the Jews, the spirit of their synagogues at Alexandria, long afterward; and in the vestment connection between the Jews and Samaritans under Philadelphia, and the general public worship in the law of Moses: whether as to the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, or at the Samaritan temple at Gerizim: of all those that have treated hereafter. Wherefore he said, that nothing hindered why they might not get those books to be translated also, for while nothing is wanting that is necessary for that purpose, we may have their books also in this library. So the king thought that Demetrius was very zealous to procure him abundance of books, and that he suggested what was exceeding proper for him to do; and therefore he wrote to the Jewish high priest that he should act accordingly.

† Of the sacredness of oaths among the Jews in the Old Testament, see Scripture Politics, p. 34, 85.

‡ Of the translation of the other parts of the Old Testament by seventy Egyptian Jews, in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Philadelphia; as also the translation of the Pentateuch by seventy-two Jewish Jews, in the seventh year of Philadelphia at Alexandria, as given by Josephus, anti the Alexandrian version of the Psalms, with a vindication of Aristaeus's history, see the Appendix to Lit. Accomp. of Proph. at large, p. 117-118.
the artificer's workmanship, as it appeared to those that saw them, and which workman made every vessel, may be made manifest to mankind, on account of the excellency of the vessels themselves. Now the copy of the epistle was to this purpose; "Demetrius to the great king: When thou, O king, gavest me charge of preserving the collection of books that were wanting to fill thy library, and concerning the care that ought to be taken about such as are imperfect, I have used the utmost diligence about those matters. And the said Hecateus has translated the books of the Jewish legislation, with some others; for they are written in the Hebrew characters, and being in the language of that nation, are to us unknown. It hath also happened to them, that they have been transcribed more carelessly than they ought to have been, because they have not had hitherto royal care taken about them. Now it is necessary that thou shouldst have an accurate copy of them. And indeed this legislation is full of hidden wisdom, and entirely blameless, as being the legislation of God: for which cause it is, as Hecateus of Abdera says, that the poets and historians make no mention of it, nor of the man that made it, but refer to it, since it is a holy law, and ought not to be published by profane mouths. If then it please thee, O king, thou mayest write to the high priest of the Jews, to send six of the elders out of every tribe as the king's messengers, and the like to the rest of the tribes, that by their means we may learn the clear and agreeing sense of these books; and may obtain an accurate interpretation of their contents, and so may have such a collection of these laws as may be suitable to the duty of the king. 5. When this epistle was sent to the king, he commanded that an epistle should be drawn up for Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, concerning these matters; and that he should inform him of the release of the Jews that had been sold among the Gentiles; and sent fifty talents of gold for the making of large basons, and vials, and cups, and an immense quantity of precious stones. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of the chests that contained these stones, to give the artificers leave to choose out what sorts of them they pleased. He withal appointed, that a hundred talents in money should be set aside for the same purpose for others. Now I will give a description of these vessels, and the manner of their construction, but not till after I have set down a copy of the epistle which was written to Eleazar the high priest, and which is set forth in the following on the occasion following: When Onias the high priest was dead, his son Simon became his successor. He was called Simon the Just, because of both his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation. When he was dead, and had left a young son, who was called Onias, Simon's brother Eleazar, of whom we are speaking, took the high priesthood; and he it was to whom Ptolemy wrote, and that in the manner following: "King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, sendeth greeting: There are many Jews who now dwell in my kingdom, whom the Persians, when they were in power, carried captive; they have been transcribed as the vessels sent as gifts to Jerusalem, and the construction of every one, that the exactness of nearly the same in Josephus and Aristea, does better agree to twenty than to one hundred and twenty drachmas; and since the value of a slave of old was, at the utmost, one hundred drachmas, and the vessels none otherwise than in the present circumstances of those Jewish slaves, and those so very numerous, Philadelphia would rather re-
those that are thy fellow-citizens, of whom I have set free above a hundred thousand that were slaves, and paid the price of their redemption to their masters out of my own revenues; and I have not done this unto a few, nor unto a single nation, but I have inhabited them within the number of my soldiers. And for such as are capable of being faithful to me, and proper for my court; I have put them in such a post, as thinking this [kindness done to them] to be a very great thing, I have accepted of the first which I do devote to God for his providence over me. And as I am desirous to do what will be grateful to these, and to all the other Jews in the habitable earth, I have determined to procure an interpretation of the Hebrew to have it translated out of Hebrew into Greek, and to be deposited in my library. Thou wilt therefore do well to choose out and send to me men of a good character, whom I have sent to thee Andreas, the captain of my guard, and Aristea, men whom I have in very great esteem; by whom I have sent those first-fruits which I have dedicated to the temple, and to the sacrifices, and to the uses of the temple of a hundred talents. And if thou wilt send to us, to let us know what thou wouldest have further, thou wilt do a thing acceptable to me."

6. When this epistle of the king was brought to and read by the friends of thine, thereunto have been brought us: and truly they are persons of an excellent character, and of great learning, and worthy of thy virtue. Know then, that we will gratify thee in what is fit and proper, though we are not able to do before, for we ought to make a return for the numerous acts of kindness which thou hast done to our countrymen. We immediately, therefore, offered sacrifices for thee, and thy sister, with thy children, and friends; and the multitude made prayers, that thy affairs may be to thy mind, and that thy kingdom may be preserved in peace, and that the translation of our law may come to the conclusion thou desirest, and be for thy advantage. We have also chosen six elders out of every tribe, whom we have sent, and the law with them. It will be thy part, out of thy piety and justice, to send back the law, with all the other usages, which we then apprehend to be necessary to those that us that bring it in safety. Farewell."

7. This was the reply which the high priest made. But it does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of the seventy [two elders] sent by Eleazar the priest, which law, yet were subjoined at the end of the epistle. However, I thought it not improper to give an account of those very valuable and excellent sort of precious stones, which imitated rods laid close, and encompassed the table round about. But under those oval figures, thus engraved, the workmen had put a crown all round it, where the nature of all sorts of fruit was so presented, insomuch that the bunches of grapes of Egypt at this very time: viz. of the Asiatic king of tereft. See Antic. B. xx. c. ii. sect. 1, where we are upon the coins of Phœnix, this known inscription, the divine brother and sister.
the two cinetars of gold were so extensive that the arkines. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also allowed them who were of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially grave. And these were the vessels that were, work a perfect work, not only by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and gave them great precedency; but what they wanted, but he forbad public audience for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

11. And these were what gifts were sent to Ptolemy to Jerusalem, and dedicated to God there. But when Pleazar the high priest had devoted them to God, and had paid due respect to those that brought them, and had given them presents to be kept, he sent them away. And when they were come to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard that they were come, and that the seventy elders were come also, he presently sent for them, and received them, and gave them audience. And when they saw the vessels sent by these that saw them. The chapters of the feet imitated the first binnings of lilies, while their leaves were bent and laid under the table, but so that the chives were seen standing upright within them. Their bases were not to be seen, and to the back; and the place at the bottom, which rested on that carbuncle, was one palm deep, and eight fingers in breadth. Now they had engraved upon it with a very fine tool, and with a great deal of care and art, and such a fine line of work, that seeing forth clusters of grapes, that you would guess they were nowise different from real kind: for they were so very thin, and so very far extended at their extremities, that they were moved with the wind, and made one believe that they were the product of nature, and not the representation of art. They also made the entire workmanship of the table appear to be the work of art; and the whole concern of the materials, and the variety of its exquisite structure, and, the artificer's skill in imitating nature with graving tools, was at length brought to perfection, while the king was very desirous that therein the beholders should be able to discern from that which was already dedicated to God, yet that in exquisite workmanship, and the novelty of the contrivances, and in the splendor of its construction, it should exceed it, and be more wonderful than that was.

10. Now of the cinetars of gold there were two, whose sculpture was of scalenokos, from its basis to its belt-like circles, with various sorts of stone which were overlaid with gold, and the grass was upon it a meander of a cubit in height; it was composed of stones of all sorts of colours. And next to this was the rodwork engraven; and next to that was a rhombus in a texture of network, drawn out in the rim of the basin, while small shields made of stones, beautiful in their kind, and of four fingers' depth, filled up the middle parts. About the top of the basin were breathed the leaves of lilies, and of the grass, and the tendrils of the vine, in a circular manner. And thus was the construction of the two cinetars of gold, and containing two arkines. But those which were of silver were much more bright and splendid than looking-glasses, and you might in them see the images that fell upon them more plainly than in the other. The king also allowed them who were of which the parts that were of gold, and filled up with precious stones, were shadowed over with leaves of ivy, and of vines, artificially grave. And these were the vessels that were, work a perfect work, not only by the skill of the workmen, who were admirable in such fine work, but much more by the diligence and generosity of the king, who not only supplied the artificers abundantly, and gave them great precedency; but what they wanted, but he forbad public audience for the time, and came and stood by the workmen, and saw the whole operation. And this was the cause why the workmen were so accurate in their performance, because they had regard to the king, and to his great concern about the vessels, and so the more indefatigably kept close to the work.

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lodging should do it. Accordingly, when three
days were over, Demetrius took them, and went
over the causeway seven furlongs. It was a
bank in the sea, to an island. And when they
had gone over the bridge, he proceeded to the
northern part, and showed them where they
should get, which was in a place that was
built near the shore, and was a quiet place, and
fit for their discoursing together about their
work. When he had brought them thither, he
left them there for a little while, and returned
unto them till the ninth hour of the day; after
which time they relaxed, and took care of their
body, while their food was provided for them in
great plenty besides. Dorotheus, at the king's
command, provided for the king himself. But
in the morning they came to the court and saluted Ptolomy, and then went away to their former place, where, when they had washed their hands, and performed their ablutions, they sat down to the interpretation of the laws. Now when the law was transcribed, and the labour of interpretation was over, which came to its conclusion in seventy
and two days, the king joined himself together to the place where the laws were transla
ted, and where the interpreters were, and read
them over. The multitude did also approve of
those elders that were the interpreters of the
law. And the king's great desire and pleasure
for his proposal, as the inventor of what was greatly
for their happiness; and they desired that he
would give leave to their rulers also to read the
law. Moreover, they all, both the priest and the
people, promised that they would defend and guard the
precepts of their commonwealth, made it their request,
that since the interpretation was happily finish
ed, it might continue in the state it now was, and
might not be altered. And when they all com
mented that determination of theirs, they pro
joined, that if any one observed either any thing
superfluous, or any thing omitted, that e· would
take a view of it again, and have it laid before
them, and would rectify, and grant that in their
people, 'that when the thing was judged to have
been well done, it might continue for ever.
14. So the king rejoiced, when he saw that his
design of this nature was brought to perfection
to his utmost end, and he was lighted with hearing the laws read to him, and
was astonished at the deep meaning and wisdom of the legislator. And he began to discourse with Demetrius, "How it came to pass, that when this legislation was so successful,
either of the poets or of the 'storiars, had made mention of it." Demetrius made answer,
that "no one durst be so bold as to touch upon
the inscription of these laws, because they were
divine and connected; which was a wise and
attempted it were inflected by God." He also
told him, that "Theopompos was desirous of
writing somewhat about them, but was there
unto many days; and upon some intermission of his
time, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting
that his madness proceeded from that cause.

* This is the most ancient example I have met with, of
a grace, or short prayer, or thanksgiving, before meat;
which, as it used to be said by a heathen priest, was
now said by a Christian, at the beginning of the prayer;
for they were one of twenty-two interpreters. The next example I have met
with is that of the Euseb., Of the War, B. i. ch. viii. sect. 8.
which is of an after date: of those of Barnabas before
Mark viii. 6; John vi. 11, 22, and St. Paul, Acts xxvii. 35.
and a form of such a grace or prayer for Christians, at the
end of the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions,
which seems to have been intended for both times, both
before and after meat.
Neys, indeed, he further saw in a dream, that his distemper befell him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men, but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover, he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom he was indeed a great lover, that when, in his dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of this, and desiring to proceed, he said that, God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.

15. And when the king had received these books from Demetrius, as we have said already, he adored them, and gave order that great care should be taken of them, that they might remain uncorrupted. He also desired that the interpreters would come often to him out of Judea, and that both on account of the respects that he should pay them, and on account of the presence he would make them for: for he said, "it was now but just to send them away, although, if of their own accord they would come to him hereafter, they should obtain all that their own wisdom might judge they were able to give them." So he then sent them away, and gave to every one of them three garments of the best sort, and two talents of gold, and a cup of the value of one talent, and the furnishing of all that was necessary for their travelling. And these were the things he presented to them. But by them he sent to Eleazar, the high priest, ten beds, with feet of silver, and the furniture to them belonging, and a cup of the value of thirty talents; besides these, three garments, and purpurine, and a very beautiful crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen; as also vials and dishes, and vessels for pouring, and two golden crowns, and, he added, desired him, by an epistle, that he would give these interpreters leave, if any of them were desirous of coming to him, because he highly valued a conversation with men of such learning; and that this was what came to the Jews, and was much to their glory and honour, from Tolemy Philadelphia.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Asia honoured the Nation of the Jews, and made them Citizens of those Cities which they built.

1. The Jews also obtained honours from the kings of Asia, when they became their auxiliaries; for Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia; and in the Lower Syria, and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day: an argument for which you may readily believe, as when you see they make use of oil prepared by foreigners, they receive a certain sum of money from the proper officers belonging to their exercises as the value of that oil; which money, when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch, when they have despised the services of no less a war, Mucianus, who was then president of Syria, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans; especially of Vespasian and Tito, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the wars with the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet they did not take away any of their forementioned privileges being longing to treat the Jews, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people nor out of their old grudges at those who were opposed to them, because they did not esteem opposition they had subded in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

2. We also know that Marcus Agrippa was of the like disposition, for the people of Ionia were very angry at them, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who by the grace of the Greek and Roman emperors was adorned with them; and that if the Jews were to be joint partners with them, they might be obliged to worship the gods they themselves worshipped; but when these matters were brought to the Jews, they, greatly pleased, and obtained leave to make use of their own customs, and this under the patronage of Nicolaus of Damascus; for Agrippa gave sentence, that he could in no way know this matter accurately, let him pursue the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twen ty-fourth book of the history of this Nicolaus now, as to this determination of Agrippa, it is not so much to be admired, for at this time our nation had not made war against the Romans. But one may well be astonished at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus, that after so great wars and contest which they had from us, they should use such moderation; I will add, that I owe it to that part of my history whence I made the present digression.

3. Now it happened, that in the reign of Antiochus the son who succeeded over all the parts of the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed: for while he was at war with Tolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out, that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the midst of the Roman war, and in the peril of the king's war: Cesarea, and Antiochus Maccabaeus, who was the son of those things, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans; especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the wars with the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet they did not take away any of their forementioned privileges being longing to treat the Jews, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people nor out of their old grudges at those who were opposed to them, because they did not esteem opposition they had subded in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

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5. Now it happened, that in the reign of Antiochus the son who succeeded over all the parts of the Jews, as well as the inhabitants of Celesyria, suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed: for while he was at war with Tolemy Philopater, and with his son, who was called Epiphanes, it fell out, that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten, and when he beat the others: so that they were very like to a ship in a storm, which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the midst of the Roman war, and in the peril of the king's war: Cesarea, and Antiochus Maccabaeus, who was the son of those things, preserved it to them. And when the people of Alexandria and of Antioch did after that, at the time that Vespasian and Titus his son governed the habitable earth, pray that these privileges of citizens might be taken away, they did not obtain their request. In which behaviour any one may discern the equity and generosity of the Romans; especially of Vespasian and Titus, who, although they had been at a great deal of pains in the wars with the Jews, and were exasperated against them, because they did not deliver up their weapons to them, but continued the war to the very last, yet they did not take away any of their forementioned privileges being longing to treat the Jews, but restrained their anger; and overcame the prayers of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, who were a very powerful people, insomuch that they did not yield to them, neither out of their favour to those people nor out of their old grudges at those who were opposed to them, because they did not esteem opposition they had subded in the war; nor would they alter any of the ancient favours granted to the Jews, but said, that those who had borne against them, and fought them, had suffered punishment already, and that it was not just to deprive those that had not offended of the privileges they enjoyed.

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afterward when Antiochus overcame Scopas, in a battle fought at the fountains of Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. But afterward, when Antiochus subdued those cities of Tesalónica which Scopas had gotten into his possession, and organized them into the Jews of their own accord went over to him, and received him into the city [Jerusalem,] and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison. And the Jews, surprised at the good behaviour of the Jews towards him, and informed them what rewards he had resolved to bestow on them for that their behaviour. I will set down presently the epistles themselves, which he wrote to the generals concerning them, but will first produce the testimonies of Polybius of Megalopolis, for thus does he speak in the sixteenth book of his history: "Now Scopas, the general of Ptolemy's army, went in haste to the superior part, and by force of arms, and surprise, overthrew the nation of the Jews. He also saith, in the same book, that when Scopas was conquered by Antiochus, Antiochus received Bataenas and Samaria, and Abila and Gedara; and then sent to the Jews inhabitant in there that those Jews that inhabited near that temple which was called Jerusalem, concerning which, although I have more to say, and particularly concerning the temple of God, I shall set down in the next that temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus to the Jews. He sends a friendly greeting: since the Jews, upon our first entrance in their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and causeth men and women to send us presents, an abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrisons of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to render them a signal service under their city, which have been greatly popolurized by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And inasmuch as we have had occasion to account of their piety, toward God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred arachne of fine linen, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work of the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them by their own labor, and by the cities and countries, and out of Libanus, tax free: and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of these nation live peaceably and securely in their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the corvée, and other taxes also. And that the Jews may sooner be included as inhabitants, grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperberæus. We also dispose of the future, the third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all these citizens that have been carried away, are now become citizens, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them.

4. And these were the contents of this epistle. He also published a decree, through all his kingdom, in honour of the temple, which contained what follows: "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, as the sanctuary is a national, and the nation, a holy and holy temple, that of any animal which is forbidden for the Jews to eat. Nor let their skins be brought into it; nor let any such animal be bred up in the city. Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which they have been obliged to make acceptable offerings to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let him pay to the priests three thousand drachmas of silver." Moreover, this Antiochus abolished the idolatrous, or heathen, or profane, or unholy rites, especially all the abominations of the Seleucid kingdom; he also set up in the temple the image of Zeus and his most intimate friend, to send some of our nation out of Babylon into Phrygia. The epistle was this: "Antiochus to Zeuxis, his Father, sendeth greeting: If you are in health, and in prosperity, and in the sight of God, and deliver you in the midst of the temple, yet do I put off that history till another opportunity." This it is which Polybius relates. But we will return to the series of the history, when we have first produced the epistles of king Antiochus to the Jews. He sends a friendly greeting: since the Jews, upon our first entrance in their country, demonstrated their friendship towards us; and when we came to their city [Jerusalem,] received us in a splendid manner, and causeth men and women to send us presents, an abundance of provisions to our soldiers, and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrisons of the Egyptians that were in the citadel, we have thought fit to reward them, and to render them a signal service under their city, which have been greatly popolurized by such accidents as have befallen its inhabitants, and to bring those that have been scattered abroad back to the city. And inasmuch as we have had occasion to account of their piety, toward God, to bestow on them, as a pension, for their sacrifices of animals that are fit for sacrifice, for wine, and oil, and frankincense, the value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and [six] sacred arachne of fine linen, with one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni of wheat, and three hundred and seventy-five medimni of salt. And these payments I would have fully paid them, as I have sent orders to you. I would also have the work of the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be any thing else that ought to be rebuilt. And for the materials of wood, let it be brought them by their own labor, and by the cities and countries, and out of Libanus, tax free: and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious. And let all of these nation live peaceably and securely in their own country; and let the senate and the priests, and the scribes of the temple, and the sacred singers, be discharged from poll-money and the corvée, and other taxes also. And that the Jews may sooner be included as inhabitants, grant a discharge from taxes for three years to its present inhabitants, and to such as shall come to it, until the month Hyperberæus. We also dispose of the future, the third part of their taxes, that the losses they have sustained may be repaired. And all these citizens that have been carried away, are now become citizens, we grant them and their children their freedom, and give order that their substance be restored to them."

How Antiochus made a League with Ptolemy; and how Onias provoked Ptolemy Enarrates to Ar- gue with Joseph. How Joseph brought a league with Antiochus again, and entered into Friendship with him; and what other things were done by Joseph and his son Hyrcanus.

§ 1. After this, Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy; and gave him his daughter to marry. Later, he also gave the two daughters of Judas, the sons of Zechariah and John Celosaria, and Samaria, and Jada, and Phoebe, by way of dowry. And upon the di-
vidinal of the taxes—between the two kings, all the principal men formed the taxes of their several countries, and, collecting the sum that was set down for them, paid the same to the [two] kings. Now at this same time the Samaritans, in a flourishing condition, and much distressed the Jews, cutting off parts of their land, and carrying off slaves. This happened when Oinas was king. He was so kind toward Joseph, before Joseph sent his friends to Samaria, and bestowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments, and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand sesterces; for he left Joseph in Can- undria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up and thereto to meet him. When he saw the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been eaten by King Josias, before as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chari- olet; and as he sat, he spoke to him of the plain of the management of Oinas. To which he answered, Forgive me, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, the old men and infants have their minds exactly on this subject, and thou art among us, who are young men, every thing thou desir- est, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantness of the young man, the king was more delighted, that he began already, as though he had long expe- rience of his, to have a still greater affection for him, inasmuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

4. And when the day came, on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, and because he had not the sum that was assigned him, if he would not give him leave to go ambas- sador on behalf of the nation! He replied, that he would give him leave. Upon which Joseph went up into the temple, and called the multitude together to a congregation, and excoriated them not to be disturbed or affrighted because of his uncle Oinas's carelessness, but desired them to be at rest, and not terrify them- selves with fear about it; for he promised them that he would be their ambassador to the king, and persuade him that they had done him no wrong. And when the multitude heard this, they returned thanks to Joseph. So he went down from the temple, and would confirm the tax in an hospitable manner. He also presented him with rich gifts, and feasted him magnificently for many days, and then sent him to the king before him, and told him that he would soon follow him: for he was glad to be able, by the encouragement of the ambassador, who earnestly persuaded him to come into Egypt; and promised him that he would take care that he should obtain every thing that he desired. So Ptolemy, for he was far pleased with his frank and liberal temper, and with the gravity of his deportment.

3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into

Egypt, he told the king of the thoughtless tem- per of Oinas, and informed him of the goodness of the disposition of Joseph, and that he was coming to him, to excuse the multitude, as not having done him any harm, for that he was their patron. In short, he was so very large in his com- mences upon the young man, that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra to have a budge of kindness for him. So Joseph sent to his friends at Samaria, and bestowed money of them, and got ready what was necessary for his journey, garments, and cups, and beasts for burden, which amounted to about twenty thousand sesterces; for he left Joseph in Canundria. Now it happened, that at this time all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phenicia, to bid for their taxes; for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city. So these men saw Joseph journeying on the way and laughed at him for his poverty and meanness. But when he came to Alexandria, and heard that king Ptolemy was at Memphis, he went up and thereto to meet him. When he saw the king was sitting in his chariot, with his wife, and with his friend Athenion, who was the very person who had been ambassador at Jerusalem, and been eaten by King Josias, before as Athenion saw him, he presently made him known to the king, how good and generous a young man he was. So Ptolemy saluted him first, and desired him to come up into his chariot; and as he sat, he spoke to him of the plain of the management of Oinas. To which he answered, Forgive me, on account of his age, for thou canst not certainly be unacquainted with this, the old men and infants have their minds exactly on this subject, and thou art among us, who are young men, every thing thou desir- est, and shalt have no cause to complain. With this good humour and pleasantness of the young man, the king was more delighted, that he began already, as though he had long expe- rience of his, to have a still greater affection for him, inasmuch that he bade him take his diet in the king's palace, and be a guest at his own table every day. But when the king was come to Alexandria, the principal men of Syria saw him sitting with the king, and were much offended at it.

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3. When Ptolemy's ambassador was come into
from the cities into Egypt, who were utterly disappointed; and they returned every one to their own country with shame.

5. But Joseph took with him two thousand foot soldiers from the king, for he desired him might have some assurance, in order to focus, such as were refractory in the cities to pay. And borrowing of the king’s friends at Alexandria five hundred talents, he made haste back into Syria. And when he was at Askalon, and the dog to be flagrant above the price of Askalon, they refused to pay any thing; and afflicted him also: upon which he seized upon about twenty of the principal men, and slew them, and gave them to the dogs to eat. He also took away twenty-six talents privately the year of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had too yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, and said, you are not to the king, and informed him what he had done; Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished, and having before them a sad example in the men of Askalon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And this it was that attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent them to the king, and the king was pleased with the news he brought, gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes: and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of praise, that he had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, as Cleopatra, and his friends, and to all which were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

6. This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two years; and was become the father of seven sons, by one wife: he had also another son, whose name was Hyrcanus, by his brother Solymin’s daughter, whom he married on the following occasion. He once came to Alexandria with his brother, who had along with him a daughter already marriageable, in order to give him a wedlock to some of the Jews of chief dignity there. He then supped with the king, and falling in love with an actress, that was of great beauty, and came into the room where she was feasted, he took possession of it, and entertained him, because a Jew is forbidden by their law to come near to a foreigner, to conceal his offence, and to be kind and subservient to him, and to give him an opposition, he married his daughter, upon which his brother willingly entertained the proposal of serving him, and adorned his own daughter, and brought her to him by night, and put her into his bed. And Joseph, being disordered with drink, knew not who she was, and so lay with his brother’s daughter; and this did lie many times, and loved her exceedingly, and said to his brother, that he loved this actress so well, that he should ruin his life if [he must part with her,] and yet probably the king would not give him leave (to take her with him.) But his brother bade him be in no concern about that matter, and told him, he might enjoy her whom he loved without any danger, and might have her for his wife; and opened the truth of the matter to him, and assured him that he chose rather to have his own daughter absolved, than to overlook him, and see him come to [public] disgrace. So Joseph was saved, and took his own daughter, and married his daughter, and by her begt a son, whose name was Hyrcanus, as we said before. And when this his youngest son showed himself to be a prince, that was both courageous and wise, and was greatly enjed by his brothers, as being of a genius much above them, and such a one as they might well
enjoy, Joseph had once a mind to know which of his sons had the best disposition to virtue, and when he sent them severally to those that had then the best reputation for instructing youth, the rest of his children, by reason of their youth, and not willing to take pains, returned to him foolish and unlearned. After them he sent out the youngest, Hyrcanus, and gave him three hundred yokes of oxen, and bade him go two days’ journey into the wilderness, and take the oxen back privately the year of the oxen that coupled them together. When Hyrcanus came to the place, and found he had too yokes with him, he contemned the drivers of the oxen, and said, you are not to the king, and informed him what he had done; Ptolemy admired the prudent conduct of the man, and commended him for what he had done; and gave him leave to do as he pleased. When the Syrians heard of this, they were astonished, and having before them a sad example in the men of Askalon that were slain, they opened their gates, and willingly admitted Joseph, and paid their taxes. And this it was that attempted to affront him, and would not pay him those taxes which they formerly used to pay, without disputing about them, he slew also the principal men of that city, and sent them to the king, and the king was pleased with the news he brought, gathered great wealth together, and made vast gains by this farming of the taxes: and he made use of what estate he had thus gotten, in order to support his authority, as thinking it a piece of praise, that he had been the occasion and foundation of his present good fortune; and this he did by the assistance of what he was already possessed of, for he privately sent many presents to the king, as Cleopatra, and his friends, and to all which were powerful about the court, and thereby purchased their good-will to himself.

7. But when one told him that Ptolemy had a son, he was afraid lest that all the principal men of Syria, and the other countries subject to him, were to keep a festival, on account of the child’s birthday, and went away in haste with great riches to Alexandria, he was to go there in appearance of his old age, but he made trial of his son, whether any of them would be willing to go to the king. And when the elder sons excused themselves from going, and said, they were not comparison good enough for such occasion, and advised him to send their brother Hyrcanus, he gladly heartened to that advice; and called Hyrcanus, and asked him, whether he would go to the king; and whether it was agreeable to him to go there, and if he would send his son to the king from thence, but to give him a letter to his steward at Alexandria, that he might furnish him with whatever was most excellent and most precious. So he, thinking that the expense of ten talents would be enough for presents to be made the king, and commending his son as giving him good advice, wrote to Arion, his steward, that managed all his money matters at Alexandria; which money was not less than three thousand talents on his account, for Joseph sent the money he received in Syria to Arion of Alexandria. And when the day appointed for the matter was come, he wrote to the king and to the king’s friends, that they should destroy him. 8. But when he was come to Alexandria, he delivered his letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he would have (hoping he would have a great many), and to this he said he wanted a thousand talents. At which the steward was angry, and rebuked him, as one that intended to live extravagantly; and he let him know how his father had gathered together his estate by his own bickering, and railing, and reprobations, and wished him to imitate the example of his father: he assured him, said, that he
would give him but ten talents, and that for a slave. The son accused the father of neglecting him, and shut him up in the house, and threw Arion into prison. But when Arion's wife had informed Cleopatra of this, she sent him some money, and having been enriched by the3 king's care, he resolved to go to the king also. And Ptolemy sent for Hycranus, and told him, that "he wondered when he was sent to him by his father, that he had not yet come into his presence, but had laid the steward in prison. And when they rejoiced, he said that the slave should come to him, and give an account of the reason of what he had done. And they report, that the answer he made to the king's messenger was, he was the most, offered the slaves and maidens, and forbade a child that was born to taste of the sacrifice before he had been at the temple and sacri- ficed to God. According to which way of reason- ning he did not himself come to him in expecta- tion of the present he was made to do, as to one who had been his father's benefactor; and that he had punished the slave for disobeying his commands, for that it mattered not whether a master was little or great; so that unless we punish the slave, we will escape the doom he was in, if we do not do what is right, for it was that Hycranus' brethren had written to destroy him. Now Ptolemy admired at the young man's magnanimity, and commended him for his beauty, and that he had been nothing else to be done for him by the king than to write to his father and brethren about him. So when the king had paid him very great res- pects, and had given him very large gifts, and he had written to his father and brethren, and all his commanders and officers about him, he sent him away. But when his brethren heard that Hycranus had received such favours from the king, and was returning home with great honours, they contrived to destroy him, and that with the privity of their father; for he was angry at him for the large sum of money that he bestowed for presents, and so had no concern for his preservation. However, Joseph concealed the anger he had at his son, out of fear of the king. And when Hycranus' brethren came to fight him, he slew many others of those who were with them; as also two of his father's brethren themselves, to whom he was indebted to Jerusalem to their father. But when Hycranus came to the city, where nobody would receive him, he was afraid for himself, and retired beyond the river Jordan, and the desert, but the barbarians exacting the barbarians to pay their taxes.

10. At this time Seleucus, who was called So- ter, reigned over Asia, being the son of Antiochus the Great. And (now) Hycranus' father Joseph died. He was aged about thirty, and, of the highest mag- nanimity; and brought the Jews out of a state of poverty and meanness, to one that was more splendid. He retained the farm of the taxes of Syria, and Phrygia, and Samaria, twenty-two years. His uncle also, Onias, died (about this time), and left the high priesthood to his son Simon. And when he was dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that dignity. To him it was that Areus, king of the Lacedemo- nians, to Onias, sendeth greeting: We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have dis- covered that both the Lacedemonians and the Jews are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham." It is but just, therefore,
that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demotes, who began this letter, will bring your answer back to us. This letter is for square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in its claws.

11. And these were the contents of the epistle which was sent from the king of the Laecedemos, but the death of the king. The people grew seditions, on account of his sons; for whereas the elders made war against Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's sons, the multitude was divided, but the greater part joined with the cursed Simon the high priest, by reason of his kin to them. However, Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan; and was at perpetual war with the Aravians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof; and had animals of a prodigious magnitude erected for his riding. He also had a deep and deep canal of water. He also made cares of many furlongs in length, by hollowing a rock that was over against him: and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for those that were to be imprisoned, and introduced also a vast quantity of waters, which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the strongest places so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his brethren, and ravaged by the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vasty large gardens. And when he had brought the place to this state, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon. And he ruled over those parts for seven years, even all the time that Seleucus was king of Syria. But when he was dead, his brother Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, took the kingdom. Ptolemy, also, the king of Egypt, died, who was besides called Epiphanes. He left two sons, and both young in age; the elder of whom was called Philometor, and the younger called Seleucus. As for Hyrcanus, when he saw that Antiochus had a great army, and feared lest he should be caught by him, and brought to punishment for what he had done to the Aravians, he ended his life, by slaying himself with his own hand; while Antiochus seized upon all his substance.

CHAP. V.

How, upon the Quarrels of the Jews one against another about the High Priesthood, Antiochus meditated an expedition against them, took the City and pillaged the Temple, and desecrated the Jews: as also how many of the Jews were killed, and how the Samaritans followed the Customs of the Greeks, and named their Temple at Mount Gerizim, the Temple of Jupiter Hellemus.

1. About this time, upon the death of Onias the high priest, they gave the high priesthood to his brother; for that son which Onias left was a woman, but yet but an infirm child, in a proper place, we will inform the reader of all the circumstances that befell this child. But this Jesus, who was the brother of Onias, was deprived of the high priesthood by the king, who was angry with him, and gave it to his younger brother, whose name also was Onias, for Simon had these three sons, to each of which the priesthood came, as we have already informed the reader. This Jesus changed his name to Judas; and thus was called Menelaus. Now as the former high priest, Jesus, raised a sedition against Menelaus, who was ordained after him, the multitude were divided between them both. And the sons of Tobiah took the part of Menelaus, but the greater part of the people assisted Jason; and by that means Menelaus and the sons of Tobiah, were oppressed, and retired to Antiochus, and afterwards he became the master of the country, and the Jewish way of living according to them, and to follow the king's law, and the Grecian way of living. Wherefore they desired his permission to build them a Gynaeum, and such dwelling houses. And when he had permitted them to build it, they left off, and then it was that they did the circumcisions of their children, that even when they were naked they might appear to be Greeks. Accordingly they left off all the customs that belonged to their own nation, and imitated the practices of the other nations.

2. Now Antiochus, upon the agreeable situation of the affairs of his kingdom, resolved to make a war against Egypt, but because he had a desire to gain it, and because he was commended the son of Ptolemy, as now weak, and not yet of abilities to manage affairs of such consequence; so he came with great forces to Ptolemais, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and seized upon Egypt. He then came to the places about Memphis; and when he had taken them, he made haste to Alexandria, in hopes of taking it by siege, and of subduing Ptolemy himself and all. But Antiochus did not only from Alexandria, but out of all Egypt, by the declaration of the Romans, who charged him to let that country alone; according as I have elsewhere formerly declared. I will now give an account of what came to pass. Thus, when he was king, how he subdued Judea and the temple— for in my former work I mentioned those things very briefly, and have therefore now thought it necessary to go over the history again, and that with greater accuracy.

3. King Antiochus returning out of Egypt, for fear of the Romans, made an expedition against the city Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the hundred forty and third year of the kingdom of the Greek history of the Jewish War, long since past, begun with that very history, as that the references are most probably made to that edition of the seven books of the war. See several other examples, besides those in the two sections before us, in Antiqu. B. vii. ch. sec. 1, 4; and ch. vi. ch. sec. 6, 11; ch. vii. ch. sec. 4, 5; and ch. vii. ch. sec. 4, 5; and Antiq. B. viii. ch. ii. sec. 5.

1 This word Gynaeum properly denotes a place where the women retired to; but in Antiquities, it is applied, as if it were a common place, to such places as would naturally distinguish circumcised Jews from uncircumcised Gentiles, these Jewish societies establishe the privilege of being circumcised, by the hands of a medical surgeon, to be attended by the St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 18, and described by Col. B. vii. ch. xxv. as Dr. Heidenreich here informs us.
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strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised, as the king had appointed.

And when he had gathered all together, he resolved he saw many of the opposite party; and when he had plundered it of a great deal of money, he returned to Antioch.

4. Now it came to pass, after two years, in the hundred and forty and fifth year, on the Saturday day of that month, which is by us called Casleu, and by the Macedonians Apelleus, in the hundred and fifty-third olympiad, that the king came up to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, got possession of the city; and at that time it appeared not so much as those that admitted him into it account of the riches that lay in the temple; but, led by his covetous inclination, (for he said there was in it a great deal of gold, and many monuments that had been dedicated to it, of very great value,) and in order to plunder its wealth, he ventured to break the league he had made. So he left the temple bare; and took away the golden candlesticks and altar of incense, and table of show-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering; and did not abstain from even the vails which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He also emptied it of its secret treasures. And those Jews, that trusted in the city, were carried away by these means cast the Jews into great lamentation, for he forbade them to offer those daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God, according to the law. And when he had pillaged the city, he left the remains of it, and some he carried captive, together with their wives and children, so that the multitude of those captives that were taken alive amounted to about ten thousand. He also burnt down twenty-two of the Macedonians. However, in this citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude, from whom it proved that the citizens suffered many and sore calamities. And when the king had built an altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice, neither according to the law, nor the Jewish religious worship in that country. He also compelled them to make the images of all the Gentiles; and then punished them, and made them build temples, and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day. He also compelled Jews who resided in Asia to come to Jerusalem upon his proclamation, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunctions. He also appointed overseers, who should compel them to do what he commanded. And indeed many Jews there were who complied with the king's commands, either voluntarily or out of fear of the penalty that was denounced: but the best men, and those of the noblest sorts, did not regard him, but did pay a greater respect to the customs of their country, than to the punishment which he threatened to the disobedient; on which account they every day underwent great miseries, and bitter torments, for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn with scorpions, and were crucified, while they were still alive, and breathed: they also were there seem to be fewer variations than in any other ancient Hebrew book of the Old Testament whatsoever, (for this book was originally written in Hebrew,) which is very natural, because it was written so much sooner to the time the rest were written.

Thucydides, of which we have frequent mention in the following history, both in the Macedonians and Jews, in the Senate of the Romans, and even upon the learned and ablest mess who has written the history of the Jews; and such as they now are, have been accused with accusations which belong to the Jews, but choose to live after the customs of the Greeks. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, if they are at all responsible, let them go to the courts of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmodeus. He was a great person, and a very able one, and a ready and skilful warrior: and he was the best of all the men that were in the war, and the most valiant. And he inspired Matityahu, now upon the gate, and threatened to cut off their heads, and not give them any part of the spoil they had obtained. Now if there were any sacred book of the law found, it was destroyed, and those with whom they were found, miserably punished also.

5. When the Samaritans saw the Jews under these sufferings, they no longer confessed that they were of their kindred, nor that the temple on mount Gerizim belonged to Almighty God. This was according to their nature, as we have already shown; and the more so, because they were a colony of Medes and Persians: and in deed they were a colony of theirs. So they sent ambassadors to Antiochus, and an epistle; whose contents are these: To King Antiochus, the god, Epiphaneus, a memorial from the Sidonians, who live at Shechem. Our forefathers, upon certain frequent plagues, and as following a certain accursed superstition, had a custom of observing that in an annual day by which the Jews is called the Sabbath. And when they had erected a temple at the mountain called Gerizim, though without a name, they offered upon it the proper sacrifices. Now, upon the just treatment of these wicked Jews, they offered them all that we were of kin to them, and practised as they do, make us liable to the same accusations, although we be originally Sidonians, as is evident from the public records. We therefore beseech thee, in consideration of our benefits to order to Apollonius, the governor of this part of the country, and to Nicanor, the procurator of thy affairs, to give us no disturbance, nor to lay to our charge what the Jews are accused for, since we are aliens from their nation, and from their customs; but let our temple, which at present hath no name at all, be named The temple of Jupiter Hellenis. If this were once done, we shall be more distant from the Jews, and have more interest on our own occupation with quietness, and so bring in a greater revenue to thee." When the Samaritans had petitioned for this, the king sent them back the following answer, in an epistle: "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians, who live at Shechem, have sent me the memorial enclosed. When therefore we were advising with our friends about it, the messengers sent by them requested to have their temple named The temple of Jupiter Hellenis. Accordingly we declare them free from such accusations, and order that, if they are at all responsible, let them go to the courts of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas."

CHAP. VI.

How, upon Antiochus's Prohibition to the Jews to make use of the Laws of their Country, Mattathias the Son of Asamoneus alone despised the King, and overcame the Generals of Antiochus's army that were against the Faith of Mattathias, and the Succession of Judas.

1. Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmodæus.
neus, a priest of the order of Joiarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem, who was called Gaddis, and Simon who was called Mat-thes, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus, and Eleazar, who was called Auron, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus. Now this Mattathias lamented to his children the sad state of the affairs, and the ravage made in the city, and the plundering of the temple, and the calamities the multitude were under; and he told them, that it was better for them to die for the laws of their country, than to live so ingloriously as they then did.

2. But when those that were appointed by the king were come to Modin, that they might compel the Jews to do those things you recommended, and to enjoy those that were there to offer sacrifice, as the king had commanded, they despaired of Mattathias, a person of the greatest character among them, both on other accounts, and particularly on account of such a numerous and so deserving a family of children, would begin the sacrifice, because his fellow-citizens would follow his example, and because such a procedure would make him honoured by the king. [He said,] he would not be the last to do it; and that if all the other nations would obey the commands of Antiochus, either out of fear, or to please him, yet would he not be his son leave the religious worship of their country. And after he had thus much, his speech was out of the Jews into the midst of them, and sacrificed, as Antiochus had commanded. At which Mattathias had great indignation, and ran upon him with his sons, and made a stroke at his body, and slew both the man himself that sacrificed, and Apelles the king's general, who compelled them to sacrifice, with a few of his soldiers. He also overthrew the idol altar; and cut down the holy vessels; expunged the laws of his country, and for the worship of God, let him follow me. And when he had said this, he made haste into the desert with his sons, and left all his substance in the village. Many others did the same like him, and fled with their children and wives into the desert, and dwelt in caves. But when the king's generals heard this, they took all the forces they then had in the citadel at Jerusalem, and pursued the Jews into the desert; where they overtook them on the first place endeavoured to persuade them to repent, and to choose what was most for their advantage, and not put them to the necessity of using force according to the laws of war. But when they would not comply with their persuasions, but continued to be of a different mind, they fought against them on the Sabbath-day, and they burnt them, as they were in the caves, without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves. And they avoided to defend themselves on that day, because they were not willing to break in upon the honour they owed the Sabbath, in such distresses, for our law requires that we rest the seventh day. There were about a thousand, with their wives and children, who were smothered, and died in these caves; but many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath-day; and told them, that unless they would do so, they would become their own enemies, by observing the law [on such a day] while their adversaries would still assault them on this day, and they would not then defend themselves, and that nothing could then hinder but they must all perish without fighting. This speech persuaded them. And

*That this appellation of Maccabees was not first of all used to Josue, but Josue himself, nor was derived from any initial letters of the Hebrew name of his father, Antigonus, but from the Greek word Maccabaios, which was derived from a personage the great-grandfather of Mattathias, and Josue and his posterity.

**Exk. Eilam, Jehohvah. Who to his name that among the gods, O Jehovah? (Jewish IV. xi. 11 as the modern Rabbinic usually
Book XII.—chap. vii.

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made haste to go against Judas, who met him, and joined battle with him, and beat him, and slew many of his men, and among them Apollo-
nius himself, that of metal, white sword, by which he was known, which he had taken without himself knowing that which had happened to those who were awaiting him, and seeing him, and beholding him, and keeping himself, but he wounded him more than he saw, and took a great deal of prey from the enemies' camp, and went his way. But when Judas saw that he was not killed, he thought that he might take him, and to make supplication to him to give them, in the custom of their country, clothed in sackcloth, and to show what was their usual habit of supplication in the greatest dangers, and thereby to prevail with God to grant him the victory over his enemies. So he went among them in the order of battle used by their forefathers, under their captains of thousands, and other officers; and dismissed such as were newly married, as well as those that had newly born children, lest that they might not fight in a cowardly manner, out of an inordinate love of life, in order to enjoy those blessings. When he had thus disposed his soldiers, he encouraged them to fight by the following speech, which he made to them: "O my fellow-soldiers, no other time remains more opportune than the present for courage and contempt of dangers; for if you now fight manfully, you may recover your liberty, which, as it is a thing of itself agreeable, and a thing of the greatest advantage to us, as much more desirable, by its offering us the liberty of worshipping God. Since, therefore, you are in such circumstances at present, in such respect as that you must now, as before, regain a happy and blessed way of living, which is that according to our laws and the customs of our country, or to submit to the most opprobrious sufferings: nor will any seed of your nation remain if you be lost in this battle; but for your sake, therefore, and suppose that you must die though you do not fight. But believe, that besides such glorious rewards as those of the liberty of your country, of your laws, of your religion, you shall obtain the end of this war, and peace. Prepare yourselves, therefore, and put yourselves into such an agreeable posture that you may be ready to fight with the enemy as soon as it is day to-morrow morning."

3. And this was the news which Judas made to encourage them. But when the enemy sent Gorgias, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, that he might fall upon Judas by night, and by surprise, and rout them, all the runagate Jews as guides, the son of Mattathias perceived it, and resolved to fall upon those enemies, that were in their camp, now their forces were divided. When they had therefore supplied their want, and marched all night, they at daybreak, having been left without rest, began to march camp, he marched all night to those enemies that were at Emmaus; so that when Gorgias found no enemy in their camp, but suspected that they were retired and had hidden themselves among the mountains, he resolved to go and seek them wheresoever they were. But about break of day, Judas appeared to those enemies that were at Emmaus, with only three thousand men, and those ill armed, by reason of their being surprised, and when he saw them, put them to flight, and destroyed Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Persia; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year, he passed over the Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.

4. Upon this Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, very proper men among the king's friends, and delivered to them forty thousand foot soldiers, and seven thousand horsemen, and sent them against Judas, who came as far as the city Emmaus, and pitched their camp in the plain country. Then he sent all his other soldiers into the country round about, as also many of the runagate Jews. And besides these came some merchants to buy those that should be carried captives (having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners,) with that silver and gold which they were wont for that purpose. And when Judas saw their camp, and how numerous their enemies were, he persuaded his own soldiers to be of good courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God, and was made an expedition against them, as thinking it became him to make punishment to him, that had transgressed the king's injunctions. He then got together an army, as large as he was able, and joined to it the runagate and wicked Jews, and came against Judas. He then came as far as Bethoron, a village of Judaea, and there pitched his camp; upon which Judas met him; and when he intended to give him battle, he saw that his soldiers were backward to fight, because their number was small, and prepared to wait upon them for food, for they were fasting; he encouraged them, and said to them, that "victory and conquest of enemies are not derived from the multitude in armies, but in the exercise of piety towards our forefathers, and the abiding upon the principles of our forefathers, which, by their righteousness, and exercising themselves on behalf of their own laws and their own children, had frequently confounded the multitude, and by the strength of their innocence is the strongest army." By this speech he induced his men to confound the multitude of the enemy, and to fall upon Saron. And upon coming battle with him, he beat the Syrians; and when their general had fled, he took his post, and the rest of their army ran away with speed, as thinking that to be their best way of escaping. So he pursued them unto the plain, and slew about eight hundred of the enemy, but the rest escaped to the region which lay between Bethoron and Antiaphia. And when king Antiochus heard of these things, he was very angry at what had happened; so he got together all his own army, with many mercenaries, whom he had hired from the islands, and reaching from the river Euphrates, and committed to him a certain part of his forces, and of his elephants, and charged him to bring up his son Antiochus with all possible care, until he came back; and that he should conquer Judas, and destroy Jerusalem, and abolish the whole nation. And when king Antiochus had given these things in charge to Lysias, he went into Egypt; and in the hundred and forty-seventh year, he passed over the Euphrates, and went up to the superior provinces.
must have a contest and a battle with Gorgias, and the forces that were with him; but that when they had once overcome them, then they might securely plunder the camp, because they were the only enemies remaining, and they expected would be the last. And just as he was speaking to his soldiers, Gorgias’s men looked down into that army which they left in their camp, and saw that it was overthrown, and the camp burnt; for the smoke that arose from it showed them, even from a distance, the great and wonderful event that had happened. When, therefore, those that were with Gorgias understood that things were in this posture, and perceived that those that were with Judas were ready to fight them, they also were afraid of a fight; but they had already beaten Gorgias’s soldiers without fighting, returned and seized on the spoils. He took a great quantity of gold and silver, and purples and blue, and then returned home with joy, and singing hymns to God for their good success; for this victory greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.

5. Hereupon Lyons was conflagrated at the defeat which he had endured, and the next year he got together sixty thousand chosen men. He also took five thousand horsemen, and fell upon Judas; and he went up to the hill-country of Bethsura, a village of Judea, and pitched his camp there, where there were more than ten thousand men; and when he saw the great number of his enemies, he prayed to God that he would assist them, and joined battle with the first of the enemy that appeared, and beat them, and drove them all before him; and thereby became terrible to the rest of them. Nay, indeed, Lyons observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than give up their liberty, and how they did of their desperate way of fighting, as if it were real strength, he took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch, where he listed foreigners into the service, and prepared to fall upon Judea with a great army.

6. When, therefore, the generals of Antiochus’s armies had been beaten so often, Judas assembled the people together, and told them, that “after these many victories which God had given them, they should now go to Jerusalem, and purify the temple, and offer the appointed sacrifices.” But as soon as he, with the whole multitude, was come to Jerusalem, and found the temple defiled, and its gates burnt down, and plants growing in it, and the holy vessels thrown out of the temple of its desertion, he and those that were with him began to lament, and were quite confounded at the sight of the temple; so he chose out some of his soldiers, and gave them四十 and fifty years, those guards that were in the citadel, until he should have purified the temple. When, therefore, he had carefully purged it, and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table (of showbread), and the altar (of incense), which were made of gold, he hung up the vails at the gates, and added doors to them. He also took down the altar (of burnt-offering,) and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not far from Jerusalem, and laid the loaves upon the table (of showbread,) and offered burnt-offerings upon the new altar (of burnt-offering.) Now it so fell out, that these things were done on the very same day on which they had burnt the city, and was renewed to a profane and common use, after three years’ time; for so it was that the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for the same time. This desolation happened to the temple in the hundred and forty-ninth year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, and on the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad; but it was dedicated anew on the same day, the twenty-fifth of the month Apelleus, on the hundred and forty-eight year, and on the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad. And this declaration came before the council of the ancients, which was given four hundred and eight years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for some time.]

7. Now Judas celebrated the festival of the restoration of the temple; and he caused the temple to be purified, and the utensils which had been defiled to be purified for eight days; and omitted no sort of pleasures thereon; but he feasted them upon very rich and splendid sacrifices; and he honoured God, and delighted them by hymns and ceremonies. And they were so very glad at the revival of their customs, when, after a long time of intermission they unexpectedly had regained the freedom of their worship, that they made it a law for their posterity, that they should keep a festival, and count of the restoration of their temple worship, for eight days. And from that time to this we celebrate this festival, and call it ‘Lights.’ I suppose the reason was, because this liberty began to spring up, and Judas was the name given to that feast. Judas also rebuilt the walls round about the city; and reared towers of great height against the invasions of enemies; and set guards therein. He also fortified other cities, so that it might serve as a citadel against any distresses that might come from our enemies.

§ 1. When these things were over, the nations round about the Jews were very uneasy at the prevail of that, and rose against them, and destroyed many of them, as gaining advantage over them by laying snares for them, and making secret conspiracies against them. Judas made perpetual expeditions against these men, and destroyed many of them, and put an end to their insurrections, and to prevent the mischief they did to the Jews. So he fell upon the Idumeans, the posterity of Esau, at Acrabatene, and slew a great many of them, and took their spoils. He also built a city upon the bank of the river, the city of the Jews, and he sat down about them, and besieged them, and burnt their towers, and destroyed the men that were in them. After this, he went the hundred and forty and fifth year on the twenty-fifth day of the month Apelleus, in which Timotheus was the commander. And when he had subdued them, he seized on the city Jazer, and took their wives and their children captive, and burnt the city and then returned into Judea. But when the neighboring nations understood that he was returned, they got together in great numbers in the land of Gilgal, and came against those Jews that were not yet in the city of Jerusalem, and besieged it. And he sent to the messengers that came to him from the city of Pathesma; and sent to Judas to inform him that Timotheus was endeavouring to take the place whither they were fled. And as these epistles were reading, there came other messengers out of Galilee, who informed him that the inhabi-
of Zacharias, and Azarias, to be over the rest of the forces; and charged them to keep Judea very carefully, and to fight no battles with any persons whatsoever until his return. Accordingly, Simon went into Galilee, and sought the enemy, and put them to flight, and pursued them to the very gates of Polemian, and slew about three thousand of them; and took the spoils of those that were slain, and led away, for hire, cattle, made captives, with their baggage; and then returned home.

3. Now as for Judas Maccabees, and his brother Joseph, they were now about forty and when they had gone three days' journey, they lit upon the Nabiotes, who came to meet them pleasantly, and who told them how the affairs of those in the land of Galilee stood; and how many of them were in distress, and driven into garrisons, and into the cities of Galilee; and exhorted him to make haste to go against the foreigners, and toendeavour to save his own countrymen out of their hands. To this exhortation Judas hearkened, and returned into the wilderness; and in the first place fell upon the inhabitants of Beor, and took the city, and beat the inhabitants, and destroyed all the males, and that were able to fight, and killed. Now it chanced that the city of Beor did not stand long, nor hold out; and the night came on, but he journeyed in it to the garrison where the Jews happened to be then shut up, and where Timotheus lay round the place with his army: and he went forth to the garrison, and spoke with them, and when he found that the enemy were making an assault upon the walls, and that some of them brought ladders, on which they might get upon those walls, and that others brought engines to The wall itself, he posted the trumpet to sound his trumpet, and be encouraged his soldiers cheerfully to undergo dangers for the sake of their brethren and kinsmen; and he also parted his army into three bodies, and fell upon the backs of their enemies, and chased them, to the end that it was Maccabees that was upon them, of both whose courage and good success in war they had formerly had sufficient experience, they were put to flight; but Judas followed them with his army, and slew about eight thousand of them.

He then turned aside to a city of the foreigners called Mallac, and took it, and slew all the males, and burnt the city itself. He then removed from there and took Beor, and all the other places, and many other cities of the land of Gilead.

4. But not long after this, Timotheus prepared a great army, and took many others as auxiliaries, and induced some of the Arabians, by the granting them great rewards, and the like, to join with him; and so he marched against Beor, and some other cities of the land of Gilead.

5. And when Judas heard that Timotheus prepared himself to fight, he took all his army, and went in haste against The Idumeans his enemies; and when he had passed over the brook, he fell upon his enemies, and some of them met him, whom he slew, and others of them he so terrified, that he compelled them to throw down their arms, and fly; and some of them escaped, but some of them fled to what was called the temple at Carmah, and hoped thereby to preserve themselves; but Judas took

* The reason why Botsham was called Scythopolis is well known from Herodotus, B. I. p. 105, and Syncellus, p. 354, that the Scythians, when they set up their city, and made it as long as they continued in Asia, from which it retained the name of Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians.

6. Moreover, of the religious Jews in this expedition, which was according to the will of God, is observable among their people, the Jews, and somewhat very like it in the change of the city, and slew them, and burnt the temple, and so used several ways of destroying his enemies.

7. When he had done this, he gathered the Jews together, with their children and wives, and the substance that belonged to them; and was going to bring them back into Judea: but as soon as he was come to a certain city, whose name was Ephron, that lay upon the road, and as it was not possible for him and his forces to go by that way, so he was not willing to go back again; he then sent to the inhabitants, and desired that they would open their gates, and permit them to go on the next day through the city, for they had stopped up the gates with stones off their passage through it. And when the inhabitants of Ephron would not agree to this proposal, he encouraged those that were with him, and encompassed the city round, and burnt it, and lying round it by day and night, took the city, and slew every male in it, and burnt it all down, and so obtained a way through it; and the multitude of those that were slain was so great that they went over the dead bodies. So they came over Jordan, and arrived at the great plain, over against which is situate the city of Bethanan, which is called by the Greeks Scythopolis. And going away hastily from thence, they came into Judea, singeing the houses and burnt them; and indulging such tokens of mirth as are usual in triumphs upon victory. They also offered thank-offerings, both for their good success, and also for the preservation of the city of Ephron; and none of the Jews was slain in these battles.

8. But as to Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom Judas left generals [of the rest of the forces] at the same time when Simon was in the land of Galilee, fighting against the people of Polemian, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, did these men also affect the glory of being courageous generals in war, in order wherefore they took the army that was under their command and caused to march. There Gorgias, the general of the forces of Jannia, met them; and upon joining battle with him, they lost two thousand of their army, and fled away, and were pursued by the very borders of Judea. And this misfortune befell them by their disobedience to what injunctions Judas had given them. "Not to fight with any one before his return." But besides the rest of Judas's sagacious counsels, one may well consider the misfortune that befell the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them. But Judas and his brethren did not give them leave to adopt any means, but pressed upon them on all sides, and took from them the city of Hebron, and demolished all its fortifications, and set all its towers on fire, and burnt the country of the foreigners, and the city of Marissa. They came also to Ashdod, and took it, and laid it waste, and took away a great deal of the spoils and prey that were in it, and returned to Judea.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

How Antiochus Eupator fought against Judas, and besieged him in the Temple, and afterward made Peace with him, and departed. Of Antimachus and Onias.

§ 1. About this time it was that king Antiochus, as he was going over the upper countries, heard four monarchies, which were also providential. See Philo, at the years 331, 333, and 334.

* Here is an account of the beginning of the Providence, that even at the very time that Simon and Judas and Jonathan were so miraculously preserved, and blessed, in the just defence of their laws and religion, the rest of the world seem to have neglected to fight God's cause, in a vainglorious way, and without any commission from God, or the family he had raised up to deliver them, were meereply disappointed and defeated. See 1 Maccab. vi. 89
that there was a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais; and therein a very rich temple of Dia-
na, and that it was full of all sorts of donations
dedicated to it; as also weapons and breastplates,
which, upon inquiry, he found had been left there
by Antiochus the king, who had been defeated at
Philipi, in the plains of Macedo-
nia. And being incited by these motives, he
went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and
besieged it. But as those that were in it were
not terrified at his assault, nor at his siege, but
openly and boldly met and courageously resisted
off his hopes; for they drove him away from the
city, and went out and pursued after him; inso-
much that he fled away as far as Babylon, and
lost a great many of his army. And when he was
granted a truce, and disappointed of this person,
told him of the defeat of his commanders whom
he had left behind him to fight against Judea,
and what strength the Jews had already gotten.
When this concern about these affairs was added
to the former, he was confounded, and, by the
anxiety he was in, fell into a distemper, which,
as it lasted a great while, and as his pains in-
creased upon him, so he at length perceived he
about to die; and so he fled into his friends to,
and told them, that his distemper was se-
vere upon him; and confessed withal, that this
calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he
had brought upon the Jewish nation, while he
plundered the temple, and contemned the faith of God;
and when he had said this, he gave up the ghost.
Whence one may wonder at Polybius of Megalo-
polis, who, though otherwise a good man, yet
saith, that "Antiochus died because he had a pur-
pose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia," for
the purposing to do a thing, but not actually
doing it, is not worthy of punishment. But if Po-
ybius could think that Antiochus thus lost his
life on that account, it is much more probable
that the people of Jerusalem were eventually
plundered of the temple at Jerusalem. But
we will not contend about this matter with those
who may think, that the cause assigned by this
Polybius of Megalopolis is nearer the truth than
that assigned by us.

2. However, Antiochus, before he died, called
for Philip, who was one of his companions, and
made him the guardian of his kingdom; and gave
him his diadem, and his sceptre, and his ring,
and charged him to carry them, and deliver them
to his son Antiochus; and desired him to take
care of his education, and to preserve the king-
dom for him. This Antiochus died in the hun-
dred and sixtyninth year; but his son was Lyons,
that declared his death to the multitude, and ap-
pointed his son Antiochus to be king. (of whom
at present he had the care,) and called him
Eupator.

3. At this time it was that the garrison in the
citadel at Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates,
did a great deal of harm to the Jews: for the
soldiers that were in that garrison rushed up
upon the sudden, and destroyed such as were
going up to the temple in order to offer their sa-
crifices, for this citadel adjourned to and overlook-
ed the temple. When these misfortunes had
often happened to them, Judea resolved to de-
sole the temple; whereupon he got all the
people together, and vigorously besieged those
that were in the citadel. This was in the hun-
dred and fifth year of the dominion of the Se-
ceum. So he made engines of war, and erect-
ed walls very strong to be upon the battlements
that took the citadel: but there were not a few of the
runagates who were in the place, that went out
by night into the country, and got together some
other wicked men like themselves, and went to
Antiochus the king, and desired of him, that "He
would not suffer them to be neglected, under the
great pleasure that lay upon the favour of
their own nation, and this because their suffer-
ings were occasioned on his father's account,
while they left the religious worship of their fa-
ters, and preferred that which he had com-
manded, and that the kingdom was to be hel-
lost the citadel, and those appointed to garrison
in the citadel, should be taken by Judea, and
those that were with him, unless he would rec
them succours.
When Antiochus, who was but grudges.

4. So the king took the rest of his army, and marched
against Judea, and he was, the command of the whole,
and came to Idumæa, and thence went up to the city of Bethusura, a city
that was strong, and not to be taken without
great difficulty; he set about this city and be-
dered it out, whereby Bethusura courageously opposed him, and sallied out
upon him, and burnt his engines of war, a great
deal of time was spent in the siege. But when
Judas heard of the king's coming, he raised the
siege of Bethusura, and the king then encoun-
ted his camp in certain straits, at a place called
Bethzacharishah, at the distance of seventy fa-
longs from the enemy; but the king soon drew
his forces from Bethusura, and brought them to
the city of Bethusura, where he pitched his tent, and
his men in battle array, and made his elephants
follow one another through the narrow passes,
because they could not be set sideways by one
another. Now round about every elephant there
were a thousand footmen, and five hundred horse-
men. The elephants also had high towers [upon
their backs,] and archers [in them.] And he also
made the rest of his army to go up the moun-
tains, and tunneled under the walls of the city,
gave orders for the army to shout aloud, and so
he attacked the enemy. He also exposed to sight
their golden and brazen shields, so that a glori-
uous splendour was sent from them; and when they
the battle, and Judas saw this, he was not terrified, but received
the enemy with great courage, and slew about
six hundred of the first ranks. But when his bro-
ther Eleazar, whom they called Auran, was the
tallest of the elephants armed with royal breast-
plates, and supposed that the king was upon
him, he attacked him with great quickness and
bravery. He also slew many of those that were
about the elephant, and scattered the rest, and
then went under the belly of the elephant, and
smote him, and slew him; so the elephant fell
upon Eleazar, and by his weight crushed him to
death. And thus did this man come to his end,
but he had courageously destroyed many of his
enemies.

5. But Judas, seeing the strength of the ene-
gy, retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to
endure a siege. As for Antiochus, he went part of his
army back to the king, but sent the rest of his
army he came against Jerusalem, but
not inflected by any law, either of God, or man for the bare intention, his words need not be strained to mean, that
also intended, but not executed, were no sins at all.

2 No wonder that Josephus here describes Antiochus Eupator as he makes him. He had not a
deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded so
further than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the punishment of death, which is

* Since St. Paul, a Pharisee, confesses, that he had not
known circumcision, or desires, to be sinful, had not the
higher commandment said, They shall not cast, Rom. vii.
2, the case seems to have been much the same with our
Josephus. Not only the one or the other, but he had not a
deep sense of the greatness of any sins that proceeded so
further than the intention. However, since Josephus speaks here properly of the punishment of death, which is

the inhabitants of Bethurn were terrified at his strength; and seeing that their provisions grew scarce, they delivered themselves up on the security of oaths, that they should suffer no hard treatment from the king. And when Antiochus had thus taken the city, he did them no other harm than sending them out naked. He also placed a garrison of his own in the city. But as for the temple of Jerusalem, he lay at its siege a long time, while they within bravely defended it; for they were now so earnest against them, they set other engines again to oppose them. But then their provisions failed them, what fruits of the ground they had laid up were spent, and the land being not ploughed that year, continued uncultivated, because unless it, the next year, on which, by our laws, we were obliged to let it lie uncultivated. And withal so many of the besieged ran away for want of necessaries, that but a few only were left in the temple.

5. And these happened to the circumstances of such as were besieged in the temple. But then, because Lysias, the general of the army, and Antiochus, the king, were informed that Philip was coming upon them out of Persia, and was upon the point of entering their sacred city, and that he cast his public affairs to himself, they came into these sentiments, to leave the siege, and to make haste to go against Philip; yet did they resolve not to let the king know thereof, lest he should do anything against the king command. Lysias, to speak openly to the soldiers and the officers, without saying a word about the business of Philip; and to intimate to them, that the siege were to be discontinued; [119] that they were already in want of provisions; that many affairs of the kingdom wanted regulation; and that it was much better to make a league with the besieged, and to become friends with those in the city, than to quarrel with those in the party, and wait for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they did resolve that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas' party had done.'

7. Accordingly, the king sent to Judas, and to those that were besieged with them, and promised to give them peace, and to permit them to return to their own country, and to take with them all their fathers. And they gladly received his proposals; and when they had gained security upon oath, for their performance, they went out of the temple. But when Antiochus told his soldiers to open the gates, and let the people out, he broke his oaths, and ordered his army that was there to block down the walls to the ground, and when he had so done, he returned to Antioch; he also carried with him Onias, the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers: so the king sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, when he had been high priest ten years. He then bestowed his widow and his widow's children, and in order to get the government to himself, had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who also called Jacobus, was made king of Judæa. But when Antiochus found that Philip had already possessed himself of the government, he made war against him, and subdued him, and took him, and slew him. Now, as to Oinas, the son of the high priest, who, as we before in

formed you, was left a child when his father died, when he saw that the king and his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, but as induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and when he found he was in great esteem with him, and with his wife, Cleopatra, he desired and obtained a place in the Nomus of Heliopolis, wherein he built a temple like that of Jerusalem, of which, therefore, we shall hereafter give an account, in a place more proper for it.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, the General of Demetrius' Army, made an expedition against Judæa, and returned without success; and how Nicana was sent a little time afterward against Judæa, and perished, together with his army: as also concerning the Death of Alcimus, and the Succession of Judas.

§ 1. About the same time, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, fled away from Rome, and took Tripoli, a city of Syria, and set the diadem on his own head. He also gathered together all the ordinary soldiers together, and entered into his kingdom, and was joyfully received by all who delivered themselves up to him. And when they had the king again, and Lysias, they brought him to him alive; and within fifteen days immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius, when Antiochus had reigned two years, as we have already elsewhere related. But now the whole nation was to be put into commotion, by the murder of the king, and the unhappy quarrels that came together to him, and with them Alcimus the high priest, who accused the whole nation, and particularly Judas and his brethren; and said that "they had slain all his sons, and his brothers, and his friends, and the chief men of his party, and waited for his return, were by them put to death; that these men had ejected them out of their own country, and caused them to be sojourners in a foreign land; and they do resolve that he would send some one of his own friends, and know from him what mischief Judas' party had done."'

3. At this Demetrius was very angry, and sent Bacchides, a friend of Antiochus' wife, a good man, and a man of good repute, who had been in close intimacy with all Mesopotamia, and gave him an army, and committed Alcimus the high priest to his care, and gave him charge to slay Judas, and those that were with him. Bacchides, on being made haste, and went out of Antioch with his army; and when he was come into Judæa, he sent to Judas and his brethren, to discourse with him about a league of friendship and peace, for he had a mind to take him by treachery. But Judas did not give credit to him, for he saw that he came with so great an army as men do not bring when they come to make peace, but to make war. However, some of the people acquiesced in what Bacchides said, and Bacchides caused to be proclaimed; and supposing they should undergo no considerable harm from Alcimus, who was their countryman, they went over to them; and when they had received oaths from both of them, that neither they themselves, nor those of the same sentiments, should come to any harm, they intrusted themselves with them; but Bacchides troubled himself not about the oaths he had taken, and slew three score of them, and the rest he put to death. And with those that first went over, he deterred all the rest, who had intentions to go over to him, from doing it. But as he was gone out of Jeru-}

selem, and was at the village called Bethzetho, he sent out and caught many of the deserters, who phus here follows, instead of that character, says of him is, that he was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to his king; which was very probably Josephus's meaning.
and some of the people also, and slew them all, and enjoined all that lived in the country to submit to Alcimus. So he left him there, with some part of the army, that he might have wherewith to keep the country in obedience, and returned to Antioco, to king Demetrius.

3. But Alcimus was desirous to have the dominion only assuined to him, and understanding, that if he could bring it about that the multitude should be his friends, he should govern with greater security, he spake kind words to them all, and discoursed to each of them after an agreeable manner; and which means, he quickly had a great body of men and an army about him, although the greater part of them were of the wicked, and the deserters. With these, whom he used as his servants and soldiers, he raising Judas, and they were all the more bold, he could find of Judas's party. But when Judas saw that Alcimus was already become great, and had destroyed many of the good and holy men of the country; he also went all over the country, and destroyed those that were his enemies, and the more faithful of all his friends; for he it was who fled away from him with the city of Rome. He also gave him many forces as he thought sufficient for him to conquer Judas withal, and bade him not to slay them at all. When Nicanor was come to Jerusalem, he did not resolve to fight Judas immediately, but judged it better to get him into his power by treachery; so he sent him a message of peace, and said, "There was no manner of necessity that we should fight and hazard ourselves; and that he would give him oath that he would do him no harm, for that he only came with some friends, in order to let him know what king Demetrius's intentions were, and what upon the part of Judas at their nation, and had delivered this message, Judas and his brethren complied with him, and suspecting no deceit, they gave him assurances of friendship, and received Nicanor and his army; but while he was at Jerusalem, he sent a certain signal to his own soldiers, upon which they were to seize upon Judas; but he perceived the treachery, and ran back to his own soldiers, and fled away with them. So upon this discovery of his purpose, and of the snares laid for Judas, Nicanor determined to make open war with him, and gathered his army together, and prepared for fighting him; and upon joining battle, at a certain hill called Carpharasaus, he beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was at Jerusalem."

5. And when Nicanor came down from the citadel unto the temple, some of the priests and elders were gathered there, and saluted him the sacrifices which they said they offered to God for the king; upon which he blasphemed, and threatened them, that unless the people would deliver Judas up to him, he would pull down their temple. And when he had thus threatened them, he departed from Jerusalem, and was at a certain village called Bethhorone, where he pitched his camp, another army out of Syris having joined him: and Judas pitched his camp some little distance from Bethhorone, having no more than one thousand soldiers. And when he had encouraged them not to be dismayed at the multitude of their enemies, nor to regard how many there were to deliver Judas up to him, upon his returning to fight, but to consider who they themselves were, and for what great rewards they hazarded themselves, and to attack the enemy courageously, he led them out to fight, and joining battle with him, he was unable to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, he overcame the enemy, and slew many of them; and at last Nicanor himself, as he was fighting gloriously fell. Upon whose fall the army did not stay, but when they had lost their general, they resolved themselves to save their lives, and dispersed their forces; Judas also pursued them and slew them, and gave notice by the sound of the trumpets to the neighbouring villages, that he had conquered the enemy; which, when the inhabitants heard of, they came in great numbers, and fell upon their enemies in the face as they were running away, and slew them, insomuch that not one of them escaped out of this battle, who were in number nine thousand. This victory happened to fall on the thirteenth day of that month, which by the Jews is called Adar, and by the Macedonians Dysrur, and the Jews thereon celebrate this victory every year, and esteem it as a festival. On the 23rd of this month, the day before the Passover, there was a while, free from wars, and enjoyed peace; but afterward they returned into their former state of wars and hazards.

6. But now, as the high priest, Alcimus, was returned from Rome some of his friends, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the holy prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God, and fell down. This stroke made him fall down speechless upon the ground; and, being taken to the temple of the pure, the nobles, and the magistrates, delivered up to the judge, and was executed, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas; who, hearing of the power of the Romans, and that they had conquered Alexander, and that the king of Phrygia and Libya; and that, besides these, they had subdued Greece, and their kings, Persesus, and Philip, and Antioco the Great also, he resolved to enter into a league of friendship with them. He then sent messengers to Eupolemus, the son of John, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and by them desired the Romans that they would assist them, and be their friends, and would write to Demetrius that he would not fight against the Jews. So the sacred council received the ambassadors that came from Judas to Rome, and discoursed with them about the errand on which they came, and then granted them a league of assistance. They also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judas.
BOOK XII.—CHAP. XI.

It was also laid up in the capitol, and engraved in brass. The decree itself was this: The decree of the senate concerning a league of alliance and friendship with the nation of the Jews. It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them arms or by other means. If any attack be made upon the Jews, the Romans shall assist them, as far as they are able: and again, if any attack be made upon the Romans, the Jews shall assist them. And if the Jews shall make war upon the Romans, or shall begin to make war upon the Romans by this league of assistance, that shall be done with the common consent of the Romans. And whatsoever addition shall thus be made, it shall be of force. This decree was written by Epulomenes, son of John, and by Janne, and by Janne, Eleazar,  when Judas was high priest of the nation, and Simon, his brother, was general of the army. And this was the first league that the Romans made with the Jews, and was managed after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

That Baccides was again sent out against Judas; and how Judas fell as he was courageously fighting.

§ 1. But when Demetrius was informed of the death of Nicanaor, and of the destruction of the army that was with him, he sent Baccides again with an army into Judaea, who marched out of Antioch, and came upon Judas, and pitched his camp at Arbela, a city of Galilee, and having besieged and taken those that were there in caves, (for many of the people fled into such places as the men add, and made all the haste he could to Jerusalem. And when he had learned that Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetho, he led his army against him: they were twenty thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen; and Judas had no more soldiers than one thousand.  When these saw the multitude of Baccides' men, they were afraid, and left their camp, and fled all away, excepting eight hundred. Now when Judas was deserted by his own soldiers, and the enemy pressed upon him, and gave him no time to gather his army together, he was disposed to fight with Baccides' army, though he had but eight hundred men with him; so he exhorted his men to engage the enemy with valor, and encouraged them to attack the enemy. And when they said they were not a body sufficient to fight so great an army, and advised that they should retire now, and save themselves, and that he, as a man of courage, should be the first to fall upon the enemy, and then should he raise up the fallen army afterwards, his answer was this: "Let not the sun ever see such a thing that I should show my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsover comes upon me, than be now running away, bring reproach upon my former great actions, or tarnish their glory." This was the speech he made to those that remained with him, where by he encouraged them to attack the enemy.

2. But Baccides drew up his army about their camp, and put them in array for the battle. He set the horsemen on both the wings, and the light soldiers and the archers he placed before the whole army, but he was himself behind the right wing. And when he had thus put his army in order of battle, and was going to join battle with the enemy, he commanded the trumpeter to give a signal of battle, and the army to make a shout, and to fall on the enemy. But Judas, having done the same, he joined battle with them; and as both sides fought valiantly, and the battle continued till sunset, Judas saw that Baccides and the strongest part of the army was in the right wing, and thereupon took the most courageous men with him, and ran upon that part of the army, and fell upon those that were there, and broke their ranks, and drove them into the middle, and forced them to run away, and pursued them as far as they could. And when those of the left wing saw that the right wing was put to flight, they encompassed Judas, and pursued him, and came behind him, and took him into the middle of their army; so being not able to fly, but encompassed on all sides, and defeated, he, with those that were with him fought; and when he had slain a great many of those that came against him, and was at last himself wounded, and fell, and gave up the ghost, and so in a way fell into his former famous actions. When Judas was dead, those that were with him had no one whom they could regard as their commander, but when they saw themselves deprived of him, and did not fly.

But Simon and Jonathan, Judas' brethren, received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy, and carried it to the village of Modin, where their father had been buried, and there buried him. And thereupon the multitude lamented him many days, and performed the usual solemn rites of a funeral to him. And this was the end that Judas came to. He had been a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties, both in doing and suffering, for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent [while he was alive], he left behind him a glorious reputation and memoria, by gaining freedom from slavery under the Macedonians. And when he had retained the high priesthood three years, he died.

1. That this copy of Josephus, as he wrote it, had here not 1000 but 3000, with 1 Mac. ix. 5, is very plain, because, though the main part runs away at first, even in Jos. Ant. x. 26, as well as in Joseph., x. 1, yet 800 are said to have remained with Judas; which would be absurd, if the whole number had been no more than 1000.

BOOK XIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF JUDAS Maccabeus to the Death of Queen Alexandra.

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan took the Government after his brother Judas, and how he, together with his brother Simon, waged War against Baccides.

§ 1. By what means the nation of the Jews recovered their freedom when they had been brought into slavery by the Macedonians, and that struggles, and how many great battles Judas and the general of their army ran through, till he was slain as he was fighting for them, hath been related in the foregoing book; but after he was dead, all the wicked, and those that transgressed the laws of the fathers, increased in Judaism, and grew upon them, and distressed them on every side. A famine also assisted their wickedness, and afflicted the country, till not a few, who by reason of their want of neces-
series, and because they were not able to bear up against the miseries that both the famine and their enemies brought upon them, deserted their country for the land of the Moabites. And now, the Baccchides gathered those Jews together who had apostatized from the accustomed way of living of their forefathers, and chose to live like their neighbours, and not continued in the care of the country as they were used to, who also sought the friends of Judah, and those of his party, and delivered them up to Baccchides, who, when he had, in the first place, tortured and tormented them at his pleasure, spared them, and let them live, and killed them. And when this calamity of the Jews was become so great, as they never had experience of the like since their return out of Babylon, those that remained of the companions of Judah, seeing that the nation was about to be destroyed after such a miserable manner, came to his brother Jonathan, and desired him that he would imitate his brother, in that care which he took of his countrymen, for whose liberty in general he died also; and that he would not permit the nation to be without a governor, especially in those destructive circumstances wherein it now was. And when Jonathan said, that he was ready to die for his countrymen, and was determined to stand in the breach, and to die in the city of Judah, as his brother; and he was superior to his brother, he was appointed to be the general of the Jewish army.

2. When Baccchides heard this, and was afraid that Jonathan might be very troublesome to the king his master, and to his brethren, and that he was foreboding some evil, Baccchides, in order to prevent him, sought how he might slay him by treachery; but this intention of his was unknown to Jonathan, nor to his brother Simon; but when these two were apprized of it, they took with them their companions, and presently fled into that wilderness which was nearest to the city; and when they were come to a lake called Asphar, they abode there. But when Baccchides was sensible that they were a low sore, and that perhaps they had fled to escape them, and that they hoped to fall upon them with all his forces, and pitching his camp beyond Jordan, he recruited his army; but when Jonathan knew that Baccchides was coming upon them, he sent his brother John, who was also called Gaddis, to the Nabatean Arabs, that he might lodge his baggage with them until the battle with Baccchides should be over, for they were the Jews' friends; and the sons of Ambri laid an ambush at the Medaba, and seized upon him, and upon those that were with him, and plundered all that they had with them: they also slew John and all his companions. However, they were sufficiently punished for what they did by John's brethren, as we shall relate presently.

3. But when Baccchides knew that Jonathan had pitched his camp among the lakes of Jordan, he observed when their Sabbath-day came, and then assaulted him, as supposing that he would not fight because of the law [for resting on that day:] but he exhorted his companions [to fight:] and told them that their lives were at stake, since they were encompassed by the river, and by their enemies, and had no way to escape, for that their enemies pressed upon them before, and the river was behind them. So after he had prayed to God to give them the victory, he joined with the enemy of the Moabites, and threw many; and as he saw Baccchides coming up boldly to him, he stretched out his right hand to strike him, but the other foreseeing and avoiding the stroke, Jonathan with his companions leaped over the river and pursued them, and by that means escaped beyond Jordan, while the enemy did not pass over that river: but Baccchides returned presently to the citadel at Jerusalem, which was about two thousand of his army. He also fortified many cities of Judea, whose walls had been demolished. Jericho, and Emmaus, and Betheron, and Bethel, and Timna, and Pha-ratho, and Tekoa, and Gazara, and built towers in every one of these cities, and encompassed them with strong walls, that were very large and long; and the Judeans might issue out of them, and make mischief to the Jews. He also fortified the citadel at Jerusalem more than the rest. Moreover he took possession of the principal Jews as pledges, and shut them up in the citadel, and in that manner guarded it.

4. About the same time one came to Jonathan, and his brother Simon, and told them that the damsel of the daughter of Gabathos, who was the daughter of one of the illustrious men among the Arabians, and that the damsel was to be conducted with pomp and splendour, and such an escort as Jonathan and his friends thought it appeared to be the fittest time for them to avenge the death of their brother, and that they had forces sufficient for receiving satisfactions from them for his death, they made haste to leave Juba, and lay in wait among the mountains for the coming of their enemies; and as soon as they saw them conducting the virgin and her bridegroom, and such a company of their friends, and the multitude were assembled for the wedding, they sallied out of their ambush, and slew them all, and took their ornaments, and all the prey that then followed them, and so returned, and received this satisfaction for their brother, and for their country, and for the sons themselves, as their friends, and wives, and children, that followed them, punished, being in number about four hundred.

5. However, Simon and Jonathan returned to the lakes of the river, and abode there. But Baccchides, when he had secured all Judea with his garrisons, returned to the king; and then it was that the affairs of Judea were quiet for two years. But when the deserters and the wicked soldiers that were within the country very quietly, by reason of the peace, they sent to king Demetrius, and excited him to send Baccchides to seize upon Jonathan, which they said was to be done without any trouble, and in one night's time; and that if they fell upon them before they were aware, they might slay them all. So the king sent Baccchides, who, when he was come into Judea, wrote a letter to his master, and told him that he had sent them to seize upon Jonathan, and bring him to him; and when, upon all their endeavours, they were not able to seize upon Jonathan, for he was sensible of the snare they laid for him, and was guarded against them, Baccchides was angry at these deserters, as having imposed upon him and upon the king, and slew fifty of their leaders. Whereupon Jonathan, with his brother, and those that were with him, retired to Bethania, a village that lay in the wilderness, out of fear of Baccchides. He also built towers on it, and encompassed it with walls, and took care that it should be safely guarded. Upon the hearing of which, Baccchides led his own army along with him, and besides took his Jewish auxiliaries, and came against Jonathan, and made an assault upon his fortifications, and besieged him many days; but Jonathan did not yield to his forces, but he stood in the siege, but courageously opposed him; and while he left his brother Simon in the city, to fight with Baccchides, he went privately out himself into the country, and got a great many men, and questioned upon Baccchides' camp in the night-time, and destroyed a great many of them. His brother Simon knew also of this his falling upon them, because he put out at night; and when he saw that Baccchides was sallied out upon them, and burnt the engines which the Macedonians used, and made a great slaughter of them. And when Baccchides saw
the citadel, were greatly afraid, upon the king's
permission to Jonathan to raise an army, and to
receive back the hostages: so he delivered up one
of them to his own parents. And thus did
Jonathan make his abode at Jerusalem, renew-
ing the city to a better state, and reforming the
buildings as he pleased; for he gave orders that
the walls of the city should be built with large
stones, that it might be more secure from their
evils. And when those that kept the garrisons
that were in Judea saw this, they all left them,
and fled to Antioch, excepting those that were in
the city of Ichon; so they delivered up the citadel
of Jerusalem, for the greatest part of these
were of the wicked Jews and deserters, and on
that account these did not deliver up their
garrisons.

2. When Alexander knew what promises
Demetrius had made Jonathan, and withal knew
his courage, and what great things he had done
when he fought the Macedonians, and besides
what hardships he had undergone by the means
of Demetrius, and of Baccides, the general of
Demetrius's army, he told his friends, that "he
could not at present find any one else that might
afford him better assistance than Jonathan, who
had a particular hatred against Demetrius, as
having both suffered many hard things from him,
and acted many hard things against him. If
therefore they were of opinion that they should
make him their friend and assist him more for their
advantage to invite him to assist them now than at another time." It being there-
fore determined by him and his friends to send
to Jonathan, he sent to him this epistle: "King
Alexander to his brother Jonathan, salutati-
ons: We have long ago heard of thy courage and
thy fidelity, and for that reason have sent to thee,
to make with thee a league of friendship and mu-
ual assistance and friendship. We therefore ex-
pect, not only on thy own account of thy inolence and difficulty of access;
for he shut himself up in a palace of his that had
four towers, which he had built himself, not far
from Antioch, and admitted nobody. He was
wise and astute, and sagacious about the public af-
fairs, whereby the hatred of his subjects was the
more kindled against him, as we have elsewhere
already related. When, therefore, Demetrius
heared that Alexander was in Ptolemaia, he took
his two sons, and sent them ambassadors to Jonathan, about a league of
mutual assistance and friendship, for he resolved
to be beforehand with Alexander, lest the other
might first set himself in the way of his power
from him: and this he did out of the fear he had,
est Jonathan should remember how ill Demeti-
us had formerly treated him, and should join
with him in this war against him. He therefore
gave orders that Jonathan should be allowed to
raise an army, and should get armour made, and
should receive back those hostages of the Jewish
nation whom Baccides had shut up in the citadel
of Jerusalem. When this good fortune had been
had, he resolved to make with him a league of
friendship, he came to Jerusalem, and read the king's
letter in the audience of the people, and of those
that kept the citadel. When these were read,
those wicked men and deserters, who were in

Tlia Alexander Ral, who certainly pretended to be
the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was owned for such
by Jews, of the name of Simeon, and of King, and yet he
several historians deemed to be a counterfeiter, and of no
family at all, is, however by Josephus believed to have
been the creator of the false Antiochus Epiphanes, or
spoken of accordingly. And truly, since the original con-
temporary and authentic author of the first book of Mac-
abees, Josephus, in his second book of that work, and says
he was his son of Antiochus. I suppose the other
writers, who are all much later, are not to be followed against
such evidence, though perhaps Epiphanes might enter him by
a woman of no family. The king of Egypt, 'thouhou
saw him his daughter in marriage, which he wold

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I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me; and instead of the third part of the fruits [of the field], and the half of the fruits of the trees, I content myself with part of them from this day: and as to the poll-money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies of Samaria and Galilee, and of Peræa, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithe, and from the tithes, unto its utmost bounds, and free from my tithes, from the temple to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and good-will to himself, that they may keep it for us. I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also give order that the beauties of the Jews be not pressed for our service. And let their Sab- baths, and all their festivals, and three days before, and three days after, be free from money. In the same manner I set free the Jews that are inhabitants in my kingdom, and order that no in- jury be done to them. I also give leave to such of them as are willing to leave themselves in my service, this is not only to Rome, but as far as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, where- ever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army hath; and some of them I will place in the guard, and some of them as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my courts. I give them leave also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that I added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care, that not one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem. I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses and sacrifices, on a hundred and fifty thousand drachms, and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmas which the kings received from the temple, because they apper- tained to those that had added to Judea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care, that not one Jew shall have any other temple for worship than that temple. And whosoever shall fly to the temple at Jeru- salem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, shall be safe, and shall have good be in safety. I also give you leave to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expenses. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expenses."

4. This was what Demetrius promised, and granted to the Jews, by this letter. But king Alexander raised a great army of mercenary soldiers, and of those that despaired to him out of Syria, and made an expedition against Demet- rius, when it was come to title, the left wing of Demetrius, but those that opposed them, to flight, and pursued them a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was beaten; and as for all the rest, they ran away: but Demetrius fought courageous, and slew a great many of the enemy; but as he was in the pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep well, and he was cast down. And there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw what had befallen him, they returned and, encompassed Demetrius round, and in a great multitude of their darts. He was being now on foot, fought bravely, but at length he received so many wounds, that he was not able to bear upon any longer; and, as this was the third time that Demetrius came to when he had reigned eleven years, as we have elsewhere re- lated.

CHAP. III.

The Friendship that was between Onias and Ptolemy Philometer; and how Onias built a Temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem.

§ 1. But then the son of Onias the high priest, who was of the same name with his father, and his brother Apollonius, who was the second from him in the priesthood, both being young men, lived now at Alexandria, as we have said already. When this Onias saw that Judea was oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, he set out to pursue a memorial and eternal fame, he resolved to send to the to- lemy and queen Cleopatra, to ask leave of them that he might build a temple in Egypt like to that at Jerusalem, and might ordain Levites and priests from Judea, and to supply them with the money of Egypt, which he himself was desirous to do so to was, that he raised upon the prophet Isaiah, who lived above six hundred years before, and foretold that there certain was to be a temple built to Almighty God, whose temple was elevated with this prediction; and wrote the following epistle to Ptolemy and Cleopatra: "Having done many and great things for you in the affairs of the war, by the assistance of God, and that in Cœle Syria and Pælestina, I came in length with the Jews to Leontopolis, and to other places of your nation, where I found that the greatest part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and that on this account they had been of displeasure to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples, and the difference of opinions about divine worship. Now I found a very fit place for this purpose, which is called Leontopolis, within the country Diana; this place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred an- imals: I desire therefore that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place wherewith they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages, for the prophet Isaiah forsaith, that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God; and many other things did he prophesy relating to that place." 2. And this was what Onias wrote to king Ptolemy Philometer, directly foretold the building of this temple of Onias in Egypt "and was a sufficient warrant to the Jews for building it, and for worshipping the true God, of the Lord God in that place, where the temple was called that the temple of the crown gold, and the crown tax." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.

Since the rest of the historians now extant give this Demetrius, brother of Apollonius, and Josephus mentions, in the same seven years, that the king, after his return, was eighty four years of age, and they may be answered by the former, that the king was the elder, and that the former was called that the crown gold, and the crown tax." On 1 Maccab. x. 29.

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3. So Onias took the place, and built a temple, and an altar to God, like indeed to that which Solomon had made smaller and poorer. I do not think it proper for me now to describe its dimensions, or its vessels, which have been already described in my seven other books of the wars of the Jews. How ever. Onias sent to other Jews to together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine service. But we have said enough about this temple.

4. Now it came to pass that the Alexandrian Jews, the Samaritans who paid their worship to the temple that was built in the days of Alexander at mount Gerizim, did now make a sedition against another, and disputed about their temple. But Ptolemy himself, the Jews saying, that, according to the law of Moses, the temple was to be built at Jerusalem; and the Samaritans saying, that it was to be built at Gerizim. They desired therefore the king to sit in the midst of the city to decide this matter, and punish those with death who were belligerent. Now Sabbeus and Theodossius managed the argument for the Samaritans, and Andronicus, the son of Messeammon, for the people of Jerusalem; and they took an oath that God and the king, to make their demonstrations according to the law; and they desired of Ptolemy, that whosoever he should find that transmitted what they had sworn to, he should put him to death. Finally, the king took some of his friends into the council, and sat down, in order to hear what the plainers said. Now the Jews that were at Alexandria were in great concern for the temple at Jerusalem; for they took it very ill that any should take away the reputation of

[the Hebrew language; shall be full of Jews, whose sacred books were in Hebrew, and swear to the Lord of hosts, One of the first shall be called the city of destruction, lishak xi. 18. A strange name, city of destruction: so joyed an occasion, and a name novel to itself, which the land of Egypt, or perhaps in any other nation. The old reading was evidently the city of the sun, or Helisopos; and Ossius, in effect, and Syrmaceus, with the Arabic version, entirely confess that to be the true reading. The Septuagint also, although they have the text disguised in the expression, the city not destroyed, the city of the sun; yet, in two or three other copies, the 'hebrew word itself for the sun, Achers or Thares, is preserved. And since Ossius and others maintain that, inasmuch as the times of Judaism contained many other predictions referring to this place, besides the words by him reciprocated, it is highly probable that these were especially meant by him; and then main reason why they were conferring with him himself, and to his precepture of Helisopos, which Dean Prideaux well proves was in that part of Egypt, and why he chose to build it there, perhaps in such political as otherwise an improper place was, that same as a soil where he had for building this temple in Egypt, the only reason in his own opinion, it was the same with Helisopos also, which he desired to do, and which he did accordingly. Dean Prideaux has much ado to avoid seeing this corruption of the Hebrew, but it being in support of his own opinion about this temple, he dare not see it; and, temple, which was so ancient, and so celebrated all over the habitable earth. Now when Saba and Pherecles had given leave to Andronicus to speak first, he began to demonstrate out of the law, and out of the successors of the high priests, how they every one in succession to his father had received that dignity, and ruled over the temple all the time, and that all the Jews had honoured that temple with their donations, and with the most splendid gifts dedicated thereto: but as for that at Gerizim, he made no account of it, as if it had never had a being. By this speech, and other arguments, Andronicus persuaded the king to determine that the temple at Jerusalem was built according to the laws of Moses; and to put Saba and Pherecles to death. And these were the events that befell the Jews at Alexandria in the days of Ptolemy Philometer.

CHAP. IV.

How Alexander honoured Jonathan after an extraordinary manner, and how Demetrius, the Son of Jason, was made a League of Friendship with Jonathan.

§ 1. DEMAETRIUS being thus slain in battle, as we have above related, Alexander took the kingdom of Syria; and wrote to Ptolemy Philometer, and desired his daughter in marriage; and said, it was not fitting that she should lose her affinity to one that had now received the principalities of his forefathers, and had been promoted to it by God's providence, and had conquered Demetrius, and that was on other accounts not unworthy of being related to him. Ptolemy received this proposal of marriage gladly; and wrote to him an answer, saluting him on account of his having received the principalities of his forefathers, that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and declared that he was coming to meet him at Ptolemais, and desired that he would there meet him, for that he would accompany her from Egypt so far, and would there marry his child to him. When Ptolemy had written thus, he came and went to Ptolemais, and brought his daughter Cleopatra along with him; and as he found Alexander there before him, as he bethought him to come, he gave him a paternost when he saw him, and gave him as much silver and gold as became such a king to give.

2. When the wedding was over, Alexander wrote to Jonathan, bethinking him of an army that had been a great loss to him to come to Ptolemais. So when he came to these kings, and had made them magnificently present, he reasons here in the most weak and most laudatory manner possible. See him at the year 149. * A very unsatisfactory dispute! while the Jews did not dispute, knowing that he could not properly prove out of the Pentateuch, that the place which the lord their God shall choose to place his name there, so often referred to in the book of Deuteronomy, was Jerusalem any more than Gerizim, that being not determined till the days of Josua, Antiq. B. vii. chap. xiii. sect. 4. proves only what the Samaritans did not deny, that the temple at Jerusalem was the only one in the land of Israel; and, much more ancients, the whole by Serapion, which has been mentioned above and was not destroyed, that at Gerizim, which was nothing to the present purpose. The whole evidence, by the very ortho of both parts, being, was obliged to have its weight in the law of Moses, or to the Pentateuch alone. However worldly policy and interest, and the multitude, prevailing, the court gave sentence, as usual, on the stronger side, the poor Hebrews. The Samaritans, who were the antients, were martyred, and this, so far as appears, without any direct hearing at all, which is the usual practice. One cannot say, that the body of the Jews were in so great a concen about these men, in the plural, who were to dispute for their temple, that in Self, or the Samaritans, there was no necessity for any other defender of the Jerusalem temple.
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

sent, he was honoured by them both. Alexander compelled him also to put off his own garment, and to take a purple garment, and made him sit with him in his throne; and commanded the captains that they should go with him into the middle of the city, and proclaim, that it was not permitted to any one to speak against him, or to give him any disturbance. And when the captains heard the news that were told to accuse Jonathan, and who bore him ill-will, when they saw the honour that was done him by proclamation, and that by the king's order, ran away, and were afraid lest some mischief should befall them from the king. And when Alexander was so very kind to Jonathan, that he set him down as the principal of his friends.

3. But then, upon the hundred and sixty-fifth year, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, came from Crete, with a great number of mercenary soldiers, which Laodenes, the Cretan, brought him, and sailed to Cilicia. This thing cast Alexander into great concern and disorder when he heard it; so he made haste immediately out of Phoenicia, and came to Antioch, that he might put matters in a safe posture there, before Demetrius should come. He also left Apollonius Daus, governor of Cilicia, who coming to Jannina was sent to Jonathan the high priest, and told him, that "It was not right that he alone should live at rest, and with authority, and not be subject to the king; and this thing had made him a reproach among all men, that he had not made his captains subject to him." But the king said to Apollonius, "Do not thou therefore deceive thyself, and sit still among the mountains, and pretend to have forces with thee: but if thou hast any dependence on thy strength, take away the supply of the enemy, and let our armies be compared together, and the event of the battle will demonstrate which of us is the most courageous. However, take notice, that the valiant men of every city are in my armies as in the armies of the very man who have always beaten thy progenitors; but let us have the battle in such a place of the country where we may fight with weapons, and not with stones, and where there may be no place whither those that are beaten may fly." 4.

With this, Jonathan was irritated, and choosing himself out ten thousand of his soldiers, he went out of Jerusalem in haste with his brother Simon, and came to Joppa, and pitched his camp to the sides of the city, because the people of Joppa had shut their gates against him, for they had a garrison in the city put there by Apollonius; but when Jonathan was preparing to fight, they were afraid that he would take them by force, and so they opened the gates to him. But Apollonius, when he heard that Joppa was taken by Jonathan, took three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen, and came to Ashdod, and removing thence, he made his journey silently and slowly, and going up to Joppa, he made as if he was retiring from the place, and so drew Jonathan into the plain, as valuing himself highly upon his horsemen, and his capture of the cities principal in them. However, Jonathan saluted out, and pursued Apollonius to Ashdod; but as soon as Apollonius perceived that his enemy was in the plain, he came back and gave him battle; but Apollonius had lain a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley, that they might not be seen by their enemies as behind them; which when Jonathan perceived, he was under no consternation, but opened the ground to stand in a secure battle array, he gave them a charge to full on the enemy on both sides, and set them to face them that attacked them both before and behind; and while the fight lasted till the evening, he gave part of his forces to his brother Simon, and ordered him to attack the enemy; but for himself if he charged those that were with him to cover themselves with their armour, and receive the darts of the horsemen, who did as they were bid; so that the enemy's horsemen, while they threw their darts till they had no more left, did them no harm, for the darts that were thrown did not enter into their bodies, being thrown upon the shields, that were united in a circle, and that was very easy for them to easily overcome the force of the darts, and they flew about without any effect. But when the enemy grew restive in throwing their darts from morning till late at night, Simon perceived their weariness, and fell upon the body of men before him; and because his soldiers showed great alacrity, he put the enemy to flight, and when the horsemen saw that the footmen ran away, neither they stayed themselves, but they being very weary, by the duration of the flight till the evening, and their hope from the footmen being quite gone, they basely ran away, and in great confusion also, till they were separated one from another, and left the field. Upon which Jonathan pursued them as far as Ashdod, and slew a great many of them, and compelled the rest, in despair of escaping, to fly to the temple of Dagon, which was at Ashdod, but Jonathan burnt it, and the villages about it, nor did he abstain from the temple of Dagon itself, but burnt it also, and destroyed those that had fled to it. Now, upon the news of the enemy that fell in the battle, and were consumed in the temple, were eight thousand. When Jonathan, therefore, had overcome so great an army, he remon- strated from Ashdod, and came to Askelon; and when he had pitched his camp there, he sent the people of Askelon came out and met him, bringing him hospitable presents, and honouring him, so he accepted of their kind intentions, and returned thence to Jerusalem with a great deal of glory, which he brought thence when he conquered his enemies; but when Alexander heard that Apollonius, the general of his army, was beaten, he pretended to be glad of it, because he had fought with Jonathan, and said, "I agree with thee." Accordingly, he sent Jonathan, and gave testimony to his worth; and gave him honorary rewards, as a golden button, which it is the custom to give the king's kin- g's men; and made him general of Exron, and its toparchy, for his own inheritance.

5. About this time it was that king Ptolemy, who was called Philometer, led an army, part by the sea, and part by the land, and came to Syria, to the assistance of Alexander, who was his son-in-law; and accordingly all the cities received him willingly, as Alexander had commanded them to do, and conducted him as far as Ashdod, where they all made loud complaints about the temple of Ashdod, that was burnt, and accused Jonathan more than of having laid it waste, and destroyed the country adjoining with fire, and slain a great number of them. Ptolemy heard these accusations, but said nothing. Jonathan also went to meet Ptolemy as far as Joppa, and obtained from him hospitable presents, and those glorious in their kinds, with all the marks of honour. And when he had conducted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, he returned again to Jerusalem.

Of the several Apollonius about these ages, see Dion. Philostr. at the year 185. The Apollonius Daus was, by his account, the son of that Apollonius who had been made governor of Cilicia and Phoenicia by Seleucus Philopator, who was a confidant of that Demetrius the Seleucid, and restored to his father's government by him, but afterward revolted from him to Alexander, but not to Demetrius the son, as he supposes.

Dr. Hudson observes here, that the Physiarchus and Romans used to reward such as had deserved well of them, by presenting to them a golden button; see chap. ix. sect. 6.
6. But at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, the means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy recommended him to Alexander, and required of him that he should take him, and cast him into prison for punishment, informing him what shame he had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he should be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not perceive that it was he himself who laid the design, and was very angry at him, Alexander had also formerly been on very ill terms with the people of Antioch, for they had suffered very much by his means; yet did Ammonius, with the more under the punishment he insolent crimes had deserved, for he was killed in an opprobrious manner, as a woman, while he endeavoured to conceal himself in a feminine habit, as we have before related.

7. Hereupon Ptolemy blamed himself for having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, and for the league he had made with him to assist him against Demetrius; so he dissolved his relations with his daughter, and made himself an enemy to him, and immediately sent to Demetrius, and offered to make a league of mutual assistance and friendship with him, and agreed with him to give him aid out by all means, and to submit to the principality of his fathers. Demetrius was well pleased with this embassage, and accepted of his assistance, and of the marriage of his daughter. But Ptolemy had still one more hope, that the people of Antioch would receive Demetrius, because they were greatly displeased at him on account of the injuries his father Demetrius had done them; yet did he bring this about, for as the person of that belonged to others, and, besides these dispositions, being also with him, concerning the future, he determined to avoid the envy of the Romans; so he called the people of Antioch together to an assembly, and persuaded them, and the contents were these: "You, Alexander, the two brothers, Demetrius and his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We have sent you a copy of that epistle which we have written to lastethen our kinsman, that you may know its contents. King Demetrius to lastethen our father, sendeth greeting: I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, who hath observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them all the three precepts, respectively, in Ramath, which have been added to Judea out of Samaria, with their appurtenances; and what the kings, my predecessors, received from those that offered sacrifices. I have not what they have done unrighteousness in the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of these taxes in this time. Take care, therefore, that a copy of this epistle be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple. And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger, nor
fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even re-
terred it, if any others but such foreigners as name up with him from Crete, and from the other islands. However, this procured him ill-
will and hatred from the soldiers, on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before them used to give them gifts of peace, and as they did before, that they might have their good-
will, and that they might be very ready to under-
go the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.

CHAP. V.
How Trypho, after he had beaten Demetrius, de-
Bivere. I the Kingdom to Antiochus, the Son of
Alexander, and gained Jonathan for his Assis-
tant; and concerning the Actions and Embassies of
Jonathan.

§ 1. Now there was a certain commander of
Alexander's forces, an Apamian by birth, whose
name was Diodotus, and was, called Trypho, who
took notice of the ill-will the soldiers bare to
Demetrius, and went to Malchus, the Arabian,
who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexan-
der, and told him what ill-will the army bare to
Demetrius and persuaded him to give himAnti-
ochus, because he would make him king, and
recover to him the kingdom of his father. Mal-
chus at the first opposed him in this attempt,
because he could not believe it. But when Try-
pho lay hard at him for a long time, he over-
persuaded him to comply with Trypho's inten-
tions and entreaties. And this was the state
Trypho was now in.

2. But Jonathan, the high priest, being desirous
to get clear of those that were in the citadel of
Jerusalem, and of the Jewish deserters, and
wicked men, as well as of those in all the garri-
sions in the country, sent presents and ambassa-
dors to Trypho, and entrend him, to take away his soldiers out of the strong holds of
Judea. Demetrius made answer, that after the
war, which he was now deeply engaged in, was
over, he would not only grant him that, but
give him what he should desire. But Jonathan,
when he had got over him, and at last forced
him to promise him, sent Trypho's messengers
and made known to Trypho, that he had sent
him three thousand of his soldiers, and had
sent Jonathan a letter, and bid him come and
meet him immediately at Jerusalem, which was
so speedily done, that Jonathan was there the
next day, and Trypho received him as the great
friend of the city. Jonathan also sent Trypho
a present of gold, and a golden cup, and a
large sum of money, and treated him with all
honours. And so Jonathan and Trypho parted,
and Jonathan returned home.

3. Now the people of Antioch hated Demetrius,
both on account of what mischief he had himself
done them, and because they were his enemies
also on account of his father Demetrius, who had
given them much trouble; so they had some open
portunity which they might lay hold on, to fall
upon him. And when they were informed of the
assistance that was coming to Demetrius from
Jonathan, and considered at the same time that
he would raise a numerous army, unless they
prevented him, and seized upon him, they took
their weapons immediately, and encompassed his
garlic in the way of a siege, and seizing upon
all the ways of getting out, they sought to sub-
due him. But when the people of Antioch became his bitter enemies, and that they were thus in arms, he took the mercenary soldiers, which he had with him, and the king sent by Jonathan, and assaulted the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them, for they were many ten thousands, and
was beaten. But when the Jews saw that the
Antiochians were superior, they went up to the
top of the city, and shot at them from thence,
and because they were so remote from them by
their height, that they suffered nothing on their
side, but did great execution on the others, as
fighting from such an elevation, they drove them
out of their dwelling houses, and immediately
set them on fire, whereupon the flame spread itself
over the whole city, and burnt it all down. This
happened by reason of the closeness of the
houses, and because they were generally built of
wood; so the Antiochians, when they were not
able to put a stop to it, were forced to retreat and
were put to flight. And as the Jews leaped from
the top of one house to the top of another, and
pursued them after that manner, it thence hap-
pened that the pursuit was so very surprising.
The Antiochians were busy in saving their children and their wives, and so did not fight any longer, he fell upon them in the narrow passages, and fought there in a great number; but as at least they were forced to throw down their arms,
and to deliver themselves up to Demetrius. So
he gave them their insolent behaviour, and put an end to the sedition: and when he had
given rewards to those of the Jews out of the
houses, that they had gotten, and had returned them thanks, as the cause of his victory, he sent them away to Jerusalem to Jonathan, with an ample testimony
of the assistance they had afforded him. Yet did
he prove a great friend to Jonathan afterward,
and broke the promises he had made; and he threat-
ened that he would make war upon him, unless
he would pay all that tribute which the Jewish
people had paid to the king of Syria. And this
he had done if Trypho, for his sake, and diverted his preparations against Jon-
athan, to a concern for his own preservation; for
now he returned out of Arabia into Syria, with the
intention of raising a great army, and putting
the diadem on his head: and as the whole forces that had left Demetrius, because they had no pay, came to his assistance, he made war upon Demetrius, and joining battle with him,
he put him to flight, and killed him, and both his
elephants and the city of Antioch.

4. Demetrius upon his defeat retired into Us-
licia: but the child Antiochus sent ambassadors
and an epistle to Jonathan, and made him his
friend and helper; and being a young man, he
sent Syria to him in order to induce them also that the Antiochians had made no proper returns for the kindness he had done him; for that when he had received many marks of kindness from him, when he
stood in great need of them, he, for such good
turns, had required him with further injuries.

5. So Antiochus gave Jonathan leave to raise
herself a numerous army out of Syria and Pho-
ecia, and to make war against Demetrius's gen-
eral, whereupon he went in haste to the
Astarte cities, which received him splendidly,
but put no forces into his hands. And when he
was come from thence to Askelon, the inhabi-
tants of Askelon came and brought him pre-
sent of all that they had; and when they had
exhorted them, and every one of the cities of
Colosevry, to forsake Demetrius, and to join with
Antiochus; and in assenting to him, to endeavor to
punish Demetrius for what offences he had been
charged against the Misal. And when he had
persuaded those cities to promise their assist-
ance to Antiochus, he came to Gaza in such a
condition that the inhabitants of Gaza much more alienated from him than he expected,
for they shut their gates against him, and an-

perate, against the enemy, and so pushed them, that by their courage they daunted them, and with their weapons in their hands they put them to flight. And when those soldiers of Jonathan that had retired saw the enemy giving way, they got together after their flight, and pursued them with great violence. So they came to the place named Kadesh, where the camp of the enemy lay.

8. Jonathan having thus gotten a glorious victory, and slain two thousand of the enemy, returned to Jerusalem. And the king, seeing his affairs prospered according to his mind, by the providence of God, sent ambassadors to the Romans, being desirous of renewing that friendship which their nation had had with them formerly. He commanded them to say, that as they came back, they should go to the Spartans, and put them in mind of their friendship and kindred. So when the ambassadors came to Rome, they went into their senate, and said what they were commanded by Jonathan the high priest to say, how he had sent them to confirm their friendship. The senate then confirmed what had been formerly decreed concerning their friendship, and gave also the epistle which was received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which here follows: “Jonathan the high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate, and body of the people of the Jews, to the Emperor and people of the Romans, send greetings. If you be well, and both your public and private affairs be agreeable to your minds, it is according to our wishes. We are well also. When in former times we were in Spain, and the Jews there sent you the epistle which we received of Jonathan to them; a copy of which is here subjoined, we both joyfully received the epistle, and were well pleased with Demoteles and Areus, although we did not need such a demonstration, because we were well satisfied about it from the sacred writings, yet not well think fit, first to begin the claim of this epistle, and to let the relation to you have the preeminence, when we, all ye holy and pious people of God, pray to him for your preservation and victory. As to ourselves, although we have had many wars that have compassed us around, by reason of the covetousness of our neighbours, yet did we not determine to be troublesome either to you, or to others that were related to us; but since we have now overcome our enemies, and have occasion to send Numinius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, who are both honourable men belonging to our senate, to the Romans, we gave them this epistle to you also, that they might renew that friendship which is between us. You will therefore do well yourselves to write to us, and send us an account of what you stand of. For we are in all things disposed to act according to your desires.” So the Lacедemonians received the ambassadors kindly, and made a decree for friendship and mutual intercourse. 9. At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different opinions concerning human actions; the one was called the sect of the Pharisees, another the sect of the Sadducees, and the other the sect of the Essenes. Now for

*This clause 'otherwise rendered in the first book of the Acts, Acts 28:24. For the books of Scripture in our hands to comfort us. The Hebrew text being lost, we cannot certainly judge which was the common version, only the commentary favours Josephus. But
the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the Essenes affirms that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; and that the power of our strongest are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more account of their opinions in the second book of the Jewish War.

10. But now the generals of Demetrius, being willing to recover the defeat they had had, gathered a greater army together than they had before, and came against Jonathan; but as soon as he was informed of their coming, he went suddenly to meet them, to the country of Hamoth, for he resolved to give them no opportunity of coming into Judea, so he pitched his camp at fifty stade from the town, and sent out spies to take a view of their camp, and after what manner they were encamped. When his spies had given him full information, and had seen the number of them, which was so great that he told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a careful study of good counsel: the men who told him the enemy would soon attack him, he, thus apprized beforehand, provided for his security, and placed watchmen beyond his camp, and kept all his forces armed all night; and he gave them a careful study of good counsel. He knew that their minds were prepared to fight in the night-time, if they should be obliged to do so, lest their enemies design should seem concealed from them. But when Demetrius's commanders were informed of this, they did not stay the counsels they had determined, their counsels were disordered, and it alarmed them to find that the enemy had discovered those their intentions, nor did they expect to over come the other way, nor did they think they had gained in the snares they had laid for them; for should they hazard an open battle, they did not think they should be a match for Jonathan's army, so they resolved to fly: and having lighted many fires, that when the enemy saw them they might suppose they were there still, they retired. But when Jonathan came to give them battle in the morning in their camp, and found it deserted, and understood they were fled, he pursued them, yet his forces were in such a state that he could not pass over the river Eleutherus, and were out of danger. So when Jonathan was returned there, he went into Arabia, and fought against the Nabateans, and took the town of their prey, and took [many] captives, and came to Damascus, and there sold off what he had taken. About the same time it was, that Simon his brother went over all Judea and Palestine, as far as Askelon, and fortified the strong holds; and when he had made them very strong, both in the edifices erected, and in the garrisons placed in them, he came to Joppa, and when he had taken it, he brought a great garrison into it.

Those that suppose Josephus to contradict himself in his three several accounts of the notions of the Pharisees, this here, and that earlier one, which is the largest, Of the War, B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 14; and the later, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. 1. sect. 3; as if he sometimes said they introduced an absolute and destitute of all freedom of human actions, is almost wholly groundless; he ever, as the very learned Caussinus here truly observes, asserting, that the Pharisees were between the Esseniers and Sadducees, and did only avoid superstition. For Josephus never treated of this as was consistent with the freedom of human actions. However, their perplexed way of talking of fate or providence as over ruling of human actions, it cannot be wondered at, to excite their sins by ascribing them to fate, as the Apostolical Constitutions, B. v. ch. 13. Perhaps under Aristotle's influence they formed some different opinions, since this point might be propagated, as is very common in all parties, especially in points of metaphysical sublunary: for he heard that the people of Joppa were disposed to deliver up the city to Demetrius's generals.

11. When Simon and Jonathan had finished those affairs, they returned to Jerusalem, where Jonathan gathered all the people together, and took counsel to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall that encompassed the temple, which had been thrown down, and to build high towers and strong; and besides that, to build another wall in the midst of the city, in order to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the temple, to prevent any plenty of provisions; and moreover, to make the fortresses that were in the country much stronger, and more defensible, than they were before. And when these things were approved of by the multitude, as rightly proposed, Jon athan himself took care of the building that belonged to the city, and sent Simon away to make the fortresses in the country more secure than formerly. But Demetrius passed over [Philippus] into Mesopotamia, as desirous to retain that country still, as well as Babylon; and when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for receiv ing his countrymen, he would make war against Trypho, and eject him out of Syria; and of the people of that country received him with great acerbity. So he raised forces, with which he fought against Arseses, and lost all his army, and was himself taken alive, as we have elsewhere related.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan was slain by Treachery; and how upon the Jews made Simon their General and High Priest; what courageous Actions he also performed, especially against Trypho.

§ 1. Now when Trypho knew what had be come to him, he was no longer afraid of Antiochus, but contrary by subtlety to kill him, and then take possession of his kingdom; but the fear that he was in of Jonathan was an obstacle to this his design, for Jonathan was a friend to the Parthians, and therefore he dealt with the Parthians to take Jonathan out of the way, and then to set about his design relating to Antiochus: but he judging it best to take him off by deceit and treachery, came from Antioch to Bethsab, which by the Greeks is called Scythopolis, at which place Jonathan met him with forty thou sand chosen men, for he thought that he came to fight him; but when he perceived that Jonathan was ready to fight, he attempted to gain him by however, our Josephus, who in his heart was great admirer of the piety of the Essenes, was yet in practice a Pharisee, as he himself informs us, in his own Life, sect. 2. And his account of this doctrine of the Pharisees, is so certain agreeable to his own opinion, that both fully allowed the freedom of human actions, as the Essenes believed the powerful interposition of Divine Providence. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, Antiq. B. xvii. sect. 3.

1 This king, who was of the famous race of Arseses, was both here, and 1 Mac. xiv. 2, called by the family name Arseses, but Appian says, his proper name was Antiochus. He is also called by Plutarch, the king of the Parthians as the Greeks used to call them, but by the elder author of the first book of Maccabees, the king of the Persians. See concerning this matter a remarkable clause, according to the language of the eastern nations. See Anteced. B. c. sect ii. p. 1106.
present kind treatment, and gave order to his captains to obey him, and by these means was desirous to give assurance of his good-will, and to make him and all his blood upon our heads, and to make him have no fear of us, so he might make him careless and inconsiderate, and might take him when he was unguarded. He also advised him to dismiss his army, because there was nothing else they could do, when there was no war, but all was in peace. However, he desired him to retain a few about him, and go with him to Ptolemais, for that he would deliver the city up to him, and would bring all the rest in the land under his dominion: and he told him, that he came with those very designs.

2. Yet did not Jonathan suspect any thing at all by this his management, but believed that Trypho gave him this advice out of kindness, and with a sincere design. Accordingly, he dismissed his army; and retained no more than three thousand of them with him, and left two thousand in Galilee, and he himself, with one thousand, came with Trypho to Ptolemais: but when the people of Ptolemais had shut their gates, as it had been commanded by Trypho to do, he took Jonathan alive, and slew all that were with him. He also caused those that were left in Galilee, in order to destroy them; but those men having heard the report of what had happened to Jonathan, they prevented the execution; so that when Trypho came, they covered themselves with their armour, and went away out of the country. Now when those that were sent against them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they gave them no disturbance, but returned back to Trypho.

3. But when the people of Jerusalem heard that Jonathan was taken, and that the soldiers who were with him were destroyed, they deplored to their God; and some of them made up their minds to hear him every body, and a great and just fear fell upon them, and made them sad, lest now they were deprived of the courage and conduct of Jonathan, the nations about them should bear them ill-will; and as they were before quiet on account of Jonathan, they should now rise up against them, and by making war with them, should force them into the utmost danger. They therefore endeavoured to beg off from their destruction; and when they had informed Jonathan's mother about his situation, she besought Jonathan's brother John to bring him word; and he did so, and delivered his message to Trypho, and entreated him to spare his brother, and not to make him a gainer by the murder of his brother. Trypho, on the other hand, began to reflect upon the case, and took his counsel with himself; and he thought that he should have a casuism raised against him among the multitude as the cause of his brother's death if he neither gave the money nor sent Jonathan's sons, he gathered that Trypho was like to offer them what offers Trypho had made, and added this, that the offers were enariving and treacherous, and yet that it was more eligible to send the money and Jonathan's sons than to be liable to the imputation of not complying with Trypho's offers, and thereby refusing to save his brother. Accordingly, Simon sent the sons of Jonathan and the money; but when Trypho had received them, he did not keep his promise, nor set Jonathan free, but took his army, and went about all the country, and resolved to go afterward to Jerusalem by the way of Idumea, while Simon went over against him with his army, and all along pitched his own camp over against him.

4. But when those that were in the citadel had sent to Trypho, and besought him to make haste and come to them, and to send them provisions, he prepared his army, and went about the siege, he and Simon removed thence, and came into Cæsarea, and falling vehemently upon the land of Gilead, he slew Jonathan there, and when he had given order for his burial, he returned himself to
Antioch. However, Simon sent some to the city of Basca to bring away his brother's bones, and buried them in their own city of Modin; and all the people made great lamentation over him. Simon also erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it a great height, and so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it, and other works, which were one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. Moreover, he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising, both for their large dimensions, and which had been preserved to this day; and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations. Now Jonathan died when he had been high priest four years, and had been also the governor of the nation. And these were the circumstances that concerned his death.

7. But Simon, who was made high priest by the multitude, on the very first year of his high priesthood set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer; which liberty and freedom from tribute they obtained after a happy and prosperous period of seventy years of the kingdom of the Assyrians, which was after Seleucus, who was called Nicator, got the dominion over Syria. Now the affection of the multitude towards Simon was so great, that in their contracts one clause was inserted, and in the public words, while the gods, they wrote, "In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews: for under him they were very happy, and overcame the enemies and the robbers round about them, for Simon overthrew the city Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia. He also took the citadel of Jerusalem by siege, and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies; and he took it, to do them mischief, as it had been till now. And when he had done this, he thought it their best way, and most for their advantage, to level the very mountain itself upon which the citadel happened to stand, that so the temple might be higher than it. And, in fact, there is some great error in the copies here, when no mention is made of this great action in the high priesthood of Jonathan. We know by Josephus's last Jewish chronology, Antiq. B. xx. ch. 2, that there was an inter regnum of seven years between the death of Alexander Jannaeus, the last high priest, and the real high priesthood of Jonathan, to whom yet these seven years seem here to be ascribed, as a part of them were to Judas before, Antiq. B. xii. chap. 11, sect. 1, and Josephus finds those seven years as part of the pontificate, and in the pontificate, we are told, Antiq. B. xx. ch. 7 that Jonathan's real high priesthood lasted seven years more, these seven years will make a period of fourteen years, which I suppose was Josephus's own number in this place, instead of the four in our present copies.

1 These 170 years of the Assyrians mean no more, as Josephus explains himself here, from the era of Seleucus, which, as it is known to have begun on the 317th year before Christ, and 427 in the era from Jeroboam in the first book of Maccabees, and from its autumn in the second book of Maccabees, so did it not begin at Babylon till the next spring on the 311th year. See Fras. at the year 312. As is also observed by Dr. Hammond on this place, Maccabees 11, 1, 4, and 5, or 3, 4, which sheweth therefore are original manuscripts of those times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters; and if be in great measure omitted by Josephus. See Eusebius, On the Old Test. p. 257, 138. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of these chapters of the Jews with Samaritan chronology, which seem to have been, most of them at least, coined in the four first years of this Simon the A dassanites, and having upon them these words on one side, Jerusalem the year 312, and Appollonius the year 313, 314, 315, or 3, 4, which sheweth therefore are original manuscripts of those times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters. If be in great measure omitted by Josephus. See Eusebius, On the Old Test. p. 257, 138. The reason why I rather suppose that his copy of these chapters of the Jews with Samaritan chronology, which seem to have been, most of them at least, coined in the four first years of this Simon the A dassanites, and having upon them these words on one side, Jerusalem the year 312, and Appollonius the year 313, 314, 315, or 3, 4, which sheweth therefore are original manuscripts of those times, and undeniable marks of the truth of the history in these chapters.
them coming, he avoided the danger by warming himself in them, and made haste into the city [Jerusalem], as relying on the good-will of the multitude, because of the benefits they had received from his father, and because of the hatred the same multitude bare to Ptolemy; so that when Ptolemy was forced to enter the city by another gate, they drove him away, as having already admitted Hyrcanus.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus receives the High Priesthood, and ejects Ptolemy out of the Country. Antiochus makes War against Hyrcanus, and afterward makes a League with him.

§ 1. So Ptolemy retired to one of the fortresses that was above Jericho, which was called Dagon: but Hyrcanus having taken the priesthood that had been his father’s before, and in the first place propitiated God by sacrifices, he then made an expedition against Ptolemy; and when he made his attacks upon the place, in other points he was too hard for him, but was rendered weaker than he, by the commission he had received from his father. For Ptolemy, by his long siege, for Ptolemy brought them upon the wall, and tormented them in the eight of all, and threatened that he would throw them down headlong, unless Hyrcanus would leave off the siege. And this was as he thought so far for the one who was within the siege and taking of the place, so much the more did he show to those that were dearest to him by preventing their misery, his zeal about it was cooled. However, his mother spread out her hands, and besought him that he should not grow remiss in her account, but indulge his indignation so much the more, and that he would do his utmost to take the place quickly, in order to get their enemy under his power, and to revenge upon them with whom he had dealt, those that were dearest to himself; for that death would be to her sweet, though with torment, if that enemy of theirs might be brought to punishment for his wicked dealings to them. Now, when his mother said so, he resolved to take the fortress immediately; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed him, and he could not but sympathize with what his mother suffered, and with the Jews, and was thereby overcome. And so the siege was drawn out into length by this means, that year on which the Jews used to rest came on, for the Jews observe this rest every seventh year, as they do every seventh day; so that Ptolemy being for this reason overborne, he slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother; and when he had so done, he fled to Zeno, who was called Cotylas, who was then the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia.

§ 2. But Antiochus being very uneasy at the miseries that Simon had brought upon him, he invaded Judea in the fourth year of his reign, and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus in the hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad. And when he had burnt the country, he shut up Hyrcanus in the city, which he encompassed

* Here Josephus begins to follow and to abbreviate the same ancient Hebrew book, styled, in the end of the first book of Maccabees, The Chronicles of John’s [Hyrcanus’s] reign, as preserved, but in some of the Greek copies, the fourth book of Maccabees. A Greek version of this chronicle was extant not very long ago, in the days of Simeon Paganus, and Sixtus Sanezus, at Lyons, though it seems to have been lost. For Sanezus has Sixtus Sanezus’s account of it, of many Hebrews, and its great agreement with Josephus’s abridgment, in the Apocalypse of the Twelve.

† Hence we learn, that in the days of this excellent high priest, John Hyrcanus, the observation of the Sabbatic year, as Josephus supposed, required a rest from war, as did that from the rest of the wars; for the simultaneous rest in the case of necessity, when the Jews were attacked by their enemies, in which case indeed, and in which some
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

round with seven encampments, but did nothing at the first, because of the strength of the walls, and because of the valour of the besieged; although they were once in want of water, which yet they were delivered from by a large shower of rain, which fell at the setting of the Pleiades. However, about the north part of the wall, where it happened the city was upon a level with the outward ground, the king raised a hundred towers, in which he lodged the garrison, and soldiers upon them, and as he made his attacks every day, he cut a double ditch, deep and broad, and confined the inhabitants within it as within a deep sea. All the besieged continued to make frequent sallies out, and if the enemy were not any where upon their guard, they fell upon them, and did them a great deal of mischief, and if they perceived them, they then retired into the city with ease. But because Hyrcanus discerned the inconvenience of so great a number of men in the city, while the provisions were the sooner spent by them, and yet, as is natural to suppose, those great numbers did nothing, he separated the use less, and sent them out of the city, and retained that part only who were in the flower of their age, and fit for war. However, Antiochus would not let those that were excluded go away, who therefore wandering about between the walls, the Rhodians, who were then dying miserably; but when the feast of tabernacles was at hand, those that were within commiserated their condition, and received them in again. And when Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, and de- sired there should be no more going out, for the cause of the festival, he gave way to his piety towards God, and made that truce accordingly; and besides that, he sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with horses gold and silver, and with all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple, Antiochus in the mean while feasting at Jericho, which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes, who, when he had taken the city, offered swine upon the altar, and sprinkled the temple with the broth of their flesh, in order to violate the laws of the Jews, and put their religion they had received from their forefathers; for which reason our nation made war with him, and would never be reconciled to him; but for this Antiochus, all men called him Antiochus the Pious, for the great zeal he had about religion.

3. Accordingly, Hyrcanus took this moderation of his kindly; and when he understood how religious he was towards the Deity, he sent an embassy to him, and desired that he would re- store the settlements they received from their forefathers. So he rejected the counsel of those that would have him utterly destroy the nation by reason of their way of living; which was to others unreasonable, and did not regard what they said. But being persuaded that all they said was out of a religious mind, he answered the embassadors, that if the besieged would deliver up their arms, and pay tribute for Joppa, and the cities that were bordered up and taken, and permit a garrison of his; on these terms he would make war against them no longer. But the Jews, although they were content with the other conditions, did not agree to admit the garrison, because they could not associate with other people, nor converse with them; yet were they willing, instead of the admission of the garrison, to give him hostages, and five hundred talents of silver, of which they paid down three hundred, and sent the hostages immediately, which king Antiochus accepted. One of these hostages was Hyrcanus's brother; but still he broke down the fortifications that encompassed the city; and upon these conditions he gave the command of the city to his son, Junius Ephraim, who received it.

4. But Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of Da- vid, who excelled all other kings in riches, and took out of it three thousand talents. He was a witness for us; who in his history writes thus: "The Amarynnaeus, a Thracian king, put together an army on the left bank of the river Lyceus, upon his conquest of Indesas, the general of the Parthians, he stayed there two days. It was at the desire of Hyrcanus the Jew, because it was such a festival derived to the Jews; for the Jews did not allow them to travel." And truly he did not speak falsely in saying so; for that festival, which we call Pentecost, did then fall out to be the next day to the Sabbath, for in those days the Sabbath-day, or on a festival-day. But when Antiochus joined battle with Arsaces, the king of Parthia, he lost a great part of his army, and was himself slain; and thereupon Antiochus, being in the king- dom of Syria by the permission of Arsaces, who freed him from his captivity, at the same time that Antiochus attacked Parthia, as we have formerly related elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

How, after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus made an Expedition against Syria, and made a League with the Romans. Concerning the Death of King Demetrius and Alexander.

§ 1. But when Hyrcanus heard of the death of Antiochus, he presently made an expedition into the land of Syria, hoping to be the true desitute of fighting men, and of such as were able to defend them. However, it was not till the sixth month that he took Medaba, and that not without the great distress of his army. After this he took Samoea, and the neighbouring places; and besides these, Shechem and Gerizim, and the nation of the Cubians, who dwelt at the temple which Alexander permitted Sab- batus, the general of his army, to build for the sake of Manasseh, who was son-in-law to Jus- dus, the high priest, as we have formerly related, which temple was now deserted two hundred years after it was built. Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea, and subdued all the land, and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would Circumcise their genitals, and make use of the laws of the Jews, and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted the bonds of those oaths that were to be sacrificed, in a known thing both in the poets and orators.

§ 2. But it happened that the present Antiochus was persuaded, though in vain, not to make peace with the Jews, but to cut them off utterly, is fully confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, in his history out of the same Book.

§ 3. The Jews were not to march, or journey, on the Sabbath, or to have a festival as were the Jews on the Sabbath, any further than a Sabbath-day's journey, or sixty cubits. See the note on Antiq. B. xx. ch. vi. sect. 6.
to the use of circumcision, and of the rest of the Jewish ways of living; at which time, therefore, this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.

2. But Hyrcanus, the high priest, was desirous to renew that league of friendship they had with the Romans. Accordingly, he sent an embassy to them; and when the senate had received their epistle, they made a league of friendship with them, after the manner following: Conceding to the Jews a Roman citizen in the person of Lucius Mucius, the son of Lucius, of the Centline tribe, and Caius Scipio, their tribune, and of the several cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be their fortune, after they were restored to their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them. And that all attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decrees of the senate, might be made void; and that the persons, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been lost in war in the times of Alexander, and what Antiochus, and especially under these brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in Judea quietly, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money. However, when he had driven the Cyzicenes from the island, he then openly showed what he meant. And when he saw that Antiochus was destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were in an ill condition in the struggles they had with one another, he despised them both. 1

2. So he made an expedition against Samaria, which was a very strong city: of whose present name Sebaste, and its rebuilding by Herod, we others as embrace their religion, though of other nations."

But then upon what foundation so good a governor as Hyrcanus took upon him to compel those Idumeans either to become Jews, or to leave their country, deserves great consideration. I suppose it was because they had long ago been driven out of the land of Edom, and had made so good a use of the tribe of Simeon, and all the southern parts of the tribe of Judah, which was the peculiar inheritance of the worshippers of the true God without idols.

In this decree of the Roman senate, it seems that those ambassadors were sent from the people of the Jews, as well as from their prince or high priest, John Hyrcanus.

Dean Prideaux takes notice at the year 130, that Jews was now grown so great, that after this Antiochus they would not bear any Macedonian king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and inhabited Syria with great war
shall speak at a proper time: but he made his attack against it, and besieged it with a great deal of pains, for he was greatly displeased with the Samaritans for the injuries they had done to the people of Merissa, a colony of the Jews, and confederate with them, and in compliance to the kings of Syria. When he had therefore drawn a ditch, and built a double wall round the city, which was fourscore furlongs long, he set his sons Antiochus and Aristobulus over the work: whereupon the Samaritans sent messengers to their king of Syria, to beg him to come to their assistance: and when he had received these requests, he sent to Antiochus, and Aristobulus, and when he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by the two brethren, he got away. So they returned to Samaria, and shut them again within the wall, till they were forced to send for the same Antiochus to a second time, to help them, who procured about six thousand men from Ptolemy Lathyrus, which were sent them without his mother's consent, who had his in a manner turned him out of his government. With this Antiochus destroyed the city, and ravaged the country of Hyrcania after the manner of a robber, for he durst not meet him in the face to fight with him, as not having an army sufficient to withstand him, and by this means he extorted from this proposals, that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria; but because he fell into snares, and lost many of his soldiers therein, he went away to Tyre, and here he committed the provision of the war against the Jews to Callimachus and Epiphaton.

3. But as to Callimachus, he attacked the enemy too rashly, and was put to flight and destroyed immediately; and as to Epiphaton, he was easily met and outsmarted, that he retired into Scythopolis, and other places near it, to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria. And when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only, but he demolished it entirely, and brought ruines to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the water run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been. Now a very surprising thing is related of this high priest Hyrcanus, how God came to discourse with him; for they say, that on the very same day on which his sons fell before Antiochus, and Antiochus Cyzicenus was along with them in the temple, as high priest, offering incense, and heard a voice, that his sons had just then overcome Antiochus. And this he openly declared before all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple; and it accordingly proved true: and in this posture were the affairs of Hyrcanus.

4. Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judaea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt, and Cyprus, for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals Cleophas and Aminias, to defend the temples and the palace of the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that of Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra instructed these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he wrote thus, "Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelica and Aanias were in chief favour with the queen." This is the relation of Strabo.

5. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus, but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who were one of the sects of the Jews, who did not go from their old opinions, but were of opinion that there had been, and might be, a state of the world that had no laws and was without a law. But here the doctrine against the resurrection and a future state, for this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be, it is most probable, that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in the doctrines of that sect than to keep all their written traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of; for Josephus mentions no other difference at this time between them: neither does he say that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees in any other case than what we have related of his sending them to each establishment of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as they. [At the year 108.]

6. Now it happened that this Hyrcanus was slain by a revolution in Samaria, and many of the city had been preserved by their successors the Romans to those latter ages. For Dr. Hudson assures us, that David Guas, in his chronology, 5. Pr. p. 77, in Vorstius's version, relates that Hyrcanus's mother was taken captive in Mount Median. See ch. xii. sect. 5.
so did not give heed to what was said against him, and partly because he thought the reproaches were derived from the envy of the relations. But when Antigonus was once returned from the army, and the feast was then at hand when they made tabernacles to (the honour of) God, it happened that Aristobulus was fallen sick, and that Antigonus went up most splendidly adorned, and with his soldiers about him in their armour in the temple, and showed the pompous appearance of Antigonus, and of the great actions which he had done, and went to the king, and spitefully aggravated the pomposity of his show of his at the feast, and pretended that all these circumstances were not like those of a private person; that these actions were indications of an affection of royal authority; and that his coming with a strong body of men must be with an intention to kill him; and that his way of reasoning was this: if it were not true that he aimed at him, while it was in his power to reign himself, to look upon it as a great favour that he was honoured with a lower dignity by his brother. 

2. Aristobulus yielded to the rage of Antigonus, but took care both that his brother should not suspect him, and that he himself might not run the hazard of his own safety; so he ordained his guards to lie in a certain place that was under the tower, and on the ground, and in the tower, which was called Antonia, and he commanded them, that in case Antigonus came to him unarmed, they should not touch any body, but if armed, they should kill him: yet did he send to Antigonus, and desired that he should come unarmed; but the queen, and those that joined with her in the plot against Antigonus, persuaded the messenger to tell him the direct contrary: how his brother had bidden him to make himself a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus, suspecting no treachery, but depending on the goodwill of his brother, came to Aristobulus armed, as he used to be, with his entire armour, in order to show it to him; but when he was come to a place which was called Strato's Tower, where the palace was situated, he was, in order to give him a presage, showed him; which death of his demonstrated that nothing is stronger than envy and calumny, and that nothing does more certainly divide the good-will and natural affections of men than those passions. But he upon one man was avenged, for he put to death one at one Judas, who was of the sect of the Essenes, and who never missed the truth in his predictions for this man, when he saw Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and friends, who rode with him as his scholars, in order to learn the art of foretelling things to come, "That it was good for him to die now, since he had spoken falsely about Antigonus, the first king Aristobulus, whose reign being but a single year, seemed hardly to have come to his knowledge. Nor indeed does Aristobulus believe that the name of king was taken before his father Alexander took it himself. Antig. B. xiv. ch. iii. sect. 2. See also ch. xiv. sect. 1, which favour Strabo also. And indeed, if we may believe from the voice of the Oracles, that the Jews under high priests, and of the Palestine Jews under kings, in the two next centuries, we may well suppose, that the divine Spirit would have guarded both the temple and the worshippers at the temple of Onias were better men than those at the temple of Jerusalem. 

Hence we learn, that the Jews pretended to have rules whereby men might discern things to come, and that this Judas the Essene taught those rules to his scholars; 

II. ch. vi. sect. 10.
who is still alive, and I see him passing by, although he had foretold that he should die at the place called Strato's Tower, that very day while yet the place is six hundred furlongs off, where he had foretold he should be slain; and still this day is a great part of it already past, so that he was in danger of proving a false prophet." And this, too: for that melancholy mood, the news came that Antigonus was slain in a place under ground, which itself was called also Strato's Tower, or of the same name with that Cesarea which is seated at the sea. This event put into a great consternation; for another it was after the death of Aristobulus, he certainly took the kingdom, and one of his brethren, who affected the kingdom, he slew, and the other, who chose to live a private and a quiet life, he had in cold blood.

2. When Alexander Janneus had settled the government in the manner that he judged best, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having overthrown the men in battle, he shut them up in the city, and sat about it, and by siege it; for of the maritime cities there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be conquered, besides Strato's Tower, and Doris, which were held by tyrants also. Now after some time the late Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, were making war one against another, and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but the Macedonians, who were led by Zolius, who possessed Strato's Tower and Doris, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and, on occasion of the contest between the kings, affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small force, which put the Ptolemaisians to flight, and forced them to yield, put out of the first city by laziness, and by lying still as long as they could. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when they were in danger of losing their kingdom to Alexander. And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as they also said, that Zo- lius, who was the father of these kings, would assist them: so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

3. But in this interval, Demenetia, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions: and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews, than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a nation with whom they had nothing at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt, for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighbourhood, but would come against them and beat them with the army of her own kingdom; because she was labouring to eject her sons out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus, but that they are at the greatest danger from Alexander. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came

* The reason why Hyrcanus suffered not this son of his whom he did not love to come into Judæa, but ordered him to be brought up in Galilee, is suggested by Dr. Hudson, that Galilee was not esteemed so happy and well culti-
the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his in the whole, horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: but when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

4. But when Zozlius and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was assaulted by the Jews, who, by Alexander, Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy; and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a strategy. But Ptolemy, being afraid to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requisition, he would take off Zozlius, the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subducted Zozlius; but when he afterward heard that he had sent an agent to Cleopatra to persuade her to break the league of friendship with him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his army, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest of his forces to Judea; and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intension, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country, and as many writers, and eight thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asoschis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the Sabbath-day, and there he took about ten thousand dead and wounded.

5. He then tried to take Sephoris, which was a city not far from that which was destroyed, but lost many of his men; yet did he then go to fight with Alexander, which Alexander met him at the river Jordana, near a city in place called Saphotha (not far from the river Jordan), and pitched his camp near to the enemy. He had, however, eight thousand in the first rank, which he styled Hecatomtomeschi, having shields of brass. Those he left there, with his other soldiers, to defend the shields covered with brass; but Ptolemy's soldiers in other respects were inferior to those of Alexander, and therefore were more fearful of running hazards; but Philisthanus, the camp master, desired that they should pass the river, which was between their camps: nor did Alexander think fit to hinder their passage over it, for he thought that if the enemy had once gotten the river on their back, that he should the easier take them prisoners, when they could not flee out of the battle; in the beginning of which the acts on both sides, with their hands, and with their alacrity, were alike, and a great slaughter was made by both the armies; but Alexander was superior, till Philisthanus opportunely brought up the auxiliaries, to help those that were giving way; but as there were no auxiliaries to afford help to that part of the army that were in the rear, he left a guard behind them, and those near them did not assist them, but fled along with them. However, Ptolemy's soldiers acted quite otherwise; for they followed the Jews, and killed them, till at length those that slew them pursued after them, when they had made them all run away, and slew them so long, that their weapons of iron were blunted, and their hands quite tired with the slaughter, for the report was, that thirty thousand men were then slain. Timagnes says, they were fifty thousand. As for the rest, they were part of them taken captive, and the other part ran away to their own country.

6. After this victory, Ptolemy overran all the country; and when night came on, he abode in a certain village called Aemmem, sat still full of women and children, he commanded his soldiers to strangle them and cut them in pieces, and then to cast them into boiling caldrons, and ordered them to drive him and his army by the limit, the commandment was given, that such as fled from the battle, and came to them, might suppose their enemies were cannibals, and ate men's flesh, and might on that account be still more terrified at them upon such sight. And both Strabo and Nicholas [of Damascus] affirm, that they used these people after this manner, as I have already related. Ptolemy also took Ptolemais by force, as we have declared elsewhere.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, upon the League of mutual Defense which Cleopatra had agreed with him, made an Expedition against Cæsarea, and utterly overthrew the City of Gaza: and how he slew many thousands of Jews that rebelled against him: also concerning Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus, and Antiochus Phius, and others.

§ 1. When Cleopatra saw that her son was grown great, and laid Judea waste without disturbance, and had gotten the city of Gaza under his power, she received not what he did, when he was almost at her gates; and she concluded, that now he was so much stronger than before, he would be very desirous of the dominion over the Egyptians; but she immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea, and an army of foot on land, and made Chelcius and Anianias the Jews, generals of her whole army, while she sent the greatest part of her riches, her grandchildren, and her testament, to the people of Cæsarea. Cleopatra also desired her son Alexander to sail with a great fleet to Phenicia: and when that country had revolted, she came to Ptolemais; and because the people of Ptolemais did not receive her, she besieged the city; but Ptolemy, being encouraged by her, marched into Egypt, supposing that he should find it desitute of an army, and soon take it, though he failed of his hopes. At this time Chelcius, one of Cleopatra's generals, happened to die in Cæsarea, as he was in pursuit of Ptolemy.

2. When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt, and that his Egyptian expedition did not succeed according to his expectations, she sent thither part of her army, and drew him out of that country; so when he was returned out of Egypt again, and abode during the winter at Gaza, in which time Cleopatra took the garrison that was in Ptolemais by siege, as well as the city; and when Alexander, finding that he was pressed, and such marks of respect as were but proper, since under the miseries he endured b'Ptolemy, he had no other refuge but her. Now there were some of her friends who persuaded her to seize Alexander, and to overrun and take

* * *

This city or island of Cœt is not that remote island of the Egæan sea, or a group of islands, as some have thought, but a city or island of the same name adjoigning to Egypt, mentioned both by Stephens and Ptolemy, as Dr. Hudson informs us. Of which Cœt, and the treasures there hid up by Cleopatra and the Jews, see Anæus. B. 6. c. viii. sect. 2.
slavery for them; but the senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo's temple, (for this attack happened to be as they were sitting,) whom Alexander, who was unjust and avaricious, when he utterly overthrew them, they returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.

4. About this very time Antiochus, who was called Grypus, died. His death was caused by Herodes, who was reigning for fifteen years, and had reigned twenty-nine. His son Seleucus succeeded him in his kingdom; and made war with Antiochus, his father's brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicus, and became also king of Syria. But after a while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicus, who was called Pius, came to Aradus, and put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus and Demetrius, and drove him out of Syria. But when he fled out of Syria, he came to Mopsuestia again, and levied money upon them, but the people of Mopsuestia had indignation at what he did, and burnt down his palace, and slew him, and circumcised his son.

5. As to Alexander, his own people were a.d. 152 a. seditious against him; for at a festival which was then celebrated, when he stood upon the altar, and was going to sacrificethere, they struck him, and pelted him with citrons, which they then had in their hands, by usethe law of the Jews required, that at the feast of tabernacles every one should have branches of the palm-tree related. They also revived him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy of his dignity, and of sacrificing. At this he was in a rage, and slew of them about six thousand. He also built a temple for the priests, and made it a very magnificent, as far as that partition within which it was only lawful for the priests to enter, and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him. He also maintained foreigners for the sacrifices for the temple, and for the priests, and was at war with them, and so made no use of them. He also overcame the Arabians, such as the Mambites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute. Moreover, he demolished Amathus, and built the city of Arassus, but as he had joined battle with Obedas, king of the Arabians, and fell into an ambush in places that were rugged and difficult to be travelled over, and was in danger of being taken; and the multitude of the camels at Gadara, a village of Gilead, and hardly escaped with his life. From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where, besides his

However, Porphyry says that this Antiochus Pius did not die in this battle, but, running away, was drowned in the river Orontes. Appian says, that he was deprived of the Heracleian's treasure, when he had lay in the Isis-hall of the Laodice queen of the Cilicians; all which is noted by Spanheim. In such confusion of the latter historians, we have no reason to prefer any of them before Josephus, who had more original ones before him.

* This account of the death of Antiochus Grypus is confirmed by Appian, Syracc., p. 132, here cited by Spanheim.

† Porphyry says, that this Antiochus Grypus reigned but a short time, and was assassinated by the women of his household.

‡ The copies of Josephus, both Greek and Latin, have here sogrossly falsified a reading, Antiochus and Antiochus; Antiochus, thrice, for Antiochus Pius, that the editors are forced to correct the text from the other historians, who all agree that this king's name was nothing more than Antiochus.

§ These two brothers, Antiochus and Philip, are called twice by Porphyry; the fourth brother was king of Damascus; both which are the observations of Spanheim.

‖ At this time Jerusalem was a city of Gilead beyond Jordan.
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other ill success, the nation insulted him, and he fought against them for six years, and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of them. And when he did not that they would desert from them till will to him, they hated him so much the more, on account of what had already happened; and when he asked them what they ought to do! they all cried out, 'That he ought to kill himself.'

Then sent Demetrius to the Euceerus and desired him to make a league of mutual defence with them.

CHAP. XIV.

How Demetrius Eucerus overcame Alexander, and yet in a little time retired out of the Country for fear of the Jews. As also how there were many of the Jews, and thereby got clear of his Troubles. Concerning the Death of Demetrius.

§ 1. So Demetrius came with an army, and took those that invited him, and pitched his camp near the city Shechem; upon which Alexander, with his six thousand two thousand mercenaries, and about the twenty thousand Jews, who were of his party, went against Demetrius, who had three thousand horsemen, and forty thousand footmen. Now there were great endeavours used on both sides, both for bringing to bring to the cities that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius. However, when neither of them could persuade them so to do, the Athenians, and the conqueror, in which all Alexander's mercenaries were killed, when they had given demonstration of their fidelity and courage. A great number of Demetrius's soldiers were slain also.

§ 2. Now when Alexander was six thousand, six thousand of the Jews hereupon came together, from Demetrius to him, out of pity at the change of his fortune; upon which Demetrius was afraid, and retired out of the country; after which the Jewish fought against Alexander, and being beaten, were slain in great numbers in the several battles which they had; and when he had shut up the most powerful of them in the city Bethone, he besieged them thereat, and had taken the city, and gotten me into his power, he bought them to Jerusalem, and did one of the most barbarous actions in the world to them: for as he was feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the country, he crucified them; and as they were crucified, and while they were living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes. This was indeed by way of revenge for the injuries they had done him, and for his misconduct. But what more he could have done, all the world knew; and when he was taken, he was crucified into the Hippodrome, and shut him up in it, and kept Damascas for Antiochus [Eucerus], who, hearing how Philip's affairs stood, came back out of Arabia. He also came immediately, and made his way against Judas, who was about to march into the Arabian. As the Arabian king [Aretas] at first retreated, but afterward appeared on the sudden with ten thousand horsemen. Antiochus gave them the meeting, and fought separately; and indeed when in the evening, bringing some auxiliaries to that part of his army that was in distress, he was slain. When Antiochus was fallen, his army fled to the village Caesarea, where the greatest part of them perished by famine.
being called to the government by those who held Damascus, by reason of the hatred they bare to Ptolemy Menneus. He also made thence an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, near a place called Adida. Yet did he, upon certain conditions agreed on between them, retire out of Judea. 3 But Alexander marched again to the city Dios, and took it; and then made an expedition against Issa, where was the best part of Zeno's treasure, and burnt the temple, and took the place with the three walls; and when he had taken the city by fighting, he marched to Golon and Seleucia; and when he had taken these cities, he, besides them, took that valley which is called the valley of Antioch, where he found, besides gold and silver, as much coin as he could carry. He also accused Demetrius, who was governor of those places, of many crimes, and turned him out: and after he had spent three years in this war, he returned to his own country, when the Jews joyfully received him upon this his great success. 4. Now at this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians; at the seaside, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jannia, and the city called Janima. In Asia, he took, in Coele-Syria, and in Judaea, and by sea and by land, as far as the acclivities; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythia, and Gadara on the coast of Gaulitis, Seleucia, and Gabelas in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medeba, Lemba, and Orona, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Celices, and Felix; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities in Syria, which had been destroyed. 5. After this, king Alexander, although he fell into a destemper by hard drinking, and had a quartan ague, which held him three years, yet would not leave off going out with his army, till he was quite spent with the labours he had undergone, and died in the bounds of Cesarea, a fortress beyond Jordan. But when his queen saw that he was ready to die, and had no longer any hopes of surviving, she came to him weeping, and lamenting, and bewailing herself and the city, and said to him, "Why do you continue your rule?" He said to her, "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other supports, and this when thou hast me for heretic, and I will destroy the nation because of thee?" But he gave her the following advice, "That she need but follow what he would suggest to her, in order to retain the kingdom securely, with her children; that she should conceal his death from the soldiers till she should have taken that place; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her: for he told them that if he had done any thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, not avenge this, but come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will discharge him and the body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whe ther in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom, and that thou shalt have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me: and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, yet let this body not come to Jerusalem, but rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he died after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one. 

CHAP. XVI.  
Hon Alexander, by gaining the good-will of the Pharisees, retained the Kingdom nine Years, and then, having done many glorious Actions, died. 

§ 1. So Alexander, when he had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested to her, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom, and thereupon pacified their anger against Alexander, and made them bear good-will and friendship to him; who then came among the multitude, and made speeches to them, and laid before the notices of Alexander, and told them that they had lost a righteous king; and by the commendation they gave him, they brought them to grieve, and to be in heaviness for him, so that he might see them as his enemies. And when they had taken him prisoner, they put him, with his miracles, all men would believe on him, and the Romans would come, and take away both their place and nation. Which political counsellors of Jews of Jerusalem brought upon the vengeance of God upon those, and occasioned those very Romans, of whom they seemed so much afraid, that to prevent it they put him to death, so that they lost all their hopes and their snares within thirty-eight years afterward. I hereby wish the politicians of Christendom would consider these, and the like. It is more terrible to them what God has done, and what they have done, and their own traditions, chap. xvi. sect. 8; and that he now saw a political means of submitting himself to the Pharisees and their traditions hereafter, if his wife and family minded to retain their monarchical government by tyranny over the Jewish nation — which could yet, thus supported, were at last in a great measure the ruin of the religion, government, and nation of the Jews, and might get them into so wicked a state that the vengeance of God came upon them to their utter extirpation. Just thus did Claudius politically advise the Jewish Rulers: 'The nations, or great states, after countries they gained from them, that had not belonged to them before, they, after the days of Hyrcanus, compelled the inhabitants, by their idolatries, each to receive the law of Moses, as proselytes of justice, or else banished them into other lands. That excellent prince, John Hyrcanus, did it to the Idumeans, as I have noted on chaps. i. sect. 1, already, who lived them in the promised land, and this I suppose justly; but by what right the rest did it, even to countries or cities that were no part of that land, I know not. This looks too like unjust persecution for religion.  

1 It seems by this dying advice of Alexander Janneus to have had himself persuaded by his father Hyrcanus, and taken part with the Sadducees, who kept close to the written law, against the Pharisees, who kept to the traditions of their own, and other traditions, chap. xvi. sect. 8; and that he now saw a political means of submitting himself to the Pharisees and their traditions hereafter, if his wife and family minded to retain their monarchical government by tyranny over the Jewish nation — which could not have taken that place; after this, she should go in triumph, as upon a victory, to Jerusalem, and put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for that they would commend her for the honour she had done them, and would reconcile the nation to her: for he told them that if he had done any thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said, that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation, whom indeed he had injured. Do thou, therefore, not avenge this, but come to Jerusalem, send for the leading men among them, and show them my body, and with great appearance of sincerity, give them leave to use it as they themselves please, whether they will discharge him and the body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered by my means, or whether in their anger they will offer any other injury to that body. Promise them also, that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom, and that thou shalt have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me: and when it is in their power to abuse my dead body, yet let this body not come to Jerusalem, but rule in safety." So when he had given his wife this advice, he died after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one.
Life; but the younger, Aristobulus, was an active and a bold man; he would not be contented but to be attended by the multitude, because he seemed displeased at the offences her husband had been guilty of.

2. So she made Hyrcanus high priest, because she had no other, but much more she desired not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do every thing; to whom also she ordered the multitude to be obedient. She restored again those practices which the people had committed the former times of their forefathers, and which their father-law, Hyrcanus, had abrogated. So she had given the name of the Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who received the power, as Meneus, who was such a bad neighbor to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

4. About this time news was brought, that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had made an irruption into Syria, with five hundred and forty thousand men, and was coming against Judas. This news, as may well be supposed, terrified the queen and the nation. Accordingly, they sent him many and very valuable presents, as also to the king's brother-in-law, Tigranes, the king of Lemnia; for Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra, ruled then over Syria, who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes, and had persuaded him not to demand nothing that was severe about their queen or nation. He promised them for the respects they paid him so great a distance, and gave them good hopes of his favor. But as soon as Ptolemais was taken, news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, in his pursuit of Mithridates, could not light upon him, who was fled into Iberia, but was laying waste Armenia, and besieging its cities. He saw now when Tigranes would be in the same case.

5. After this, when the queen was fallen into a dangerous distemper, Aristobulus resolved to attempt the seizing of the government; so he stole away secretly by night, with only one of his servants, and went to the fortresses wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled: for as he had been a great while displeased at his mother's conduct, so he was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death, his whole family should be undone. As for the Pharisees, for he saw the inability of his brother, who was to succeed in the government: nor was any one conscious of what he was doing, but only his wife, who was left at Jerusalem with their children. He first of all chose to go to Ptolemais, where was Galeates, one of the potent men before mentioned, and was received by him. When it was day the queen perceived that Aristobulus was fled; and for some time she supposed that his departure was not in order to make any innovation; but when messengers came one after another with the news, that he had secured the first place, the second place, and all the places, as soon as one had begun, the whole nation was to his disposal; then it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder, for they were aware that it would not be long ere Aristobulus would be able to settle himself firmly in the government. The first presentation that was afraid of was this, that he would inflict punishment upon them for the bad treatment his house had had from them: so they resolved to take his wife and children into custody, and keep them in the fortress that was over the temple, so that now there was a mighty confus of people that came

already slain, and those in danger of it, all the bystanders broke out into tears: but Aristobulus chiefly made manifest what his sentiments, and used many reproachful expressions to his mother. [saying] "Nay, indeed, the case is this, that they have been themselves the authors of their own calamities, who have permitted a woman, who, against reason, was mad with ambition, to reign over them, when there were sons in the flower of their age fitter for it." So Alexander, not knowing what to do with any decency, was silent as a sullen monster, all but Hyrcanus, and Alexandria, and Macherus, whose principal treasures were. After a little while also, she sent her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, who was called Soter, as a bad neighbor to the city; but he did nothing considerable there, and so returned home.

men said thus, and called upon host for commiss of those

of 500,000, or even 200,000, as one Great
atin copies, have it, for Tigranes's army.

Armenia into Syria and Judas, seems

We have had already several such ex-

in Josephus's present copies, which are

cribed to him. Accordingly I believe Dr. Lardner, who suppresses them but 40,000.
to Aristobulus from all parts, insomuch that he had a kind of royal attendance about him; for in little more than fifteen days he got twenty-two strong plans to receive him the opportunity of raising an army from Libanus and Trachonitis, and the monarchs; for men are easily led by the greater number, and easily submit to them. And besides this, that by affording them his assistance when he could not expect it, they, as well as he, should have the advantages that would come by his being king, because they had been the occasion of his gaining the kingdom. Now the elders of the Jews, and Hircanus with them, went in unto the queen, and desired, "Let she would give them their sentiments about the present posture of affairs, for that Aristobulus was in effect lord of almost all the kingdom, by possessing of so much power holds, and that it was absurd for them to take any counsel by themselves, how ill soever she was, while she was alive, and that the danger would be upon them in no long time." But she bade them do what they thought proper to be done: that they had many circumstances in their favour still remaining; a nation in good heart, an army, and money in their several treasuries, for that she had small concern for public affairs now, when the strength of her body was so ill. 6. Now a little while after she had said this to them, she died, when she had reigned nine years.

and had in all lived seventy-three. A woman she was who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree; in her ambition of raising an army was strated by her doings at once, that her mind was fit for action, and that sometimes men themselves show the little understanding they have by the frequent mistakes they make in point of govern- for she always preferred the present to futurity, and preferred the power of an impious dominion over all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good, or what was right. However, she brought the affairs of her realm to a certain state, that she was the occasion of the taking away that authority from it, and that in no long time after, which she had obtained by a vast number of hazards and misfortunes, and the sure of what does not belong to a woman, and all by a compliance in her sentiments with those that bare ill-will to their family, and by leaving the administration destitute of a proper support of great men: and indeed her management dur- ing her administration, while she was alive, was such, as filled the palace after her death with calamities and disturbance. However, al- though this had been her way of governing, she preserved the nation in peace. And this is the conclusion of the affairs of Alexandra.

BOOK XIV.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.—FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

CHAP. 1.

The War between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus about the Kingdom; and how they made an Agreement that Aristobulus should be King, and Hyrcanus I rule the Nation: as also, how Hyrcanus, a little afterward, was persuaded by Antipater to fly to Aretas.

§ 1. We have related the affairs of queen Alexandra, and her death, in the foregoing book, and will now speak of what followed, and was connected with those histories; declaring, before we begin, that we have nothing so much at heart as this, that we may omit no facts,* either through ignorance or laziness, for we are upon the history and explication of such things as the greatest part are unacquainted withal, because of their distance from our times; and we aim to do it with a proper beauty of style, so far as that is derived from proper words harmonically dis- posed, and from such ornaments of speech also as may contribute to the pleasure of our readers, that we may entertain the knowledge of what we write with some agreeable satisfaction and pleasure. But the principal scope that authors ought to aim at above all the rest, is to speak ac- curately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what those writers inform of them.

2. Hyrcanus then began his high priesthood on the third year of the hundred and seventy-sev- enth Olympiad, when Quintus Hirtius and Quintus Metellus, who was called Metellus of Crete, were consuls at Rome; when presently Aristobulus began to make war against him, and at last came to a battle with Hyrcanus at Arichon, many of the soldiers deserted him, and went over

* Roland takes notice here, very justly, how Josephus' declaration that it was his great concern not only to write an agreeable, an accurate, and a true history, but also distinctly not to omit any thing of consequence either otherwise lost, or not otherwise written, implies that he could not consistently with that resolution omit the mention of so famous a person as Jesus Christ.

1 That the famous Antipater's or Antipater's father was also Antipater or Antipas, which two may justly be esteemed the same, and the name, the former with a Great of Gentile, the latter with a Hebrew or Jewish termination in, it is true, for he was a well-informed man as concerns us, though his father added, says it was Herod.
book xiv.—chap. ii.

by many and large presents, made them his fast friends. But now, this younger Antipater was suspicious of the power of Aristobulus, and was afraid of some mischief he might do him, because of his hatred to him; so he stirred up the most of his party to kill him, as he had done them; and so, and that "it was unjust to overlook the conduct of Aristobulus, who had done thine government unjustly, and effected things border out of it, who was the elder, and Antipater what was new and not according to the custom of his birth." And the same speeches he particularly made to Hyrcanus; and told him, his own life would be in danger, unless he died himself, and got shut of Aristobulus; he said he would not put to that hard work, nor have any opportunity of advising to kill him, and then, and not before, sure to retain his safety. Hyrcanus gave no credit to these things, as being of a gentle disposition, use that he was not so revolting and one of a great and generous soul.

And therefore, Antipater saw that Hyrcanus would not attend to what he said, he never thought of anything to be done; but the same day he charged crimes Aristobulus, and to come hither. If he had a mind to kill him, and so, by him perpetually, he advised him, and led him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and presented, that if he would comply with me, he would also himself assist him, with him.] When Hyrcanus heard this, that it was for his advantage to fly away, he now Arabia is a country that borders the sea, and is under the dominion of the king of Arabia, in order to receive from him, that when he should come more of a suppllicant to him, he would help him up to his enemies. So Antipater seized such assurances, turned himself to Jerusalem. Awhile afterward he was, and stole out of the city by night, with great journey, and came and brought it by the city called Petra, where the palace of the king of Arabia is; and he persuaded him to bring back Hyrcanus, and his persuasion he continued without any intermission. He also make him presents on that account. c. 43. Hyrcanus, and sent Antipater, he persuaded him, that when he bought thither, and had received his son; would restore that country, and cities which his father Alexander and the Arameans, which were these, his balbo, Libias, Tharbasa, Agala, r, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa,

chap. ii.

and Hyrcanus made an expedition against Aristobulus, and besieged Jerusalem, the Roman general, raised concerning the death of Oния.

these promises had been given to make an expedition against Aristobulus of fifty thousand horse and in the battle. And when after a small of exceeding strong and he assault. Hyrcanus, and sent Antipater, he persuaded him, that when he bought thither, and had received his son; would restore that country, and cities which his father Alexander and the Arameans, which were these, his balbo, Libias, Tharbasa, Agala, r, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa,

pened at the time when the feast of unleavened bread was celebrated, which we call the passover, the principal men among the Jews left the country and fled into Egypt. Now there was one whose name was Onias, a righteous man among the Jews, and beloved of the king. As this said, he was in a certain drought, had prayed to God to put an end to the intense heat, and whose prayers God had heard, and had sent them rain. This man had hid himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while. However, he came back into the Jewish camp, and desired, that as by his prayers he had once put an end to the drought, so he would in like manner make intercessions on Aristobulus, and those of his faction. And when he, upon his refusal, and that the event which followed, he was still by the multitude compelled to speak, he stood up in the midst of them, and said, "O God, the King of the world! since those that stand now with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are as wicked as they, that thou wilt not hearer to the prayer then, that thou wilt neither hearer to the prayers of those against thee nor bring to effect what these pray against thee." Whereupon such wicked Jews as stood about him, as soon as he had made this prayer, stood up and said, 2. But God punished him immediately for this his barbarity, and took vengeance of him for the murder of Onias, in the manner following: while the priests and Aristobulus were besieged, it happened that a calender, that the passover was come, at which it is our custom to offer a great number of sacrifices to God; but those that were with Aristobulus wanted sacrifices, and desired that their countrymen without would furnish them with sacrifices, and having assured them that they should have as much money for them as they should desire; and when they required them to pay a thousand drachmas for each head of cattle, Aristobulus and the calender immediately undertook to pay for them accordingly, and those within let down the money over the walls, and gave it them. But when the others had received it, they did not deliver the sacrifices, but arrived at that height of wickedness that, to break the assurances they had given, and to be guilty of impiety towards God, by not furnishing those that wanted them with sacrifices. And when the priests found they had been cheated, they had no money, they were violated, they prayed to God that he would avenge them on their countrymen. Nor did he delay that their punishment, but sent a strong and vehement storm of wind, that destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a multitude of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmas.

3. In the meantime Pompey sent Scarrus into Syria, while he was himself in Armenia, and making war with Tigranes: but when Scarrus was come to Damascus, and found that Lollius and Metellus had newly taken the city, he came himself hastily into Judea. And when he was come thither, ambassadors came to him, both from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and both desired that he would assist them. And when both of them promised to give him money, Aristobulus four hundred talents, and Hyrcanus no less, he accepted of Aristobulus's promise, for he was rich, and had a great soul, and desired to obtain on thing but what was moderate; whereas the other was poor, and tedious, and made incredible promises in hopes of greater advantages; for it was not the same thing to take a city that was not the same as to take a country. And Scarrus ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans. So Scarrus returned to Damascus again; and Aristobulus, with a great army, made war with Aretas and
HYRCANUS, and fought them at a place called Papryos, and beat them in the battle, and slew about six thousand of the enemy; with whom fell Phallion also, the brother of Antipater.

CHAPTER III.

How Aristobulus and Hyrcanus came to Pompey, in order to argue who ought to have the Kingdom; and how, upon the Flight of Aristobulus, the Fortresses of Judæa were delivered up by Antipater, who was appointed by him, and ordered to deliver up the Fortresses whereof he was possessed.

§ 1. A little afterward Pompey came to Damascus, and marched over Cæsarea, in which time there came ambassadors to him from all Syria, and Egypt, and out of Judea also, for Aristobulus had sent him a present, which was a golden vine, of the value of five hundred talents. Now Strabo of Cappadocia mentions this present in these words: "There came also an embassy out of Egypt, and a crown of the value of four talents, and presented the king; Judæa there came another, whether you call it a vine or a garden: they called the thing TERPONIA, THE DELIGHT. However, we ourselves saw that the present resorted at Rome in the temple of Jupiter was the gift of Alexander the king of the Jews. It was valued at five hundred talents; and the report is, that Aristotle, the governor of the Jews, sent it." On this account that was afterward sent again to him, Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Aristobulus; which last also accused such as had taken bribes, first Gabinius, and then Scaurus, the one three hundred talents, and the other four hundred; by which procedure he made these two his enemies, besides those he had before. And when Pompey had ordered those that had controversies one with another to come to him in the beginning of the spring, he had put them out of their quarters, and marched into the country of Damascus; and as he went along he demolished the citadel that was at Apamea, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and took cognizance of the country of Ptolemaea, a wretched man, and not less so than Diosyurus of Tripoli, who had been beheaded, who was also his relation by marriage; yet did he buy off the punishment of his crimes for a trifle, with which money Pompey paid the soldiers their wages. He also conquered the place called Lysias, of which Silas, a Jew, was tyrant. And when he had passed over the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, and got over the mountains on the limits of Syria, he came from Pelasse to Damascus; and there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were at difference one with another, as also of the nation against them both, which did not desire to be under kingliness government, because the form of government they received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped, and (they complained) that if these should be the possessors of the cities, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation to another form, in order to enslave them. Hyrcanus complained, that although he were the elder brother, he was dispossessed of his inheritance by Aristobulus, and that he hate but a small part of the country under him, Aristobulus having take away the rest from him by force. He also accused him, that the inroads which he had made upon his neighbours' countries, and the piracies that had been at sea, were owing to him; and that the nation would not have revolted, unless Aristobulus had been a man given to violence and disorder; and there were found in his treasures the rest of the gold and jewels, of the best esteem among them, who confirmed this accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. But Aristobulus alleged against him, that it was Hyrcanus himself which was insatiate, who made account contemptible, which caused him to be deprived of the government; and that for himself he was necessitated to take it upon him, for fear lest it should be transferred to others. And that as to his title to the kingdom, it was no other than what his father had taken [before him]. He also called for witnesses of what he said, some persons who were both young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and ivory and amber rings, and their fine approach to the court, and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their cause in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

5. When Pompey had heard of the circumstances of the case, he had condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure, he then spake civilly to them, and sent them away; and told them, that when he came again into their country he would see them, and then he gave them an account of the view of the affairs of the Nabateans. In the mean time, he ordered them to be quiet; and treated Aristobulus civilly, lest he should make the nation revolt, and hinder his return; which yet Aristobulus did; for without expecting any farther determination, which Pompey had promised them, he went to the city of Dælius, and thence marched into Judea.

6. At this behaviour Pompey was angry; and, taking his army, which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus, and the other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he made an expedition against Aristobulus; but as he past [by the court,] and which they appeared in, not as though they were to plead their case in a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.

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BOOK XIV. — CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER IV.

Now Pompey, when the Citizens of Jerusalem shut the Gates against him, besieged the City, and took it by Force; as also what other Things he did in Judea.

§ 1. Now when Pompey had pitched his camp [within the wall] on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great Hedges, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had pitched his camp, however, a bank was raised day by day, with a great deal of labour, while the Romans cut down materials for it from the places round about; and when this bank was sufficiently raised, and the ditch filled up, there was a temple of its immense depth, he brought his mechanical engines and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it, and had not been used in our practice, from the days of our forefathers, to rest on the seventh day, this bank could never have been perfected, by reason of the opposition the Jews would have made; for though our laws give us leave then to defend ourselves against those that begin to fight with us, and assault us, yet it does not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.

3. Which thing when the Romans understood, on those days which we call Sabbaths, they threw nothing at the Jews, nor came to any pitched battle with them, but raised up their earthen banks, and brought their engines into such forwardness that they might do much hurt on the following days. And any one may heeue learn how very great pietie we exercise towards God, and the observance of his laws, since the priests were not at all hindered from their sacred duties, nor from their worship, during the days that Pompey spent in the siege, but did still twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth hour, offer their sacrifices on the altar; nor did they omit those sacrifices, if any melancholy accident happened by the stones that were thrown among their priests, or taken on the altar. But it was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls, and the enemy then fell upon them, and cut the throats of those that were in the temple, yet could not those that offered the sacrifice be compelled to run away, neither by the fear they were in of their own lives, nor by the news that had already reached them, as thinking it better to suffer whatever came upon them, at their very altars, than to omit any thing that their laws required of them. And that this is not a mere brag, or an encomium to manifest a degree of piety that was in the Jews, is the real truth, I appeal to those that have written of the facts of Pompey; and among them, to Strabo and Nicolaus [of Damascus] and besides these, to Titus Livius, the writer of the Roman history, who will bear witness to this.

4. But when the battering engine was brought near, the greatest of the towers was shaken by press testimonies of Josephus here, and ch. vii. sect. 6, and B. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 3, that n gardens, and the best palm-trees, were, 1 Aesopus, and that the Dead Sea (whereas also the balsam drop,) show the mistake of those i Eusebius and Jerome, as if one of those t the south part of that sea, at Zoor or Siboney must either mean another Zoor or Seb- between Jericho and Engaddi, agreeably to what they do not appear to do; or else Intradic Josephus, and were therein greater this, unless that balsam, and the best w nuts, and Jericho than they did in the days of our depth and breadth of this ditch, whether wall about the temple were probably in our copies of Josephus, but set down p. 783, from whom we learn, that this 1 steep, and 350 feet broad. However, its next section, said by Josephus to be im-
it, and fell down, and brake down a part of the fortifications; so the enemy poured in space, and Cornelius Faunus, the son of Sylus, with his sons, all ascended the wall, and next to him Purius the centurion, with those that followed on the other part, while Fabius, who was also a centurion, ascended it in the middle, with a great body of men, after him, whose number now was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another; nay, some there were who threw themselves down the precipices, or put fire to their houses, and burned them with their families; the rest fled to the temple, which itself, which, in former ages, had been inaccessible and seen by none; for Pompey went into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other man to see but only for highpriest of his country; and undertook to be his surety for three hundred talents. So Scaurus, upon these terms, ceased to make war any longer, which was done as much at the instigation of the Jews as of himself. 2. Some time after this, when Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, made an incursion into Judea, Gabinius came from Rome to Syria, as command-er of the Roman forces. He did many consider-a-ble things on the war, yet did Pompey touch nothing of all this, on account of his regard to religion; and in this point also he acted in a manner that was worthy of his virtue. The next day he gave order that the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance to his war against him. He also cut off those that had been the authors of that war, and bestowed proper rewards on Faustus, and those others that mounted the guard to give notice; and made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans; and took away those cities of Cæsarea which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confirmed the Jews in the country from giving Aristobulus any assistance in his war against him. He also rebuilt Gadera, which had been demolished a little before, to gratify Demetrius of Gabinius, who was his freedman, and restored the rest of the cities, as Hippos, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arbeutha, to their own inhabitants; these were in the inland parts; but others had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato's Tower; which last Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens, and temples, and changed its name to Cesarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria. 5. Now the occasion of this mischievous war against the Romans, were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, by raising a sedition one against the other; for Pompey, in order to appease them, and bring them to fight on the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians. Moreover, the Romans exacted of us, in a little time, above ten thousand talents. And the royal authority of the governor was bestowed upon those that were high priests, by the right of their family, became the property of private men. But of these matters we shall treat in their places, when Pompey came to Cæsarea, as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt, to Scaurus, with two Roman legions, and then went away to Cilicia, and made haste to Rome. He also carried bound along with him Aristobulus and his children; for he had two daughters, and many sons, the one of whom ran away, but the younger, Antigonus, was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.

**CHAP. V.**

How Scaurus made a League of mutual Assistance with Aretas. And what Gabinius did in Syria, when he had conquered Alexander the son of Aristobulus.

6. Scaurus made now an expedition against Petraea, in Arabia, and set on fire all places round about it, because of the great difficulty of access to it. And as his army was pitched by fame, Antipater furnished him with corn out of Judea, and a year before he sent to Arethas, the king of Arabia, where he had conquered Alexander the son of Aristobulus.

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in the siege of the place, Alexander sent an embassy to him, desiring that he would pardon his former offences; he also delivered up the fortress, Tyre, and the rest of Alexander itself, which fortress Gabinus demolished. But when Alexander's mother, who was of the side of the Romans, as having her husband and other children at Rome, came to submit herself to the power of Alexander, the senate, when he had settled matters with her, he brought Hyrcanias to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him: and when he had ordained five councilors, he distributed the same station among the most valiant and capable of the Romans, and had an eye to the Jews also; and those Jews, that were now freed from monarchical authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

CHAP. VI.

Gabinus caught Aristobulus after he had fled from Rome, and sent him back to Rome upon the same terms: he had turned out of Egypt, overcame Alexander and the Nabataeans in battle.

1. Now Aristobulus ran away from Rome to Egypt, and set about the rebuilding of Alexandria, which had been newly demolished: hereupon Gabinus sent soldiers against him, and for a while the Jews had all their property, in order to hinder him from getting possession of the country, and to take him again. Indeed many of the Jews ran to Aristobulus in his account of his former glory, as also the same number of people as those who governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at mathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at so many others. So the Jews were now freed from monarchical authority, and were governed by an aristocracy.

2. So Gabinus set on the affairs which he longed to the city Jerusalem, as was agreeable to Antipater's inclination, and went against the Nabataeans, and overcame them in battle. He also sent away in a friendly manner Mithridates, and Orsanes, and Artabanus, to the parthians, who came to him, though the report went abroad that they had run away from him. And when Gabinus had performed great and glorious actions, in his management of the affairs of war, he returned to Rome and delivered the government to Crassus. Now, Nicolas of Damascus, and Strabo of Cappadocia, both describe the expedition of Pompey and Gabinus against the Jews, while neither of them say anything new which is not in the other.

CHAP. VII.

How Crassus came into Judea, and pillaged the Temple; and marched against the Parthians, and perished with his Army. Also how Cæcilius obtained Syria, and put a Stop to the Parthians, and then went up to Judea.

§1. Now Crassus, as he was going upon his expedition against the Parthians, came into Jæden, and carried off the money that was in the temple, which Pompey had left, being two thousand talents; and was discomfited and put to flight by Mithridates, which was equal to those talents. He also took a beam which was made of solid benten gold, of the weight of three hundred muids, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. It was the priest who was guardian of the sacred treasures, and whose name was Eleazar, that gave him this beam; not out of a wicked design, for he was a good and a righteous man, but being intrusted with the custody of the gold belonging to it, which was of admirable beauty, and of very costly workmanship, and hung down from this beam, when he saw that Crassus was busy in gathering money, and in the temple, he gave him this beam of gold, as a ransom for the whole; but this not till he had given his oath that he would remove nothing else out of the temple, but be satisfied with this only which he should give him, being worth many ten thousand [silver]. Now, this beam was contained in a wooden beam.

1 This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hedio out of Livy, who says, "That A. Gabinus the procured restored Pompey to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king." See Frod, at the years 64 and 65.
ried a wife, who was the daughter of one of their eminent men, and her name was Cypros, by whom he had four sons, Phassai, and Hiero, who was afterward made king, and Joseph, and Phorras; and a daughter named Salome. This Antipater was also a friend of the king, and for his kindness with other potentates, but especially with the king of Arabia, to whom he committed his children, while he fought against Aristobulus. So Cassius removed his camp, and marched to Euphrates, to meet those who were coming to attack him, as hath been related by others.

4. But some time afterward, Caesar, when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Euxine sea, freed Strabo himself from Stratochus, who had reduced him into Syria, and delivered two legions to him, that he might set matters right, as being a potent man in that country: but Aristobulus had no enmity of what he hoped for from the power that was given him by Caesar, for those of Pompey's party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison, and those of Caesar's party buried him. His dead body also lay, for a good while, embalmed in honey, till Antony afterward sent it to Jerusalem, and caused them to put it into a sepulchre. But Scipio, upon Pompey's sending to him to slay Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, because the young man was accused of what offenses he had been guilty of as a thief, caused him to have his head; and thus he died at Antioch. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was the ruler of Chaldis, under mount Libanus, took his brethren to him, and sent his son Philippon to Askelon to Aristobulus's wife, and to meet those that were coming back with him her son Antigonus, and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra, Philippon fell in love with and married her, though afterward her father, Ptolemy, slew him, and married Alexandra, and continued to take care of her brethren.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews became Confederates with Caesar when he fought against Egypt. The glorious Actions of Antipater, and his Friendship with Caesar. The Honour which the Jews received from the Romans and Libanians.

1. Now after Pompey was dead, and after that victory Caesar had gained over him, Antipater, who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt, and that by the order of Hyrcanus: for he not only possessed of the Jews' forces, but also a part of the forces of his auxiliaries, and was not able to continue his march through Pelusium, but obliged to stay at Askelon, Antipater came to him, conducting three thousand of the Jews, armed men: he had also taken care the principal men of the Arabians should come to his assistance; and on his account it was that all the Syrians assisted him also, as not willing to appear behindhand in their sincerity for Caesar, viz. Jambiculus the ruler, and Phurum and Tholomchus, two sons of Atitas, who dwelt at mount Libanus, and almost all the cities. So Mithridates marched out of Syria, and came to Pelusium; and when the inhabitants would not admit him, he besieged the city. Now Antipater signalized himself here, and was the first who plucked down a part of the wall, and so opened a way to the rest, whereby they might enter the city, and by this means Pelusians were taken: but it happened that the Egyptians killed the country as the country was too strong. The Antipater was called not let Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, pass to Caesar, but Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly by showing them the spoliations of Hyrcan, but not Cypros, the Greek name for Venus, as some said were ready to correct it.
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. VIII.

as the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar, and to supply arms with money, and all sorts of provisions that they wanted: and accordingly, when he was sent and the high priest, and the other notables, they did as they were desired. And then the Jews about Memphis heard that these men were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came, and received them into his army. One man, and when Mithridates had gone over all Asia, as the place is called, he came to a pitched battle with the enemy, near the place called a Jewish camp. Now Mithridates had the at least 800,000, for they had of whose soldiers eight hundred fell, but of the fifty. So Mithridates sent an accost to battle, and openly declared, that he was the author of this victory, and of in his preservation in Thracia, that the Cimmerians who he had Antipater then, and made use of him all most of that war in the most hazardous under-; he happened also to be wounded in one eye by a scone. However, when Caesar, after some time, in-ished that war, and was sailed away for the honour of Antipater greatly, and con-He Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, and be- on Antipater the privilege of a citizen, and a freedom from taxes everywhere: is reported by many, that Hyrcanus went with Antipater in this expedition, and himself into Egypt. And Strabo, of Capa, and he Hyrcanus also received honors from the people of Athens, as having been useful to them on many occasions. And when they wrote to him, they sent him this decree, as it here follows: “Under the Fratpins and priesthood of Dionysus, the son of Eumenes, and the latter part of the month Panemus, this decree of the Athenians was given to their command, when Agathocles was archon, and Eucles, the son of Menander, of Alimius, was the proer, on the fourteenth of the month of Fratpin, in the day of the Fratpna, a council of the presidents was held in the theatre. Dorotheus, the high priest, and the fellow-presidents with him, put it to the vote of the people. Dionysus, the son of Dionyssius, gave this sentence: Since Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and eth- arch of the Jews, continues to bear good-will to our people in general, and to every one of our citizens in particular, and treats them with all sorts of kindness, and whatever any of the Jews come to him, either as ambassador, or on any occasion of their own, he receives them in an obliging manner, and sees that they are conducted back in safety, of which we have several former testimonies, it is now also decreed, at the report of Theodorus, the son of Theodorus, and upon his putting the people in mind of the virtue of this man, and that his pur- pose is to do us all good, that is in his power to honour him with a crown of gold, the usual reward according to the law, and to erect his own note upon this place, which I sup-
--- Here is some mistake in Josephus; he promised us a decree for the restoration of a city and the destruction of a city, which Josephus heard.speaks of.

Hudson's note upon this place, which I sup-
- Here is some mistake in Josephus; he promised us a decree for the restoration of a city and the destruction of a city, which Josephus heard.speaks of.
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status in brass in the temple of Demus, and of the Graces; and that this present of a crown shall be proclaimed publickly in the theatre, in the Dionysian shows, while the new tragedies and acting; and in the Panathenæa, and the Gymnical shows; and that the commanders shall take care, while he continues in his friendship, and preserves his good-will to us, to return all possible honour and favour to the man for his affection and generosity; that by this treatment it may appear how our people receive the good kindly, and repay them a suitable reward; and he may be induced to proceed in his and our interest. Yet by the honours we have already paid him. That ambassadors be also chosen out of all the Athenians, who shall carry this decree to him, and desire him to accept of the honours we do him, and to endeavour always to be doing them, who should immediately do it; but suffice us to have spoken as to the honours that were paid by the Romans and the people of Athens to Hyrcanus.

CHAP. IX.
How Antipater committed the Care of Galilee to Herod, and that of Jerusalem to Phasaelus; as also, how Herod, upon the Jews' envy at Antipater, was accused before Hyrcanus.

§ 1. Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away; and as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of Syria, he returned to Judea. He then immediately raised up the war, and then threw himself into the service of Pompey; and, by coming thither, he pacified that tumult which had been in the country; and this by both threatening and advising them to be quiet: for that if they would be on the right side, they would live happily, and lead their lives without disturbance, in the enjoyment of their own possessions; but if they were addicted to the hopes of what may come by innovation, and aimed to get wealth, they would have him a severe master, instead of a gentle governor; and Hyrcanus a tyrant, instead of a king; and the Romans, together with Caesar, their bitter enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would never hear him to be set aside whom they had appointed to govern. And when Antipater had said this to them, he himself settled the affairs of this country.

2. And seeing that Hyrcanus was of a slow and mean temper, he made Phasaelus, his eldest son, governor of Jerusalem, and of the places that were about it, but committed Galilee to Herod, his next son, who was then a very young man, for he was but fifteen years of age: "but the counsel of his was no imprecation to him; but as he was a youth of great mind, he presently met with an opportunity of signaling his courage; for finding that there was one Hezekias, a captain of a band of robbers, who ran the neighboring parts of Syria with great troope of them, he seized him, and slew him, as well as a great number of the other robbers that were with him; for which action he was greatly beseeched; for when he was very young he was very desirous to have their country freed from this nest of robbers, he purged it of them: so they sung songs in his commendation, in their villages and cities, as having procured them peace, and the security of their possession. And on this account it was that he became known to Sextus Caesar, who was a relation of the great Caesar, and was now president of Syria. Now Phasaelus, Herod's brother, was moved with emulation at his actions, and envied the fame he had thereby gotten, and became ambitious to be behind him with him in observing it: so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem bear him the greatest good-will, while he held the city himself, but did neither manage it properly, nor abuse his authority therein. This conduct procured from the nation to Antipater such respect as is due to kings, and such honours as he might partake of, if he were an absolute lord of the land; but he saw that Antipater, and his sons, had as frequently happens, in the least diminish him this kindness and fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

3. But now the principal men among the Jews, those who were surnamed philosopher and the king, made so much in the good-will the nation bare to them, and in the revenues which they received out of Judea, and out of Hyrcanus's own wealth, they became ill disposed to him: for indeed Antipater was a friendship for the Roman emperors: and when he had prevailed with Hyrcanus to send them money, he took it to himself and purloined the present intended, and sent it as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus's gift to them. And when he had heard of this he was indignant, but took no care about it: may, he rather was very glad of it: but the chief men of the Jews were therefore in fear, because they saw that Herod was a violent and bold man, and of a tyrannical policy; so they came to Hyrcanus, and now accused Antipater openly, and said to him, "How long wilt thou be quiet under such actions as are now done? Or dost thou not see that Antipater and his sons are now seized on by the government? and that it is only the name of a king which is given thee? But do not thou suffer these things to be hidden from thee; nor do thou think to escape danger, by having thy sons to be safe and secure; for Antipater and his sons are not now stewards of thine affairs: do not thou deceive thyself with such a notion; they are evidently absolute lords, for Herod, Antipater's son, hath slain Hezekias, and is therefore a subject of the Roman people, and hath thereby transgressed our law, which hath forbidden to slay any man, even though he were a wicked man, unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim if yet hath been wont to receive his son and his rule, and has not done as he is commanded to do, and that without any authority from thee."

4. Upon Herod hearing this, he complied with them. 'The mothers also of those that had been slain by Herod raised this indignation; for those who continued every day in the synagogues persuading the king and the people, that Herod might undergo a trial before the sanhedrim for what he had done. Hyrcanus was so moved by these complaints that he summoned Herod to come to his trial, for what was charged upon him. Accordingly he came: but his father had persuaded him to come not like a private man, but with a guard, for the security of his person and throne. And as they were very anxious in the best manner he could for his own advantage, he should come to his trial, but still with a body of men sufficient for his security, on his journey, yet so that he should not come with so great a multitude, and be an encumbrance to Hyrcanus, but still such a one as might not expose be put to death in Judea, but by the approbation of the chief men of the Jews, and of the principal men of Jericho, who were an excellent people; and of the chief men of the nation, he was made governor of Galilee. See chap. xxiii. sect. 5. and ch. xxiv. sect. 7. and particularly Aristobulus, sect. 1. where it is said 44 years afterward Herod died as an old man at about 70."

"[If it be worth our while to remark, that none could
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. X.

The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cató, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been continually satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, I must not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not everywhere to be met with, nor do we stay in public places, nor in public places. And sometimes, when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrin were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the other day, and sent privately to Herod, and said to him, that he must not proceed, for that he might escape. So he retired, as though he fled from the king: he had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had taken a sure postscript, he did thus, that in case he were again before the sanhedrin to take his trial, not obey that summons. Hereupon the sanhedrin had great indignation to hear such affairs, and censured Hyrcanus that all these things were false. Which state of matters he was not but his temper was so unnaturall, and that he was able to do nothing at all. And now it is necessarie to write of Cecoslea, for he sold him that post Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod war upon him; nor was the event long in coming upon him, for both in the army and with Hyrcanus, as being angry at having been summoned to undergo betwixt, as Ròlandus observes, is confirmed by the fact this Roman, because the son of Sha before the sanhedrin; but his father Antipater, and his brother [Phænæus] met him, and hindered him from assaulting Jerusalem. They also pacified his vehement temper, and persuaded him to do no overt action, but only to affright them with threatenings of war, and not to proceed against one who had given him the dignity he had; they also desired him not only not to be angry that he was summoned, and obliged to come to his trial, but to remember withal, how often he was dismissed without condemnation, and how he ought to give Hyrcanus thanks for the same, and that he was not to regard only what was disgraceable to him, and be unthankful for his deliverance. And he was to consider, that since it is God that turns the scale of war, there is great uncertainty in the issues of battles, and that therefore he ought not to expect the victory, when he should fight with his king, and him that had supported him, and bestowed many benefits upon him, and had done nothing of itself very severe to him; for that his accusation, which was derived from evil counsellors, and not from himself, had rather the suspicion which it held than any thing which the case required it. Herod was persuaded by these arguments, and believed that it was sufficient for his future hopes to have made a show of his strength before the nation, and done no more to it; and in this state were the affairs of Judah at this time.

CHAP. X.

The Honours that were paid the Jews; and the Leagues that were made by the Romans, and other Nations, with them.

§ 1. Now when Cæsar was come to Rome, he was ready to sail into Africa to fight against Scipio and Cató, when Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, and by them desired that he would ratify that league of friendship and mutual alliance which was between them. And it seems to me to be necessary here to give an account of all the honours that the Romans and their emperors paid to our nation, and of the leagues of mutual assistance they have made with it, that all the rest of mankind may know what regard the kings of Asia and Europe have had to us, and that they have been continually satisfied of our courage and fidelity; for, I must not believe what hath been written about us by the Persians and Macedonians, because those writings are not everywhere to be met with, nor do we stay in public places, nor in public places. And sometimes, when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrin were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod, he put off the other day, and sent privately to Herod, and said to him, that he must not proceed, for that he might escape. So he retired, as though he fled from the king: he had been with Sextus Cæsar, and had taken a sure postscript, he did thus, that in case he were again before the sanhedrin to take his trial, not obey that summons. Hereupon the sanhedrin had great indignation to hear such affairs, and censured Hyrcanus that all these things were false. Which state of matters he was not but his temper was so unnaturall, and that he was able to do nothing at all. And now it is necessarie to write of Cecoslea, for he sold him that post Hyrcanus was in fear lest Herod war upon him; nor was the event long in coming upon him, for both in the army and with Hyrcanus, as being angry at having been summoned to undergo betwixt, as Ròlandus observes, is confirmed by the fact this Roman, because the son of Sha
ned his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army: for these reasons I will that Hycr anus the son of Alexander, and his children be chief priests of the Jews, and have the high priestly offices of the Jews forever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his sons be our confederates, and that besides this, every one of them be reckoned among our kinsmen. I also order, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them. And if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them."

3. "The decrees of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing the terms on which he granteth to his friends are as follows: That Hycr anus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed: and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch, defendeth and saith, that they are in no danger of being hurt or their lives in any manner injured. And that ambassadors be sent to Hycr anus the son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship, and mutual assistance, and the dispensing of brass, containing the promise of the power openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraved in Roman and Greek letters: that this decree may also be communicated to the successors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews; and that the ambassadors may have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent everywhere."

4. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, out of the tribute of the land, the honours and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hycr anus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, by high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and by the sons of the Jews under the right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood."

5. "Caius Cæsar, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and everything that cometh with it; and that Hycr anus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it, in the manner he himself please; and that the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute every second year the land is let [in the sabbatical period] a certain of that tribute, and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute."

6. "Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city of Jerusalem, excepting the seventh; which they call the sabbatical year, because thereon they rest. Concerning the fruits of rye and barley, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the second year [of that sabbatical period] the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the sabbatical year's tithes and hindering, which they pay to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raises auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they may be free from all sorts of injuries: and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have hitherto they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure, that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did, and that Hycr anus, the high priest, and his children retain as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land for the country, and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand, six hundred, and seventy-five modii of barley, nine hundred and sixty modii of corn, one hundred and ten modii of leavened bread, and in the sabbatical year, excepted, wherein they neither plough nor receive the produce of their trees. It is also the pleasure of the senate, that as to the villages which are in the great plains, when the days of his forefathers, formerly possessed, Hycr anus and the Jews have them with the same privileges with which they formerly had them also, and that the same original ordinances remain still in force, which concern the Jews and the Romans, that we may observe that they enjoy the same benefits which they had formerly by the concession of the people, and of the senate, and let them enjoy the like privileges in Libya: it is to be also understood, that Hycr anus, the ethnarch, and the Jews, retain those places, cities, and villages, which belonged to the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, the confederates of the Romans, and which they had hitherto a free gift, and are now granted to Hycr anus, and to his sons, and to the ambassadors by them sent to us, that in the fights between single gladiators, and in those with beasts, they shall sit at table with us, and be treated with us, and that when they desire an audience, they shall be introduced into the senate by the dictator, or by the general of the horse; and when they have introduced them, their answers shall be returned to them in ten days. And to his forefathers, after the decree of the senate is made about their affairs."

7. "Caius Cæsar, imperator, dictator the fourth time, and consul the fifth time, declared to be perpetual dictator, made this speech concerning the Jews and Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. Since those imperators! that have been in the provinces before me have borne witness to Hycr anus, the high priest of the Jews, and to the sons of Jerusalem, and to the people of Rome, when the people and senate returned their thanks to them, it is good that we also remember the same, and provide that a requital be made to Hycr anus, to the nation of the Jews, and to the sons of Hycr anus, by the senate and people of Rome, and that suitably to what good- will they have shown us, and to the benefits they have bestowed upon us."

8. "Julius Caesar, to set to such speeches, that you forbid the use of the customs of their forefathers, and their way of sacred worship. Now it doth not please me, that such decrees should be made against our friends and confederates, whereby they should be deprived of their customs, or to bring in contributions for common suppers and holy festivals, while they are not forbidden so to do even at Rome itself; for even emperors, or generals of armies, mean both here and there, who gave testimony to Hycr anus's and the Jews' heartfelt new and good-will to the Romans, before the senate and people of Rome, were principally Pompey Scævola, and Sabinus: of all whom Josephus had already given us the history, so far as the Jews were concerned with them."

* That Hycr anus was himself in Egypt, along with Antipater at this time, to whom accordingly the bold and private measures of his deputy Antipater are here ascribed, as this decree of Julius Cæsar supposes, we are farther assured by the testimony of Strabo, already produced by Josephus, sect. 2.

† Dr Halley supposes that three Roman imper-
Olive Caesar, our imperator and consul, in that decree wherein he forbade the Baccanalian rioters to meet in the city did yet permit these Jews, and these only, both to bring in their contribu-
tions for the public games, and to be together; concerning which, when I forbid other Baccanalian rioters, I permit these Jews to gather themselves to-
gether, according to the customs and laws of their forerunners, and to persist therein. It will be therefore good for you, that if you have made my decree against them, our friends and con-
derates, to abrogate the same, by reason of their virtue, and kind disposition towards us."

9. Now after Caius was slain, when Marcus Antonius, and Publius Dolabella, the two both assembled the senate, and introduced Tyrricus's ambassadors into it, and discoursed of what they desired, and made a league of friend-
ship with them. The senate also decreed to ratify them all they desired. I add the decree itself, that those who read the present work may be ready by them a demonstration of the truth
what we say: the decree was this:

10. "The decree of the senate, copied out of a tabula, from the public tables belonging to the quaestors, when Quintus Rutilus and Caius Melius were quaestors, and taken out of the second table of the first class, on the third day fore the ides of April, in the temple of Con-
d. There were present the people of the following names: Caius Dolabella, Marcus An-
scius, Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Neomenian,
Sertorius Papinius Petutus of the Lemonian,
Caius Cannius Rutilius of the Tarentine,
Publius Tibetius, Lucius Apullius, the son of Publius of the military tribune; of Publius Lucius Galus, the son of Publius, of the Vetulian tribe; of Caius Sestius, the son of Caius, of the Sabbatine tribe; of Titus Attilius Bulbus, the son of Titus, lieutenant and vice-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and
people, and Domitius, the praetor, and the consuls.
Lucius Lollius, the consul freed the Jews that are in Asia from going into the armies, at my inter-
cession for them. And when I had made the same petition some time afterward to Phanius, the praetor, and Antonius, the quaestor, I obtained that privilege of them also;
and my will, is that you take care that no one give them any disturbance."

14. The decree of the Delians. "The answer of the praetors, that Phanius was archon, on the twentieth day of the month Thargelian. While Marcus Piso the lieutenant lived in our city, who was also appointed over the choice of the soldiers, the he called us, and many other of the citizens,
gave order, that if there be here any Jews, who are Roman citizens, no one is to give them any disturbance about going into the army, because Cornelius Lentulus, the consul, freed the Jews from going into the army, on account of the superstition that they are under, and are obliged to submit to the praetor." And the like decree was made by the Sardians about us also.

15. "Caius Phanius, the son of Caius, impera-
tor and consul, to the magistrates of Caius, sendeth greeting: Those Jews that are in the ambassador of the Jews have been with me, and desired they might have those decrees which the senate had made about them; which decrees are here subjoined. My will is, that you have a regard to, and take care of these men, according to the senate's decree, that they may be safely conveyed home through your country."

16. The declaration of Lucius Lentulus the consul: "I have decreed those Jews, who are Roman citizens, and who appear to me to have their religious rites, and to observe the laws of the Jews at Ephesus, on account of the superstition they are under. This act was done before the thirteenth of the cubic, the twenty-first of Lentulus the consul, the son of Marcus, the major consul, of the Lentulus family; the uncle of the person who now laid this claim."

17. "Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcus, vice-
praetor, and vice-prætor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Those Jews that are our fellow-citi-
zens, the citizens of Rome, and not only as those sorts of food which they have to eat from the times of their forerunners, therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and permit them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices; and I will insist that you write this to the several cities under your jurisdiction."

13. And these were the concessions that Dol-
abella made to our nation when Hyrcanus sent an "embassy to him. But Lucius the consul's de-
}
18. The declaration of Marcus Publius, the son of Spurius, and of Marcus, the son of Marcus, and of Lucius, the son of Publius: "We went to the processual, and informed him of what I told thee, the son of Cleopatra; and the Germans desired that if he thought good, he would dismiss those Jews who were Roman citizens, and were wont to observe the rites of the Jewish religion, on account of the superstition they were under. But he ordered, that they should observe the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priests, and the sages of the nation, from Strato, the son of Theodotos, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntus, and Sospater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular care of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortiresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no one shall send the goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Egypt, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to the custom, they might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate; and as he discovered causes of no small importance, the decree of Hyrcanus' virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and we also took care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou didst send us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

19. Publius Servilius, the son of Publius, of the Galbæ tribe, the proconsul, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Milesians, sends greeting: Pyræane the son of Hermes, a citizen of yours, came to me when I was at Trieris, and held a court there, and informed me that the father of all the Hebrews, that their own senate were in the oldest of the friends of these Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, the custom, concerning which, therefore, may be proved, by our present ignorance of the particulars of such obscure friendship and alliance between those peoples, and full evidence of the kindred of the Macedonians and the Jews; and that because they were of your decree, according as your laws requires: I would therefore have you know, that upon hearing the pleadings on both sides, I gave sentence that the Jews should not be prohibited to erect for the use of their customs.

22. For the decree of those of Pergamus. When Cratinus was prytanis, on the first day of the month Deiusis, the decree of the praetor was this: Since the Romans, following the conduct of their friends and allies, desire for the common safety of all mankind, and are ambitious to settle their confederates and friends in happiness, and in firm peace; and since the nation of the Jews, and their high priests, and the sages of the nation, from Strato, the son of Theodotos, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Eneas, the son of Antipater, and Aristobulus, the son of Amyntus, and Sospater, the son of Philip, worthy and good men, who gave a particular care of their affairs, the senate thereupon made a decree about what they had desired of them, that Antiochus the king, the son of Antiochus, should do no injury to the Jews, the confederates of the Romans; and that the fortiresses, and the havens, and the country, and whatsoever else had taken from them, should be restored to them; and that it may be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens; and that no one shall send the goods, either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs, but only Ptolemy the king of Alexandria, because he is our confederate and friend; and that, according to the custom, they might return home in safety. Accordingly, we admitted Theodorus into our senate and assembly, and took the epistle out of his hands, as well as the decree of the senate; and as he discovered causes of no small importance, the decree of Hyrcanus' virtue and generosity, and how he was a benefactor to all men in common, and particularly to every body that comes to him, we laid up the epistle in our public records; and we also took care also that their ambassadors might return home in safety. Therefore, in obedience to the injunctions we have received from thee, have received the epistle which thou didst send us, and have laid it up by itself among our public records. And as to the other things about which thou didst send to us, we will take care that no complaint be made against us."

* We have here a most remarkable and authentic attestation of the citizens of Pergamus, that Abraham was the father of all the Hebrews; that their own senate were in the oldest of the friends of these Hebrews; and that the public acts of their city, the custom, concerning which, therefore, may be proved, by our present ignorance of the particulars of such obscure friendship and alliance between those peoples, and full evidence of the kindred of the Macedonians and the Jews; and that because they were both the posterity of Abram, by a public epistle of these people to the Jews, preserved in the first book of the Bible, and which is mentioned in the book of Amos, ch. iv. sect. 10; both which authentic texts are highly reliable. It is also well worthy of observation, what Memorius, the son of Theodatus, who was strong to be heard by our present ignorance of the particulars of such obscure friendship and alliance between those peoples, and full evidence of the kindred of the Macedonians and the Jews; and that because they were
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. XI

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them all down, as needless and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose any or so perverse as not to believe the friendship we have had with the Romans, while they have demonstrated the same by such a great number of their decrees relating to us; nor will they doubt of our fidelity as to the rest of those decrees, since we have showed the same in those we have produced. And thus have we sufficiently explained that confederacy we at those times had with the Romans.

CHAP. XI.

How Marcus succeeded Sextus, when he had been slain by Bassus's treachery; and how, after the Death of Cesar, Cassius came into Syria, and distressed Judea; as also, how Malichus slew Antipater, and was himself slain by Herod.

§ 1. Now it so fell out, that about this very time the affairs of Syria were in great disorder; and this on the occasion following: Cicellius Bassus, one of Pompey's party, laid a treacherous design against Sextus Cesar, and slew him, and then took his army, and got the management of public affairs into his hands. And not only was there a great war against Apamia, while Cesar's generals came against him with an army of horsemen and footmen: to these Antipater also sent succours, and his sons with them, as having had the most intimate correspondence with Cesar, and on that account he thought it but just to require punishment for him, and to take vengeance on the man that had murdered him. And as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus went from Rome to take Sextus's government upon him: but Cesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months. This fact, however, is related elsewhere.

2. As the war that arose upon the death of Cesar was now begun, and the principal men were all gone, some one way, and some another, to raise armies, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the [army that lay in the] camp at Apamia; and having raised the siege, he brought over both Bassus and Marcus to his party. He then went over the cities, and took possession of the fortresses, and the taxes upon those cities; and he chiefly oppressed Judea, and exacted of it seven hundred talents: but Antipater, when he saw the state to be in so great consternation and disorder, divided the wealth of the city, and had the two sons to gather it, and so that part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill disposed to him, and part by others. And because Herod did not exact what was required of him from Galilee before the others, he was in the greatest favour with Cassius; for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others; whereas the curators of the other cities, with their citizens, were sold for slaves; and Cassius reduced four cities into slavery, the two most potent of whichwere Gophna and Emmaus; and besides these, Lydda and Thammua. Nay, Cassius at once was so very angry with Malichus, he had received him, (for he assaulted him,) had not Hyrcania, by the means of Antipater, sent him a hundred talents of his own, and thereby pacified his anger against him.

3. But after Cassius was gone out of Judea, Malichus laid snares for Antipater, as thinking such great light to give the Roman antiquities themselves, that I believe the curious are not a little sorry for such his eliminations.

1 For Marcus, the president of Syria, sent an answer to Sextus Cesar, the last one to Marcus in Josephus, and this perpetually, both in those Antiquities, and in the history of the War, as the learned generally agree.
that his death would be the preservation of Hys- 
ranus's government; but his design was not un-
known to Antipater, which, when he perceived, he 
retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, 
parley of Arabs, and parley of his own coun-
trymen. However, Malichus, being one of 
that great cunning, denied that he had laid any snare 
for him, and made his defence with an oath, both 
to himself and his sons; and said, that while I' 
was to take a garison at Damascus, and 
Herod had the business of war in his custody, 
he could never have a thought of any such thing.

So Antipater, perceiving the distress that Mali-
chus was in, was reconciled to him, and made an 
agreeable proposal; this was that Marcus was 
president of Syria; who yet perceiving that this 
Malichus was making a disturbance in Judea, 
proceeded so far that he had almost killed him, 
but still, at the intercession of Antipater, he saved 

4. However, Antipater little thought that by 
saving Malichus, he had saved his own murder-
er; for now Cassius and Marcus had got to-
tgether an army, and intrusted the entire care of 
it to the hands of Marcus Coclysius, and gave him a fleet of ships, and an 
army of horsemen and footmen, and promised him, 
that after the war was over, they would 
make him king of Judea, for that he was already 
better able to manage it than any of the younger Cassius, 
but as Malichus was most afraid of Antipater, he 
took him out of the way; and, by the offer of 
money, persuaded the butler of Hyrcanus, with 
what he had to pay, to cheat him by false 
sons. This being done, and he having armed men 
with him, settled the affairs of the city. But 
when Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasaicus, 
were acquainted with this conspiracy against 
their father, they had indignation, and at first, Malichus 
denied all, and utterly renounced any knowledge of 
the murder. And thus died Antipater, a man 
that had distinguished himself for piety and jus-
tice, and love to his country. And whereas one 
of his sons, Herod, resolved immediately to re-
venge their father's death, and was coming upon 
Malichus with an army for that purpose, the 
elder of his sons, Phasaicus, thought it best ra-
ther to get this man into their hands by policy, 
lest they should have occasion to bring him 
out of the country; so he accepted of Malichus's de-
fence for himself, and pretended to believe him 
that he had no hand in the violent death of Anti-
pater, his father, but erected a fine monument for 
his memory, so as to gain to Cassius that, who had 
found them in great distress, he revived their 
spirits, and composed their differences.

5. However, a little after this, Herod, upon the 
approach of a festival, came with his soldiers into 
the city; whereupon Malichus was afflicted, and 
perceived Hyrcanus not to permit him to 
come into the city. Hyrcanus complied; and, 
for a pretence of excluding him, alleged, that a 
route of strangers ought not to be admitted, when 
the multitude were purifying themselves. But 
Herod had little regard to the messengers that 
were sent to him, and entered the city in the 
night-time, and affrighted Malichus; yet did he 
return a true account of his former dissimulation, but 
wept for Antipater, and bewailed him as a friend of 
his, with a loud voice: but Herod and his 
friends thought it proper not openly to contra-
dict Malichus's hypocrisy, but to give him tokens 
of friendship, in order to prevent his mur-
pisition of them.

6. However, Herod sent to Cassius, and in-
formed him of the murder of his father; who 
knowing what sort of man Malichus was as to 
his morals, sent him back word, that he should 
renounce his father's death; and also sent pri-
vately, to the commanders of his army at Tyre, 
with orders to assist Herod in the execution of a 
very just design of his. Now when Cassius had 
taken Laodice, they all went together to him 
and carried him garlands and money; and Herod 
thought that Malichus might be punished while 
he was there; but he was somewhat apprehen-
sive of it, lest he should make some great attempt, and because his son was then a 
hostage at Tyre, he went to that city, and re-
solved to steal him away privately, and to march 
towards the Tyrians, and in that march 
to march against Antony, he thought to bring the 
country to revolt, and to procure the govern-
ment for himself. But Providence opposed his 
counsels; and Herod being a shrewd man, and 
perceiving what his intention was, and he sent 
thither beforehand a servant, in appearance indeed 
to get a supper ready, for he had said before, that 
he would feast them all there, but in reality 
to the commanders of the army, whom he per-
ceived to have considerable numbers of his 
daggers. So they went out and met the man 

near the city, upon the seashore, and there stub-
bed him. Whereupon Hyrcanus was so astonish-
end at what had happened, that his speech failed 
him. After some time, when he recovered himself, he asked Herod, what the mat-
ter could be, and who it was that slew Malichus? 
and when he said that it was done by the com-
mand of Cassius, he commended the action; for 
that Malichus was a very wicked man, and one 
that conspired against his own country. And this 
was the punishment that was inflicted on Mal-
ichus for what he wickedly did to Antipater.

7. But when Cassius was marched out of Syn-
ria, disturbances arose in Judea: for Felix, who 
was left at Jerusalem with an army, made a sud-
den attempt against Phasaicus, and the people 
themselves rose in arms; but Herod went to Fe-
lix the prefect of Damascus, and was determined 
to run to his brother's assistance, but was hinder-
ed by a distemper that seized upon him, till Pha-
asaicus by himself had been too hard for Felix, 
and had shut him up in the tower, and there, on 
remaining there, he died. And not only was also complained of Hyrcanus, that although he 
had received a great many benefits from them, 
yet did he support their enemies; for Malichus's 
brother made many places to-pharmacy, and kept 
over those in the city and particularly Malichus, 
the strongest fortress of them all. In the mean 
time Herod was recovered of his disease, and came 
and took from Felix all the places he had gotten : 
and, upon certain conditions, dismissed him also.

CHAP. XII.

Herod ejects Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, 
out of Judea, and gains the Friendship of An-
tony, who was now come into Syria, by sending 
much Money; on which Accord he would not 
send for those that would have come to 

Herod: and what it was that Antigonus wrote to 
the Tyrians in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Ptolemy, the son of Mennaus, 

Gbracht back into Judæa Antigonus, the son 

of Aristobulus, who had already raised an army, 

and had, by money, made Felix to be his 
friend; this because he was of him to him. 
Marion also gave him assistance. He had been 
left by Cassius to tyrannize over Tyre, for this 
Cassius was a man that seized on Syria, and 

taken particular notice of on the several occasions in 
these notes. Accordingly the chief captain confineth to St. Paul 
the time of his imprisonment, that they that 
rights and privileges were commonly possessed of the 
Romans with money. Many examples of this sort, 
both to the Romans and others as authority, will occur in 
not Josephus, both now and hereafter, and need not to be 

* In this and the following chapters, the reader will 

usually remark how truly Gracianus observes, in his notes 
not to the Jews, which he did, that their 

the xxii. 50, as had St. Paul's ancestors, very probably, pur 
chaseth the like freedom for their family by money, as 

the same author justly concludes also.
kept it under in the way of a tyrant. Marius was also marched into Gallies, which lay in his neight-
bourhood, and took three of his fortresses, and put garrisons into them to keep them. But when he was able, he and his son, but the
Tyrant passed himself in a very civil man-
ner; any to some of the soldiers he made pre-
sents, out of the good-will he bare to that city. When he had despatched these affairs, and was going to meet Philippus, in Macedon, when he offered him and his son, and best him, and drove him out of Judea
preently, when he was just come into its bor-
ders. But when he came to Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people put garlands about his wife, and for the greatest of the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused
his desendants of his, and for that reason Herod took the greater care of him, as being to marry
his daughter of Alexander the son of Aristob-
us, and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by
him which he wife was the father of three male
and two female children. He had also married
for his another wife, out of a lower family of
own nation, whose name was Doris, by whom
had his eldest son Antipater.

2. Now Antonius and Caesar had beaten Cas-
is near Philippus, as others have related: but
the victory, Caesar went into Gaul [Italy], I
and the victory, Caesar went into Gaul [Italy].
with the family of Hyrcanus, and with the
arrived at Bithynia, had ambassadors that
fame received of all parts. The principal men also
he Jews came thither, to accuse Pausanias
Herod, and they said, that Hyrcanus had
the superintendence of a very great store, but that these
had all the power; but Antony paid great
care to Herod, who was come to him to make
defence against his accusers, on which ac-
tivity he was in a much more exalted
ring; which favour Herod had gained of
by my money. But still, when Antony was
to Ephesus, Hyrcanus the high priest, and
ation, sent an embassage to him, who car-
charged of all, with the ambassadors, to
uld write to the governors of the provinces,
those Jews free who had been carried cap-
cy Cassius, and this without their having
against him, and to restore them that
had been carried away from them. Antony thought the Jews
were just, and wrote immediately to
us, and to the Jews. He also sent, at the
egotiation, gave them the contents
which were to the same purpose.

Marcus Antonius, emperor, to Hyrcanus a
priest and etharch of the Jews, send-
figes: If you be in health, it is well; I
in this, that you be in health, and live;
us, and Josephus, the son of
, and Alexander, the son of Theodorus,
bassadors, met me at Ephesus, and have
that embassage which they had for
seen upon at Rome; and have diligently
themselves of the present embassage, you
and thy nation have intrusted to
have fully declared the good-will thou
us in this negotiation of our
ous and your words, that you are well
to us: and I understand that your con-
be constant and religious; so I reckon
as our own; but when those that were
unto you, and for the Romans people,
ether from cities nor temples, and did
the agreement they had confirmed
was not only on account of our
, but on account of all mankind in
in this question, I have been the authors of great injustice
in, and of great wickedness towards
the sake of which we suppose it

was that the sun turned away his light from us,
as unwilling to view the horrid crime they
were guilty of in the case of Caesar. We have
also overcome their conspiracies, which threat-
ened the gods themselves, with which Macedonia
received, as it is a climate peculiarly proper for
impious and insolent attempts: and we have
overcome that confused rout of men, half mad
with spite against us, which they got together at
the time when we were absent; when the
places that were proper for their purpose, and, as
it were, walled them round with mountains to
the very sea, and where the passage was open
only through a single gate. This victor we
have gained, because he found the tools
men for their wicked enterprises. Now Brutus,
when he had fled as far as Philippus, was shut up
by us, and became a partaker of the same perdi-
tion with Cassius; and now the have appeared
their punishment, we suppose that we may en-
joy peace for the time to come, and that Asia
may be at rest from war. We, therefore, make
that peace which God hath given us common to
our confederates; and the inhabitants of Asia
is now recovered out of that distemper it
was under by the means of our victory. I,
therefore, bearing in mind both thee and your
nation, shall take care of what may be for
your advantage. I have also been in
writing to the several cities, that if any persons,
whether freemen or bondmen, have been sold
under the spear by Caius Cassius, or his subordinate
officers, they may be set free. All that I
will that you kindly make use of the favours which I
and Dolabella have granted you. I also forbid
the Tyrians to use any violence with you; and
for what places of the Jews they now possess,
I will order them to restore them.

3. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the ma-
gistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth
hailing: The ambassadors of Hyrcanus the
high priest and etharch of the Jews, have
before me at Ephesus, and told me, that you are
in possession of part of their country, which you
entered upon under the government of our ad-
versaries. Since, therefore, we have undertaken
a war for the obviation of the public
have taken care to do what was agreeable to piety and
justice, and have brought to punishment those
that had neither any remembrance of the kind-
ness of their countrymen, nor any regard to
the oaths, I will that you be at peace with those
are our confederates; as also, that what you
have taken by the means of our adversaries shall
not be reckoned your own, but be returned to
those from whom you took them; I will also
them took their provinces or their armies by the
of the gift of the senate, but they seized them by force,
and bestowed them by violence upon such as
became useful to them in their unjust proceedings.
Since, therefore, those men have received that
punishment due to them, we desire that our con-
 federates may retain whatsoever it was that they
formerly possessed without disturbance, and that
you restore all the embassages, together with
the etharch of the Jews, which you have
had, though it were but one day before Caius
Cassius began an unjustifiable war against us,
and entered into our provinces; nor do you use
any force against him, in order that we may
that he may not be able to dispose of that which
is his own, but if you have any contest with him
about your respective rights, it shall be lawful
for you to plead your cause when we come upon
the places concerned in; and we shall also
the rights, and hear all the causes of our confe-
derates."

5. "Marcus Antonius, imperator, to the ma-
which is taken great notice of by Virgil, Pliny, and other
Roman authors. See Virgil's Georgics, Book I, just before
the end; and Pliny's Nat. Hist. B. ii. ch. xxx.
gistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting: I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraved on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all." Marcus Antonius, imperator, one of the triumvirates over the public affairs, made this declaration: "Since Cælius Cæseius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews that was in friendship with the Romans, which was in war; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to our confederates. And as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released, the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, that he who shall attempt to sell the greatest ignorance of such things shall be punished for his disobedience: and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offender suffer condign punishment." He also sent Antony to write to the Sidonians, and the Antiocians, and the Arameans. We have produced these decrees, therefore, as marks for futurity of the truth of what we have said, that the Romans had a great concern about our nation.

CHAP. XIII.

How Antony made Herod and Phasaeus Tetrarchs after they had been accused to no purpose; and how the Parthians, when they brought Antigonus into Judea, took Hyrcanus and Phasaeus, and Herod, with the Idumeans, and with the other affections Hyrcanus and Phasaeus endured.

§ 1. Wax, after this, Antony came to Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia, and brought him to fall in love with her. And there came now also a hundred of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the name of the greatest ignorance of among them to speak. But Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was Herod's father-in-law. When Antony, his allies at Daphne, he asked Hyrcanus who they were that governed the nation best? he replied, Herod and his friends. Hereupon Antony, by reason of the old hospitable friendship he had made, with and with ten of them, according to the word at that time, in which he was with Gabinus, he made both Herod and Phasaeus tetrarchs, and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose. He also bound fifteen of their adversaries, and was going to kill them, but that Herod obtained their pardon.

2. Yet did not these men continue quiet when they were come back, but a thousand of the Jews came to Tyre to meet him there, whether the chief they would do to Antipeus or to Antony was corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him, and so he gave order to the governor of the place to punish the Jewish enemies. The action was resolved, and all were for making immortal at the sword, and to settle the government in Herod; but Herod went out hastily to them, and Hyrcanus was with him (for they stood upon the shore before the city,) and he charged them to go their way, and that he would not mischiefs befall them if they went on with their accusation. But they did not acquiesce; whereupon the Romans ran upon them with their daggers, and slew some.

* We may here take notice, that supports alone were of old seasons a sufficient foundation for antity, Hyrcanus being here called father-in-law to Herod, because his and wounded more of them, and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation: and when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it that he slew the principal Israelites, and made a league of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus; and in order to obtain it, made use of that commander, who had in a great many men, and secured, and promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents, and five hundred women, upon condition they would take the government away from Hyrcanus, and beseech him to go to his death, with which Herod, and a great many others, to such a point as he had promised, yet did the Parthians make an expedition into Judea on that account, and carried Antigonus with them. Ptolemais, the king of Ptolemais, came to the maritime parts, but the commander Barzaphernes, that owned the Tyrians excluded Ptolemais, but the Sidonians, and those of Ptolemais, received him. However, Ptolemais sent a troop of horsemen into Judea, to take the state of the country, and assist Antigonus; and sent also the king, butler, of the same name with himself. Now so the Jews that dwelt about mount Carmel came to Antigonus, and were ready to march with him into Judea, into Antiochus hoped to gain the country by their assistance. The place is called Dryma; and when some others came and met them, the men privately fell upon Jerusalem; and when some more were come to them, a great many joined them, and made great numbers against the king's palace and besieged it. But as Phasaeus's and Herod's party came to the other's assistance, and a battle happened between them in the market-place, the young men went against them, and pursued them, and sent some armed men into the adjoining houses to keep them in, who yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them, by the people that rose up against them. But Herod was venged on these seditious adversaries of his a little afterward for this injury they had offered him, when he fought with them, and slew a great number of them.

4. But while there were daily skirmishes, the enemy waited for the coming of the multitude out of the country to Pentecost, a feast of ours so called; and when that day was come, many a thousand of the people were met together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Now those that came, guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaeus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, saluted out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs, and fought courageously, and put many thousands to flight, some flying into the city, and the others out of the outer fortifications, for some such fortifications there were in that place. Phasaeus came also to his assistance; yet was Ptolemais, the great chief of the Idumeans, and Antigonus, admitted into the city, with a few of his horsemen, under pretence indeed as if he would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonus in obtaining the government. And when Phasaeus received him, and were persuaded to respect Philip for the marriage, and persuaded Ptolemais to go himself as ambassador to Barzaphernes, which was done fraudulently. Accordingly, Phasaeus, suspecting no
under great disturbance of mind; and rather inclining to believe the reports he had heard about his brother and the Parthians, than to give heed to what was said on the other side, he determined that when the evening came on, he would make an effort of it for his safety, and not make any longer delay, as if the dangers from the enemy were not yet certain. He therefore removed with the armed men whom he had with him; and set his wives upon the beasts as also his mother and sister, and her whom he was about to make his wife [Mariamne] the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, with her mother, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and his youngest brother, and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude, collected about his person, in search of safety, pursued his way to Idumea; nor could any enemy of his, who then saw him in this case, be so hard- hearted, but would have commiserated his fortune, while, when he was not caused harm to his children, and left their own country, and their friends in prison, with tears in their eyes, and sad lamentations, and in expectation of nothing but what was of a melancholy nature.

But for Herod himself, he raised his mind above the miserable state he was in, and was of good courage in the midst of his misfortunes; and as he passed along, he bade every one to be of good cheer, and not to give themselves up to sorrow, because what was to hinder their flight, which was now the only hope of safety that they had. Accordingly, they tried to bear with patience the calamity they were under, as he exhorted them to do; yet was he once almost dismayed, seeing the man upon the chariot, and the danger his mother was then in of being killed, and this on two accounts, because of his great concern for her, and because he was afraid, lest by this delay, the enemy should overtake him in his pursuit, as he was drawing his sword, and going to kill himself there with, those that were present restrained him, and being so many in number, were too hard for him: and told him, that he ought not to desert them, and leave them a prey to their enemies, for that it was not the part of a brave man to free himself from the distresses he was in, and to overlook his friends that were in the same distresses as he also. So he would compose his mind to make this attempt alone, partly out of shame at what they said to him, and partly out of regard to the great number of those that would not permit him to do what he intended. So he encouraged his mother, who with all her care of her, and proceeding on the way he proposed to go with the utmost haste, and that was to the fortress of Massada. And as he had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked him, and pursued him, he was conversant in them all.

9. Nor indeed was he free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight; for by the time he had gotten sixty furlongs out of the city, and was upon the road, they fell upon him, and fought hand to hand with him, and were ready to fly, and overcame, not like one that was in distress and in necessity, but like one that was excellently prepared for war, and had what he wanted in great plenty. And this was the case where he overcame the Jews: it was that he some time afterward built a most excellent palace and a city round about it, and called it Herodium. And when he was come to Idumea, at a place called Thesera, his brother Joas held him then held a council to take advice about all his affairs, and what was fit to be done in his circumstances, since he had a great multitude that followed him, besides his mercenary soldiers, and the place Massada, whither he proposed to fly, was too small to contain so great a multitude; so he sent away the greater part of his company, being above nine thousand, and bade them go some one way, and some another, and to save
How Herod got away from the King of Arabia, and made haste to go into Egypt, and thence went away in Haste also to Rome; and how, by present deal of Money to Antony, he obtained of the Senate and of Caesar to be made King of the Jews.

§ 1. As for Herod, the great miseries he was in did not discourage him, but made him sharp in discovering surprizing undertakings; for he went to Malchus, king of Arabia, whom he had formerly visited, in order to receive, in somewhat by way of requital, now he was in more than ordinary want of it, and desired he would let him have some money, either by way of loan, or as his free gift, on account of the many benefits he had received from him; for not knowing what was become of his brother, he was in haste to redeem him out of the hands of his enemies, as willing to give three hundred talents in price of his redemption. He also took with him to the son of Phasaeus, who was a child of but seven or eight years of age, for this very reason, that he might be a hostage for the repayment of the money; but there came messengers from Jerusalem to him saying, that he was desired to be gone, for that the Parthians had laid a charge upon him not to enter Herod. This was only a pretence which he made use of that he might not be obliged to repay him what he owed him, and this he was further induced to by the principal men among the Arabians, that they might cheat him of what sums they had received from [his father] Antipater, and which he had committed to their fidelity. He was therefore the more induced to go into the country, and to remove himself into the city of Marissa.

10. And thus was Antigonus brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus and Phasaeus for his prisoners: but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as having promised they should have them, with the money, for their reward; but being cut off, but Hyrcanus only, which was under the guard of the Parthians, might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude, he cut off his ears, and thereby took care that the high priesthood should never come to him any more, because it was an eternal thing, and the law required that that dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire." But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaeus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, not only made no attempt to save his life, but died with a great deal of magnanimity, with the firm resolution that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire. But now one cannot but here admire the fortitude of Phasaeus, who, perceiving that he was to be put to death, not only made no attempt to save his life, but died with a great deal of magnanimity, with the firm resolution that this dignity should belong to none but such as had all their members entire.

1. Concerning the chronology of Herod, and the time when he was first made king at Rome, and concerning the
very ready to give him the assistance he desired, and this because he called to mind the friendship he had had with Antipater, because Herod offered him money to make him king, as he had for-merly given it to him to make him tetrach, and chiefly because of his hatred to Antigonus, for he took him to be a seditionous person, and an ene-my to the Romans. Caesar was furtherwarder to raise Herod's dignity, and to give him his assistance in what he desired, on account of the toils of war which he had himself undergone with Antipater his father in Egypt, and of the kindness he had treated him with, and kindness he had always shown him, also to gratify Antony, who was very zealous for Herod. So a senate was convoked; and Messala, first, and then Arruntius, introduced Herod into it, and urged upon the benefits they had receiv-ed from his father, and put them in mind of the good-will he had borne to the Romans. At the same time they accused Antigonus, and declared him an enemy, and one opposed to them, and to the Romans, Caesar was contrary to them, and, the Roman forces, and had taken the government from the Parthians. Upon this the senate was irritated; and Antony informed them further, that it was for the safety of the kingdom, that Antigonus was to be king. This seemed good to all the senators; and so they made a decree accordingly. 

5. And this was the principal instance of Antony's affection for Herod, that he not only pro-ceeded to carry out his own decrees, but also that he held out the offer of the kingdom to Herod, (for he did not come with an intention to ask the kingdom for himself, which he did not suppose the Romans would grant him, who used to be, as it was, a man of royal family, but intended to desire it for his wife Cleopatra, to the Aramaeans, (by his father to Aristobulus, and to Hyrcan-us by his mother,) but that he procured it for him so suddenly, that he did not expect it. But then he fell upon the Neronian law, that he who was already forty years as seven in all. This young man [the grandson] Herod afterward took care to have slain, as we shau snow in its proper place. But when the senate was dissolved, Antony and Caesar went out of the senate-building, with Herod between them, and with the consuls and other magistrates before them, in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay up their decrees in the capitol. Antony also favored Herod the first day of his reign. And thus, by his measures, he obtained the kingdom, and obtained it on the hundred and eighty-four Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio the first time. 

6. All the while Antigonus besieged those that were in Massada, who had plenty of all other necessities, but were only in want of water, in-amuch that on this occasion Joseph, Herod's brother, was contriving to run away from it, with two hundred of his dependents, to the Aramaeans, for he heard that Malchus repeated of the offen-ses he had been guilty of with regard to Herod: but God, by sending rain in the night-time, pre-vented Malchus from going, and the besieged thereby filled, and he was under no necessity of sowing away on that account; but they were now of good courage, and the more so, because the sending that plenty of water which they had-some of it from the spring that was set among the arrows, and threw their darts at him; and when some sallied out in a crowd, and came to fight hand to hand with the first ranks of Herod's army, he gave orders that they should be, in the first place, made to savor of the well, and the first that "he came for the good of the people, and for the preservation of the city, and not to bear any old grudge at even his most open enemies, but ready to forget the offenses of his greatest enemies." But Antony, by way of reply to what Herod had caused to be proclaimed, and this before the Romans, and before Silo also, said, "That they would not do justly, if they gave the kingdom to Herod, who was no more of the nation, but an Idumean, both here, and Of The War, B. I. ch. xv. sect. 1, in addition that it was now summer time."
mean, i.e. a half Jew; whereas they ought to bestow it on one of the royal family, as their custom was. For they, at present bare an ill-will to him, and had resolved to deprive him of the kingdom, as having received it from the Parthians, yet there were many others of his family that might by their law take it, and these such as had now offended the Romans, and being of their sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by. Now, while they said thus one to another, and fell to reproaching one another on both sides, Antigonus himself did not suffer the wall to be taken down, nor the bow to be taken away, nor the arrows to be thrown among them, nor the bowmen to prepare to defend themselves, who using their bows, and showing great alacrity against their enemies, easily drove them away from the towers.

3. And now it was that Silo discovered that he had too much credit, for he set a good number of his soldiers to complain aloud of the want of provisions they were in, and to require money to buy them food, and that it was fit to let them go into places proper for winter-quarters, since the places near the city were a desert, by reason that Antigonus's soldiers had carried all away; so he set the army among the mountains, and endeavoured to march away: but Herod pressed Silo to follow him, and exhorted the silo's captains and soldiers not to desert him, when Cæsar and Antony, and the senate, had sent him thither, for that he would provide them plenty of all the things they wanted, and easily procure them a great deal of what they required; after which entreaty, he immediately went into the country, and left not the least pretence to Silo for his departure, for he brought an unexpected quantity of provisions, and sent to those friends of his, who inhabited about Jericho, to bring down corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, and all other provisions, to Jericho, that there might be no want of a supply for the soldiers for the time to come; and thus was sent into the country and sent presently over the country such as might restrain and lie in ambush for those that went out for provisions. So these men obeyed the orders of Antigonus, and got together a great number of men about Jericho, for what upon the mountains, and watched those that brought the provisions. However, Herod was not idle in the mean time, for he took ten bands of soldiers, of whom five were of the Romans, and five of the Jews, with some horses, and did set out with some few horses, and came to Jericho; and as they found the city deserted, but that five hundred of them had settled themselves on the tops of the hills, with their wives and children, these he sent back, to inform the Roman general of what he saw; and he left a great number upon the city, and plundered it, and found the houses full of all sorts of good things: so the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back again, and sent the Roman army to take their winter-quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilea, and Samaria. And so much did Antigonus gain of Silo for the bribes he gave him, that part of the army should be quartered at Lydda, in order to please Antony. So the Romans laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.

4. But Herod was not pleased with lying still, but sent out his brother Joseph against Idumea with an army, and he overtook and four hundred horsemen, while he himself came to Samaria, and left his mother and his other relations there, for they were already gone out of Massada, and went into Galilee, to take certain places which were the confines of Antigonus, and he passed over to Sepphoris, as God sent a snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence, and resolved to destroy the robbers that dwelt in the mountains, and did much mischief in the country: so he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen, against them. They were very near to a village called Arad, and on the fortieth day after, he came himself with his whole army; and as the enemy saluted out boldly upon him, the left wing of his army gave way, but he appearing with a body of men, put those to flight who were upon the foot of the mountain, and sent them running away. He also pressed upon his enemies, and pursued them as far as the river Jordan, though they ran away by different roads. So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves, and did not carry away money to every one of his soldiers, giving them a bated and fifty drachmae apiece, and much more to his captains, and sent them into winter-quarters against them. These came to him, and his commanders with him, because Antigonus would not give them provisions any longer, for he supplied them for no more than one month; nay, he had sent to all the country about, and ordered his captains to set one at a time in the caves, and retire to the mountains, that the Romans might have no provisions to live upon, and so might perish by famine: but Herod committed the care of that matter to Phieroras, his youngest kinsman and governor of the islands of Cos and Lesbos also. Accordingly, he quickly made the soldiers abound with great plenty of provisions, and rebuilt Alexandria, which had been before demolished.

About this time it was that Antony continued some time at Athens, and that Venidius, who was now in Syria, sent for Silo, and commanded him to assist Herod in the first place, to secure himself of this, and get some confederates, for the war they were themselves engaged in; but as for Herod, he went in great haste against the robbers that were in the caves, and sent Silo away to Venidius, while he marched against them. Thus came they to mountains, that were exceedingly abrupt, and in their middle were no other than precipices, with certain entrances into the caves, and those caves were encompassed with sharp rocks, and in these caves there were divers tribes of Jews, that lies about them; but the king caused certain chests to be made, in order to destroy them, and to be hung down, bound with iron chains, by an engine, from the top of the mountain, to the neck of the chain, by which the chains were let down, and went into the mouths of the caves, because they fretted that such a way was made by the robbers not daring to come out of the caves, but fitly open the mouths; for they first killed many of those that were in the mouths with

Accordingly Josephus always esteemeth him an Idumean, though he says his father Antipater was of the same people with the Jews, chap. viii. sect. 1. and by birth a Jew, Antig. B. B. ch. viii. sect. 7; and indeed all such persons of this descent that were in time esteemed the same people with the Jews.
entrees. Accordingly he left Joseph there with his army, but charged him to run no hazards, nor to quarrel with Macherus.

8. But for his own part, he made haste to Anto-
tony, (who was then at the siege of Samosata,) a
place upon Euphrates, where his both horsemen and footmen, to be auxiliaries to him; and when he came to Antioch, and met there a
great number of men gotten together, that were
very desirous to go to Antony, but he was afraid to
leave so many of those barbarians fell
upon men on the road, and slew many, so he encou-
couraged them, and became their conductor upon
the road. Now when they were within two days
march of Samosata, the king began to apprehend
ambush there to disturb those that came to An-
tony; and where the woods made the passes narrow, as they led to the plains, there they laid not a few of their horsemen, who were to lie still until those passengers were gone by into the wide
place. Now as soon as their first ranks were
borne, (for Herod brought on the rear,) those
that lay in ambush, who were about five
hundred, fell upon them on the sudden, who
they had put the foremost to flight, the king
came riding hard, with the forces that were about
him, and immediately drove back the enemy; by
which means he made the minds of his own men
encouraged, and obliged to do what they
much that those who ran away before, now re-
turned back, and the barbarians were slain on all
sides. The king also went on killing them,
and recovered all the baggage, among which was
a great part of the baggage of Antigonus, and
proceeded on in his march; and whereas there were a very great number of those in the
woods that attacked them, and were near
the passage that led into the plain, he made a sally
upon those also, with a strong body of men,
put them to flight, and slew many of them, and
thereby rendered the way safe for those that
came after; and these called Herod their saviour
and protector.

9. And when he was near to Samosata, Antony
sent out his army in all their proper habiliments
of meeting him, in order to pay Herod this respect,
and because of the assistance he had given him,
he for he had heard what this man had made upon the (in Judæa.) He was also
very glad to see him there, as having been made
acquainted with the great actions he had per-
formed upon the road: so he entertained him
very kindly, and could not show any disa-
tagreement, and gave him the upper hand, as
having himself lately made him a king; and in a
little time Antiochus delivered up the fortresses,
and on that account this war was at an end,
then Antony committed the rest to Sosius, and
gave him orders to assist Herod, and went him-
tself to Egypt. Accordingly, Sosius sent two
legions before into Judæa to the assistance of
Macherus, and he followed himself with the body
of the army.

10. Now Joseph was already slain in Judæa, in
the manner following: he forgot what charge
his brother had given him, and went into Egypt
to Antony; and when he had pitched his camp
among the mountains, for Macherus had lent him five
regiments, with these he went hastily to Jéro-
icho, in order to reap that army, and as the Roman regiments were but newly
raised, and were unskilled in war, for they were
in great part collected out of Syria, he was at-
tacked by the enemy, and caught in those places
of clefts, and was himself slain, as he was
fighting bravely, and the whole army was lost
for there were six regiments slain. So when
Antigonus had got possession of the dead bodies,
he cut off Joseph’s head, although Théodoras his
brother would have redeemed it at the price of
fifty talents. After which defeat, the Galileans revolved from their commanders, and took those of Herod's party, and drowned them in the lake, and a great part of Judea was become seditionous; but Macherus fortified the place Gitta [in Samaria].

34. At this time king Antiochus, who had marched to Idroscy, gave orders to Silo, who was in Idroscy, to deliver to Daphne, who lived there, and informed him of what had been done; and when he was come to Daphne by Antioch, they told him of the ill fortune that had befallen his brother; which yet he expected, from certain visions that appeared to him in his dreams, which clearly foreboded his brother's death. So he hastened his march; and when he came to Libanus, he received about eight hundred of the men of that place, having already with him the Roman legions, with whose theoseum he came to Ptolemais. He also marched thence by night with his army, and proceeded along Galilee. Here it was that the enemy met him, and fought him, and were beaten, and shot up in the same place of strength whence they had saluted out the day before. So he attacked the place in the morning, but by reason of a great storm that was then very violent, he was able to do nothing, but drew off his army into the near part of the city. Yet as the other legion that Antony sent him was come to his assistance, those that were in garrison in the place were afraid, and deserted it in the night-time. Then did the king march hastily to Jerusalem, and in rage he commanded him to come to him. So he came, and Antony was put to the slaughter of his brother; and when he had pitched his tents, he made a feast for the principal commanders, and after this collation was over, and he had dismissed his guests, he returned to his chamber; yet as some one may see what kindness God had for the king, for the upper part of the house fell down when nobody was in it, and so killed none, insomuch that all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God, and had escaped such a great and surprising danger.

12. But the next day six thousand of the enemy came down from the tops of the mountains to fight the Romans, which greatly terrified them; and the soldiers that were in light armour came near, and peoted the king's guards that were come out with darts and stones, and one of them hit him on the side with a dart. Antigonus also sent a commander against Samaria, whose name was Alexander, to the like purpose, and some of his forces, being sent in, showed the enemy how potent he was, and that he had men to spare in his war with them: he sat down to oppose Macherus; but Herod, when he had taken Samaria, took such cities were left in them, being about two thousand, and slew them, and burnt the cities themselves, and then returned to go against Pappus, who was encamped at a village called Isana; and there ran in to him many out of Idroscy and Judea, near to which places he was, and the enemy fell upon his men, so stout were they at this time, and joined battle with them, but he beat them in the fight; and in order to be revenged on them for the murder of his brother, he slew them sharply, and killed them as they ran away: and as the houses were full of armed men, "and many of them ran as far as the tops of the houses, he got them under his power, and pulled down the roofs on his head, and put the hands of soldiers that were caught, and lay all on a heap: so they threw stones down upon them as they lay piled one upon another, and thereby killed them: nor was there a more frightful spectacle than the sight of these, or the noise that was the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another. This action it was which chiefly broke the spirits of the enemy, who expected now what would come, for there appeared a mighty number of people that came from places far distant, that were now about the village, but then ran away; and had it not been for the depth of winter, which then restrained them, they would have surrounded Jerusalem, as being very courageous at this good success, and the whole work had been done immediately, for Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly away, and leave the city.

13. At this time the king gave order that the soldiers should go to supper, for it was late at night, while he went into a chamber to use the bath, for he was very weary: and here it was that he was in the greatest danger, which yet by the grace of God, he escaped; for as he was naked, and had but one servant that followed him, to be with him while he was bathing in as inner room, certain of the enemy, who were in their armour, and had fled thither out of fear, were then in the place; and as he was bathing, the first of them came out with his naked sword drawn, and went out at the doors, and after him a second and a third, armed in like manner, and were under such a consternation, that they did not know what to do. But as it seemed good to have come off very well in suffering no harm themselves, in their getting out of the house. However, on the next day, he cut off the head of Pappus, for he was already slain, and sent it to Pompey. This message was for the more the more bitter, as his brother, who had suffered by his means, for he was the man that slew him with his own hand.

14. When the rigour of winter was over, Herod removed his army, and came near to Jerusalem, and was met by the assistance of the Antonius. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; and as he removed his camp, and came near that part of the wall where it could be most easily assaulted, he pitched that camp in the same manner, intending the same fortifications in the same manner as did Pompey: so he compassed the place with three bulwarks, and erected towers, and employed a great many hands about the work, and cut down the trees that were round about the city; and when he had appointed proper persons to oversee the works, even while the army lay before the city, he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife the daughter of Alexander, the son of Antonius: for he had betrothed her already, as I have before related.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, when he had married Mariamme, took Jerusalem, with the Assistance of Sosius, by Force; and how the Government of the Ausmusians was put an end to.

§ 1. After the wedding was over, came Sosius through Phoenicia, having sent out his army before him over the midland parts. He also, who was their commander, came himself with a great number of horsemen and footmen. The king also, who was also with him, was met by him as far as the army, besides which there were beyond against Antigonus, who was declared an enemy to Rome, and that he might himself be king, according to the decree of the senate.
BOOK XIV.—CHAP. XVI.

2. New the Jews that were enclosed within the walls of the city fought against Herod with great acclivity and zeal, (for the whole nation was gathered together;) they also gave out many prophecies about the temple, and many things agreeable to the people, as if God would deliver them then out of the hands of the Romans; and therefore they also carried off what was out of the city, that they might not leave any thing to afford sustenance either for men or for beasts, and by private robbers, they made the want of necessaries greater. When Herod understood this, he opposed ambushes in the fittest places against their private robberies, and he sent legions of armed men to bring in provisions, and that from regions unknown to them; in a great plenty of provisions. Now the three bulwarks were easily erected, because so many hands were continually at work upon them; for it was summer-time, and there was nothing to hinder their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen; so they brought their engines to bear, and shook the walls of the city, and tried all manner of ways to get in; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also commenced to make lawful to see, and to enroll the names of the traitors and threatening, and even sometimes force itself to restrain them. He also prohibited the ravage that was made in the city, and many times asked Sosius, whether the Romans would make the city void of every inhabitant, and make him king of a desert? and told him, that he esteemed the dominion over the whole habitable earth as by no means an equivalent satisfaction for such a murder of his citizens, and when he had said this, he set out and examined the soldiers for the siege they had undergone, he replied, that he would give every one their reward out of his own money, and by this means he redeemed what remained of the city from destruction, and performed what he had promised him, for he gave a noble present to every soldier, and a proportionable present to their commanders, but a most royal present to Sosius himself, till they all went away full content.

4. This destruction befell the city of Jerusalem when Marcus Agrippa and Caninus Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred eighty and fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, if a periodical calamity had returned, since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty seven years' time. So when Sosius had dedicated a crown of gold to God, he marched out of Jerusalem, and carried Antigonus with him in bonds to Antony; but Herod was afraid lest Antigonus should be kept in prison (only) by Antony, and that when he was carried to Rome by him, he might get his causes, be heard by the senate, and might demonstrate, as he was himself of the royal blood, and Herod but a private man, that therefore it belonged to his sons how ever to have the kingdom, on account of the family they were of, and he had esteemed the Romans by what he had done. Out of

is wanting in Josephus is fully supplied by Macro Chremon. And in particular, in his history of the interval, B. i. ii. xviii. where he directly assures us, that Tigranes, then king of Armenia, and the principal manager of this Parthian war, reigned two years after Herod was made king at Rome; and yet Antony did not hear of his death, in that very neighbourhood, at Samosata, till he was come thither to besiege it; after which Herod brought from Asia his great army, which was 360 miles march, and through a difficult country, full of enemies also, and joined with him in the siege of Samosata, till that city was taken; then he and Herod and Sosius were attacked by the same number of 340 miles, and when in a little time they sat down to besiege Jerusalem, they were not able to take it, but by a siege of five months. All which is as fairly implied that interval, before Herod went to Samosata, to have been very considerable. However, what
Herod's fear of this it was, that he, by giving Antony a great deal of money, endeavoured to persuade him to have Antigonus slain, which if it were once done, he should be free from that fear. And thus did the government of the Seleucidae, and Macedonians cease, a hundred and sixty years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and an illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock, and of the dignity of the high priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation: but these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminence external, but one that was subject to other kings: and this is what history tells us was the end of the Asmonean family.

BOOK XV.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF EIGHTEEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS TO THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD.

CH. I.
Concerning Pollio and Samenes. Herod always the principal of Antigonus's friends, and suppos'd the City of its Wealth. Antony beholds Antigonus.

§ 1. How Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem by force; and, besides that, how they took Antigonus has been related to us in the foregoing book. We will now proceed in the narration. And since Herod had now the government of all Judea put into his hands, he promoted such of the private men in the city as had been his friends; but never left off avenging and punishing every day those that had chosen to be of the party of his enemies: but Pollio, the Pharisaei, and Samenes, a disciple of his, were honoured by him above all the rest; for when Jerusalemites and Samenes were resolved to receive Herod, for which advice they were well requited; but this Pollio, at the time when Herod was once upon his trial of life and death, foretold, in a way of reproach, that what he did to the children to receive Herod, when they suffered now to escape, would afterward inflict punishment on them all; which had its completion in time, while God fulfilled the words he had spoken.

2. At this time Herod, now he had got Jerusalem under his power, carried off all the royal ornaments, and spoiled the wealthy men of what they had gotten; and when by these means he had robbed together a great quantity of silver and gold, he gave it all to Antony, and his friends that were about him. He also slew forty-five of the principal men of Antigonus's party, and set guards at the gates of the city, that nothing might be carried out together with the dead bodies. They also searched the dead, and whatsoever was found, either of silver or gold, or other treasure, it was carried to the king nor was there any end of the miseries he brought upon them, and this distress was in part occasioned by the covetousness of the prince regent, who was still in want of more, and in part by the sabbatic year, which was still going on, and forced the country to lie still uncultivated, since we are formerly captive, has been relished by us, and the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Ephraim; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger of his life among the Persians, came to that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings: and this moved him to determine them, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that impiety in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do

* The city here called Babylonia Josephus seems to be the same which was built by some of the Seleucidae upon the Euphrates, which, long after the utter devastation of old Babylon, was commonly so called: and, I suppose, not far from to receive Herod, whom he had made king in his stead, for no torments could they be forced to call him king, so great a fondness they had for their former king; so that he thought that this dishonourable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus's memory, and at the same time would diminish the hatred they bare to Herod. Thus far Strabo.

CH. II.
How Hyrcanus was set at Liberty by the Parthians, and returned to Herod; and what Alexander did when he heard that Ananias was made High Priest.

§ 1. Now after Herod was in possession of the kingdom, Hyrcanus the high priest, who was one of his friends, and had already learned what an illustrious family he was; on which account he set him free from his bonds, and gave him a habituation at Babylon, where there were Jews in great numbers. These Jews honoured Hyrcanus greatly, and he received them all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Ephraim; which respect was very much to his satisfaction. But when he was informed that Herod had received the kingdom, new hopes came upon him, as having been himself still of a kind disposition towards him, and expecting that Herod would bear in mind what favour he had received from him, and when he was upon his trial, and when he was in danger of his life among the Persians, came to that danger, and from all punishment. Accordingly, he talked of that matter with the Jews that came often to him with great affection; but they endeavoured to retain him among them, and desired that he would stay with them, putting him in mind of the kind offices and honours they did him, and that those honours they paid him were not at all inferior to what they could pay to either their high priests or their kings: and this moved him to determine them, they said, was this, that he could not have those dignities [in Judea] because of that impiety in his body, which had been inflicted on him by Antigonus; and that kings do

Selene; just as the later adjoining city Bagdad has been, and is often called by the same old name of Babylon all this very day.
not use to requisite men for those kindnesses which they received when they were private persons, it’s height of fortune making usually to small changes in them.

3. Now although they suggested these arguments to him for his own advantage, yet did Hyrcanus still desire to depart. Herod also wrote to him, and persuaded him to desire of Phraates, and the Jews that were there, that they should see no reason to remain, but that he should have jointy with himself, for that now was the proper time for himself to make him amends for the favours he had received from him, as having been brought up by him, and saved by him from a certain danger and destruction; and so as he wrote thus to Hyrcanus, so did he send also Saramallas, his ambassador, to Phraates, and many presents with him, and desired him in the most obliging way that he would be so kind as to grant them a mark of his favour.

But this zeal of Herod did not flow from that principle, but because he had been made governor of that country, without having any just claim to it, he was afraid, and that upon reasons good enough. All advantages, and all those presents, and so made haste he could to get Hyrcanus into his power, or indeed to put him quite out of the way. Which last thing he compassed.

4. Accordingly, when Hyrcanus came, full of assurance, by the permission of the king of Parthia, and at the expense of the Jews, who supplied him with money, Herod received him with all possible respect, and gave him the upper place at public meetings, and set him above all the rest at feast, and thereby deceived him. He called him his father; and endeavoured by all the ways possible, that he might have no suspicion of any treacherous designs against him. He also did other things, in order to secure his government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest of God, he was afraid of the country, and all his friends together, and told them, that “Alexandria privately conspired against his royal authority, and endeavoured, by the means of Cleopatra, so to bring it about, that he might be deprived of the government, and that Antony’s means this youth might have the management of public affairs in his stead; and that this procedure of hers was unjust, since she would at the same time deprive her daughter of the dignity she now had, and would bring disturbances upon the kingdom, for which he had taken a great deal of pains, and had gotten it with extraordinary hazards; that yet while he well remembered her wicked practices, he might leave off doing what was done to himself; but would even now give the youth the high priesthood, and that he formerly set up Ananias, because Aristobulus was then so very young a child.” Now when he had said this, he used the best discretion he had, in order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult withal, Alexandria, out of the great joy she had at this unexpected promise, and out of fear from the suspicious she lay under, fell a weeping, and made the following apology for herself; and said that “as to the high priesthood, she was very much concerned for the disgrace her son was under; and so did her utmost endeavours to care it for him, but that as to the kingdom, she had made no attempts, and that if it were offered her [for her son,] she would not accept it; and that now she would be satisfied with her son’s dignity, while she retained the government, and she had thereby the security that arose, from his peculiar ability in governing, to all the remainder of her family; that she was now overcome by his benefits, and thankfully accepted of the honour shown to him to the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, as permit to all the most capable and ambitious men, those who made Israel a nation; who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the greatest corruptions of religion by it; and the improvement of whose famous was most remarkable. The case is too well known to stand in need of particular citations.

* Here we have an eminent example of Herod’s worldly policy, not only in and after his consulship, but the son of Alexander and usurped power, to make whom he pleased high priest, in the person of Ananias, he occasioned such disturbances in his kingdom, and in his family, that the lasting peace or tranquility ever afterward; and such is frequently the effect of profane court politics about matters of religion in other ages and nations. The Old Testament is full of the misuse the people of the Jews derived from such court politics, as permit to all the most capable and ambitious men, those who made Israel a nation; who gave the most pernicious example of it; who brought on the greatest corruptions of religion by it; and the improvement of whose famous was most remarkable. The case is too well known to stand in need of particular citations.

1 Of this wicked Dilectus, see the note on the War B.6 ch. iv. sect. 3
When Josephus says here, that this Ananias, the chief priest, was not of the stock of the high priests, and since he had been just telling us that he was a priest of the high stock, and the member of a sacred family or character, ch. ii. sect. 4, it is not at all probable that he could so soon say that he was of the stock of the high priests. However, Josephus here makes a very remarkable observation, that this Ananias was the third that was ever unjustly and wickedly turned out of the sacred title by the civil power; having ventured to do so that Josephus knew of, but that bosom tyrant and persecutor Antichus Epiphanes; that Herod's parish priest, Aristobulus, the first that took royal authority a ship ready to carry them into Egypt. When Zecon, one of her servants, happened to fall upon the queen, and spoke some disrespectful word to her, he expected that this discovery would change Herod's hatred into kindness, so he told the king of this private stratagem of Alexandra; whereupon he suffered her to provide all things necessary for the execution of her project, and put her in the very fact, but still be passed by her offence: and though he had a great mind to do it, he durst not inflict any thing that was severe upon her, for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear it: and he could not forgive her hatred to him, but made a show as if it were rather the generosity of his soul, and his great moderation, that made him forgive them. However, he fully proposed to himself to put this young man out of the way, by one means or other; but he thought he might in probability be better concealed in doing it, if he did it not presently, nor immediately after what had lately happened.

And now, upon the approach of the feast of tabernacles, which is a festival very much observed among us, he let those days pass over, and both he and the rest of the people were therein very merry; yet did the envy which at this time swelled within him, and was quickened by the sight he had about, and provoke him to do it: for when this youth Aristobulus, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceeding comely, and taller than men usually were at that age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family, and dignity, and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of the actions of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds: and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forbear to show their inclination to them. They at once rejoiced, and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude, which she more readily proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family, than was fit under a monarch to have done. Upon all this, Herod resolved to complete what he had intended against the young man; and the force of the privileges and nature of his family was over, and he was feasting at Jericho, with Alexandra, who entertained him there, he was then very pleasant with the young man, and drew him into a lonely place, and at the same time played with him in a juvenile and ludicrous manner. Now the nature of that place was hotter than ordinary; so they went out in a body and of a sudden, and in a way of madness; and as they stood by the fish-ponds, they were all suddenly covered with dead bodies, and put herself into one, and her son into the other, and gave orders to such of her servants as knew of her intentions, to carry them away in the night-time. Now their road was to be thence to the seaside, and there was
of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance, as he had appointed to do it, dipp'd him, as he was swimming, and plunged him under water, in the dark of the night; for vermtant, nor did they only, nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated; and thus was Aristobulus murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only; when high priesthood Ananias now recovered again.

4. When this sad accident was told the women, their joy was soon changed to lamentation, at the sight of the dead body that lay before them, and their sorrow was immediate and very great; but the city also of Jerusalem, upon the spreading of this news, was in very great grief, every family looking on this calamity as if it had not belonged to another, but that one of themselves was slain, and that it was the chief of all the people. But Herod's greater mischief that might otherwise follow: and she oftentimes came to an inclination to kill herself with her own hand, but still she restrained herself, in hopes she might live long enough to make reparation for her fault committed; nay, she further resolved to endeavor to live longer, and to give no occasion to think she suspected that her son was slain on purpose, and supposed that she might thereby be the cause of his death; and as she had no opportunity to do this, she did not only lose all occasion of sorrow, but fell into tears also, and exhibited a real confusion of soul; and perhaps his affection for her came on this occasion, when he saw the child's countenance so young, and so beautiful, although his death was supposed to tend to his own security; so far, at least, this grief served as to make some apology for him: and at the same time, the King adored her as very magnificent, and made great prepara-

8. But as they were in the midst of these deliberations, letters were brought from Herod about all his affairs, and proved contrary to the report, and of what they before expected; for when he was so long without any communication with the Roman emperor, it preserved the city, as a guard to the kingdom, under the command of Julius; for that, by this means, if any disturbance should happen about the palace, they should be in greater security, as having the Romans favor'd, that he could not come nearer to obtaining the highest authority, if Antony did but once see Marianne, by whose means they should recover the kingdom, and want nothing which was reasonable for them to hope for, because of their royal Marianne, both because his business required it, and because of the respects he ought to pay to the queen, he frequently let himself into discourses about Herod's kindness, and great affection towards her; and when the women, especially Alexandra, under the name of discourses into feminine raiillery, Joseph was so over desirous to demonstrate the king's inclinations, that he proceeded so far as to mention the charge he had received, and thence drew his demon-

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things, and enlarged upon the other honours which he had received from Antony; how he sat by him at his hearing causes, and took his diet with him every day, and that he enjoyed those favours from him, notwithstanding the representation made to Cleopatra so as she laid against him, who having a great desire of his country, and earnestly entreating Antony that the kingdom might be given to her, laboured with her utmost diligence to have him out of the way, but was not able to find him; and after he had found Anthony, he became so affronted and below them upon her; and she had a mighty influence upon him, by reason of his being caused to her by his affections. She was also by him not only instructed, but also recharge of her newness. She had already poisoned her brother, because she knew that he was to be king of Egypt, and this when he was but fifteen years old; and she got her sister Ariste that the mean of the temple at Ephesus; for if there were but any hopes of getting money, she would violate both temples and sepulchres. Nor was there any holy place, that was esteemed the most inviolable, where she did not leave her part in the sacristy, and stuff their eyes, and had in it; nor any place so profane, but was to suffer the most flagitious treatment possible from her, if it could but contribute somewhat to the covetous humour of this wicked creature; yet she did not mind this, but took care of that one, who was a slave to her lusts, but she still imagined that she wanted every thing she could think of, and did her utmost to gain it; for which reason she hurried Antony on perpetually to destroy her形 cities from her ancestors, although she possessed her. And as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so she slew Lyaeus, the son of Plomel, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. But in the meantime she got Damascene, and Arabia, and in order thereto desired him to take those countries away from their present governors. As for Antony, he was so entirely over her, that this woman, that he had a slave to her lusts, should think her conversation one only could do it, but that he was some way or other bewitched to do whatsoever she would have him; yet did the grossest part of her injustice make him so ashamed, that he left it in the hearing of his officers: and the fragrant enormities she had should have persuaded him to. That therefore he might not totally deny her, nor, by doing every thing which she enjoined him, appear openly to be an ill man, he did not oppose to the ordinances of the king, but from her former governors, and gave them to her. Thus he gave her the cities that were within the river Euphrates, as far as Egypt, excepting Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free cities from their ancestors, although she possessed he very often to bestow those on also.

2. When Cleopatra had obtained this much, and had accompanied Antony in his expedition to Armenia, as far as Ephrates, she returned back, and came to the sea of Azal. When she had passed on to Judaea, where Herod met her, and armed of her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho. This country bears that balsam, which is the most precious oil there is there, and grows there alone. The place bears also palm-trees, both many in number, and those excellent in their kind. When she was there, and was very often with Herod, she endeavoured to have him make to her, and to affect secrecy in the indulgence of such sort of pleasures; and perhaps she had in some measure a passion of love to him, or rather, what is most probable, she laid a treacherous snare for him, by that which he had said to her, and her turn of love to him: however, upon the whole, she seemed overcome with love to him. Now Herod had a great while borne no good-will to Cleopatra, as
BOOK XV.—CHAP. V.

Knowing that she was a woman irksome to all;
and at that time he thought her particularly
worthy of his hatred, if this attempt proceeded
out of jest; he had also thought of preventing
her influence, by putting her to death at such
a multitude of evils to whom she was already
become irksome, and was expected to be still so
for the time to come; and that this very thing
might be the means of bringing about a change
himself, since she would certainly not be faithful
to him, in case any such reason or necessity
should come upon him as that he should stand in
need of her fidelity.

But when he thought to force his adversary's hand not to let him,
and told him, that in the first place, it was not
right to attempt so great a thing, and run himself
thereby into the utmost danger, and they lay
hard on him, and begged of him to undertake
nothing rashly, for that Antony would never bear
it, so, not though any one should evidently lay
before his eyes that it was for his own advantage;
and that the appearance of depriving him of her
conversation, by this violent and treacherous
method, might well be a success, but not
in a flame than before. Nor did it appear that he
could offer any thing of tolerable weight in his
defence, this attempt being against such a woman
as was of the highest dignity of any of her sex
that he should overlook all these, and be expected
from such an undertaking, if any
such could be supposed in this case, it would
appear to deserve condemnation, on account of
the insolence he must take upon him in doing it.
Which considerations made it very plain that in
so doing he would find his government filled
with mischiefs, both great and lasting, both
to himself and his posterity, whereas it was still in
his power to reject that wickedness she would
persecute him, and come off honourably at
the same time.

So by thus affrighting Herod,
and representing to him the hazard he must, in
all probability, run by this undertaking, they
restrained him from it. So he treated Cleopatra
kindly, and invited her presents, and conducted
her on her way to Egypt.

3. But Antony subdued Armenia, and sent Ar-
bazaeus, the son of Tigranes, in bonds, with his
children and procurators, to Egypt, and made a
present of the crown of Armenia, which he had
taken out of that kingdom, to Cleo-
patra. And Artaxias, the eldest of his sons, who
had escaped at that time, took the kingdom
of Armenia; and when he was overthrown by
Nero Caesar, when the restored Tigranes, his
younger brother, to that kingdom: but this hap-
pened a good while afterward.

4. But then, as to the tributes which Herod
was to pay Cleopatra for that country, which
Cleopatra had given her, he acted fairly with her,
deeming it not safe for him to afford any cause
for Cleopatra to hate him. As for the king of
Arabia, whose tribute Herod had undertaken
to pay, he found the means of doing so, as
such as came to two hundred talents, but he
afterward became very niggardly, and slow in
his payments, and could hardly be brought to
pay some parts of it, and was not willing to pay
even them without some deductions.

CHAP. V.

Herod made War with the King of Arabia, and after they had fought many Battles, at length conquered him, and was chosen by the Arabes to be Governor of that Nation; as also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. HEREPON Herod held himself ready to
fight the king of Arabia, because of his in-
gratitude to him, and because, after all, he would
do nothing that was just to him, although Herod
made the Romans war an occasion of delaying his
own, for the battle of Actium was now expected,
which fell into the hundred and eighty-seventh
Olympiad, where Caesar and Antony were to
fight for the supreme power of the world; but
Herod having enjoyed a country that was very
fruitful, and that now for a long time, and having
received great riches, and rewards, and those
thither, got together a body of men, and care-
fully furnished them with all necessaries, and
designed them as auxiliaries for Antony; but An-
tyony said, he had no wish in the world but that
he commanded him punish the king of Arabia
for he had heard both from him, and from Cleo-
patra, how perfidious he was; for this was what
Cleopatra desired, who thought it for her own
advantage, that these two kings should do him
another as great mischief as possible. Upon this
message from Antony, Herod returned back, but
kept his army with him, in order to invade Ar-
abia immediately. So when his army of horse-
men and footmen was ready, he marched to Dios-
polis, whether the Arabians came also to meet
them, for they were not unapprized of this war
that was coming upon them; and after a great
battle had been fought, the Jews had the victory.

But afterward, when he saw that he had no chance
to overthrow the Arabians, he formed another
numerous army of the Arabians, at Caana,
which is a place of Caelosyria. Herod was in
formed of this beforehand: so he came marching
against them with the greatest part of the forces
he had; and not aiming to conquer all those he
resolved to encamp himself, and he cast up a
bulwark, that he might take a proper season for
attacking the enemy, but as he was giving those
orders, the multitude of the Jews cried out that
he should make no delay, but at least against
the Arabians. They went with great spirit, as
believing they were in very good order, and
those especially were so that had been in the
former battle, and had been conquerors, and had
not permitted their enemy so much as to come
to a close fight with them. And when they were
so tumultuous, and showed such great bravery,
the king resolved to make use of that zeal the
multitude then exhibited; and when he had assem-
bled them he placed them in a form of courage, led
them on, and stood before them all in his armour,
all the regiments following him in their several ranks: whereupon a con-
stitution fell upon the Arabians; for when they
perceived that they were not to be oppose-
ed, and were full of spirit, the greater part of
them ran away, and avoided fighting, and they
had been quite destroyed, had not Athienon fallen
upon the Jews, and distressed them, for this man
was Cleopatra's general; so the soldiers she
had there, and was at enmity with Herod, and
very wistfully looked on to see what the event
of the battle would be: he had also resolved,
that in case the Arabians did any thing that was
brave and successful, he would likewise do in
the same case, as they were beaten, as it really happened, he
would attack the Jews with those forces he had
of his own, and with those that the country had
brought him together; and finding the Jews
unexpect'dly, when they were fatigued, and
thought they had already vanquished the enemy,
and made a great slaughter of them, for as the
Jews had spent their courage upon their known
enemies, and the soldiers in the desert had
enjoyed the quietness after the victory, they were easily beat
en by these that attacked them afresh, and in par-
ticular received great loss in places where the
horses could not be of service, and which were
very stony, and where these that attacked against
were better acquainted with the places than them-
selves. And when the Jews had suffered this
loss, the Arabians raised their spirits after their
defeat, and returning back again, slew those that
were already put to flight; and indeed all sorts
of slaughter were now frequent, and of those that escaped, a few only returned into the camp. So king Herod, when he despaired of the battle, and made up to them to bring them assistance, yet did not come time enough to do them any service, though he laboured hard to do it, but the Jewish camp was taken, so that the Arabians had unexpectedly a most glorious success, having gained the battle, with which lust of themselves they were now ready to have gained, and slaying a great part of the enemy's army: whence afterward Herod could only act like a private robber, and make up to them by means of Arabians, and distress them by sudden incursions, while he encamped among the mountains, and avoided by any means to come to a pitched battle, yet did he greatly harass the enemy by his assiduity, and the chase, and the terror in his rear. He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state.

2. At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod; and then it was also that there was an earthquake in Judea, such a one as had not happened at any other time, and which earthquake brought a great calamity among the country and the people. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses: but the army, which lodged in the field, received no damage by this sad accident. When the Arabians were informed of this, and especially that the army of the Jews was diseased, and pleased themselves with aggravating the reports, told them of it, they raised their spirits, as if their enemy's country was quite overthrown, and the men were utterly destroyed, and thought there now remained nothing that could oppose them. Accordingly, they took the Jewish ambassadors, who came to them after all this had happened, to make peace with them, and slew them, and came with great alacrity against their army; but the Jews were not hard by the Jews, and pleased themselves with that which was suspected by us of unkindness: but when he had a mind to bestow some parts of each of our dominions on Cleopatra, I also managed that matter so, that by giving him presents of my own, I did as much to dispose of him, while I undertook myself to answer for the money, and gave him two hundred talents, and became surety for those two hundred more which were imposed upon the land that was subject to Cesar, and this they have defended us of, although it was not reasonable that Jews should pay tribute to any man living, or allow part of their land to be taxable; but although that was to be, yet ought we not to pay tribute for these Arabians, whom we have ourselves preserved, nor is it fit that they, who have professed, and that with great integrity and sense of our kindness, that it is by our means that they keep their principality, should impose upon us what is our due, and this while we have been still not their enemies but their friends. And whereas observation of covenants takes place among the bitterest enemies, but among friends and allies, it is not thus; for these Arabians have done what the Greeks and barbarians own to be an instance of the grossest wickedness, with regard to our ambassadors, whom they have beheaded, while the Greeks declare that such ambassadors are sacred, and, indeed, that for ourselves, we have learned from God the most excellent of our doctrines, and the most holy part of our law by angels, or ambassadors: for this name brings God to the knowledge of man, and man to reconcile one to another. What wickedness then can be greater than the slaughter of ambassadors, who come to treat about doing what is right. And when such have been their actions, how is it possible...
sible they can live securely in common life, or be successful in war? In my opinion this is impossible; but perhaps some will say, that what is held and what is righteous, is indeed on our side, but the Arabs are either more courageous, or more numerous than we are. Now as to this, in the first place, it is not fit for us to say so, for we are not fighting with hope of victory, but hoping it will be for his advantage, and that the sooner produce a battle; and that if there were occasion for delay, he should by it have his camp fortified. And as the Arabs had the same intentions upon that place, and knew about it: all the more, they were out skirmishes, after which there came more soldiers, and it proved a sort of fight, and some fell on both sides, till those of the Arabians side were beaten, and re-treated. They now sent some embassadors to the Jews immediately: and when Herod observed that the enemy's army were disposed to anything rather than to come to an engagement, he ventured boldly to attempt the bulwark itself, and to pull it to pieces, and so to get nearer to their camp, in order to fight them; for when they were forced out of their trenches, they went out in disorder, and had not the least alacrity, or hope of victory; yet did they fight hand to hand, and the more boldly, rather than the Jews, and because they were in such a disposition of war that they were under a necessity of coming on boldly; so they came to a terrible battle, while not a few fell on each side. Herod, at that time, had a great, and so great a slaughter was made upon their being routed, that they were not only killed by their enemies, but became the authors of their own deaths also, and were trodden down by the multitude: and the rest of the enemy in disorder, and were destroyed by their own armour; so five thousand men lay dead upon the spot, while the rest of the multitude soon ran within the bulwark [for safety]; but had no firm hope of escape. For we have been told, that the Jews were in modereous terms whatever, being very desirous to revenge those unjust actions which they had been guilty of towards his nation. So they were necessitated by other motives, and particularly by their thirst to come out, and deliver themselves up to him, to be carried away captives; and in five days' time the number of four thousand were taken prisoners, while all the rest resolved to make a sally upon their enemies, and to fight those who had been so silly as to be, to die therein than to perish gradually and ingloriously. When they had taken this resolution, they came out of their trenches, but could not sustain the fight, being too much disabled, both in mind and body, and having not room to exert themselves, and thought it an advantage to be killed, and a misery to survive; so on the first onset there fell about seven thou-

army, and by a very great earthquake in Judea: such a time of affliction making men most religious; nor was he disappointed of his hopes here, but immediately gained a most signal victory. The Arabians, seeing this example of this nature, so far as I remember, that Josephus ever mentions in all his large and particular accounts of Herod, and it was what he had been, both of distress, and discouraged by a great defeat of his former
sand of them; after which stroke they let all the courage they had put on before fall, and stood amazed at Herod's warlike spirit under his own calamities; so for the future he dished, and made him ruler of their nation; whereupon he was greatly elevated at so reasonable a success, and returned home, taking great authority upon him, on account of so bold and glorious an expedition as he has made.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod slew Hyrcanus, and then hasted away to Cæsar, and obtained the Kingdom from him also; and how, a little time afterward, he entertained Cæsar in a most honourable manner.

§ 1. Herod's other affairs were now very prosperous; and he was not to be easily assassinated on any side. Yet did there come upon him a danger that would hazard his entire dominions, after Antony had been beaten at the battle of Actium by Cæsar [Octavian] for at that time both Herod's enemies and friends despaired of his affairs; for it was not probable that he would remain without punishment, who had showed so much friendship for Antony. So it happened that his friends despaired, and had no hopes of his escape, but for his safety and that he all outwardly appeared not to be troubled at his case, but were privately very glad of it, as hoping to obtain a change for the better. As for Herod himself, he saw that there was no one of royal dignity left but Hyrcanus, and therefore thought it would be for his advantage not to suffer him to be an obstacle in his way any longer; for in case he himself survived, and escaped the danger he was in, he thought it the safest way to put it out of the power of such a man, who might attempt against him at such junctures of affairs, as was more worthy of the kingdom than himself; and in case he should be slain by Cæsar, his envy prompted him to desire to slay him that would otherwise be a danger to him.

2. While Herod had these things in his mind, there was a certain occasion afforded him; for Hyrcanus was of so mild a temper, both then and at other times, that he desired not to meddle with people, nor to cause quarrels and innovations, but left all to fortune, and contented himself with what that afforded him: but Alexandra [his daughter] was a lover of strife, and was exceeding desirous of a change of government and an espouse to her father not to bear for ever Herod's injuries treatment of their family, but to anticipate their future hopes, as he safely might; and desired him to write about these matters to Cæsar, and then when he should receive them, and to secure them [from Herod,] for that if they went away, and Herod's affairs proved to be, as it was likely they would be, by reason of Cæsar's enmity to him, they should then be the only persons that could attempt to shake the government, and this both on account of the royal family they were of, and on account of the good disposition of the multitude to them. While she used these persuasions, Hyrcanus put off all; but as she was a woman, and a contentious woman too, and would not desist either night or day, but would always be speaking to him about these matters, and about Herod's treacherous designs, and his desire of innovating with him to intrust Dositheus, one of his friends, with a letter, wherein his resolution was declared; and he desired the Arabian governor to send to him some horsemen, who might conduct him with him, and conduct him to the lake Asphaltites, which is from the bounds of Jerusalem three hundred furlongs: and he did therefore trust Dositheus with this letter, because he was a careful attendant on him and on Alexandra, and no small occasion to bear ill will to Herod: for he was a kinsman of one Joseph, whom he had slain, and a brother of those that were formerly slain at Tyre by Antony; yet could not these motives induce Dositheus to serve Hyrcanus in this affair, for preferring the hopes he had from the present king to those he had from him, he gave Herod the letter. So he took his kindness in good part, and bade him besides do what he had already done that is, go in on serving him, by rolling up the enmity, and sealing up all the rest he had doing delivering it to Hyrcanus, and then to bring back his letter in answer to it, for it would be much better if he could know Malchus's intentions also. And when Dositheus was very ready to serve him in this point also, the Arabian governor returned back to him, and he would receive Hyrcanus, and all that should come with him, and even all the Jews that were of his party: that he would, moreover, send forces sufficient to secure them in their journey, and that he should be in no worse manner than they would desire. Now as soon as Herod had received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him about the league he had made with Malchus; and, when he denied it, showed his letter to the sanhedrin, and put the man to death immediately.

3. And this account we give the reader, as it is contained in the commentaries of king Herod: Antony, when he was not satisfied with the answer which they suppose that Herod did not find, but rather make this an occasion for thus putting him to death, and that by treacherously laying a snare for him; for thus do they write: That Herod and his friends had conspired to make war on Cæsar, and that he had no occasion to suspect [that he was displeased at him,] but put this question to Hyrcanus, Whether he had received any letters from Malchus? and when he answered, that he had received letters, but those of salutation in it; and when he asked further, whether he had not received any presents from him? and when he had replied, that he had received no more than four horses to ride on, which Malchus had sent him; they pretended to his temper, and charged them as the crimes of bribery and treason, and gave order that he should be led away and slain. And in order to demonstrate that he had been guilty of no offence, when he was thus brought to Cæsar, they called together with him. and that even in his youth he had never given any demonstration of boldness or rashness, and that the case was the same when he came to age, and that he had never been a man of the greatest confidence and celerity, and never had control of the greatest part of public affairs to Antipater; and that he was now above fourscore years old, and knew that Herod's government was in a secure state. He also came over and was confuted with many more, and at last beyond that river, though he were to be on tirely under Herod's government, and that it was a most incredible thing that he should enterprize any thing by way of innovation, and not at all agreeable to his temper, but that this was a plot of Herod's contrivance.

4. And this was the fate of Hyrcanus; and thus did he end his life, after he had endured various and manifold turns of fortune in his lifetime, from the commencement of his reign in the beginning of his mother Alexander's reign, who held the government nine years; and when, after his mother's death, he took the kingdom himself, and held it three months, he was put to death under those circumstances. He was then restored by Pompey, and received all sorts of honour from him, and enjoyed them forty years; but when he was again deprived of his government by Antony, he was restored to it, and was made a captive by the Parthians, and those returned home again after some time, on account of the hopes that Herod had given him; none of which came to pass according to his expectations, and he fell, when at a great age, and by a sudden death, through the whole course of his life; and what was the heaviest calamity of all, as we have re-
3. Now Herod, as soon as he put Hyrcanus out of the way, made haste to Caesar; and because he could not have any hopes of kindness from him, he sent out of the kingdom, to his friend, Antony, he had a suspicion of Alexandria, lest she should take this opportunity to bring the multitude to a revolt, and introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom; so he committed the care of every thing to his son and sister, and placed his mother Cypros, and his sister [Salome.] and the whole family, at Massada, and gave him a charge, that if he should hear any sad news about him, he should take care of the government, but to Surama his wife, because of the misunderstanding between her and his sister, and his sister's mother, which made it impossible for them to live together, he placed her at Alexandria, with Alexandria her mother, sister, and her son, to take care of that fortress. These two had been very faithful to him from the beginning, and were now left as a guard to the women. They also had it in charge, that if they should hear anything and take care of his affairs, if they should kill them both, and as far as they were able, to preserve the kingdom for his sons, and for his brother Pheroras.

6. When he had given them this charge, he marched to Rhodes, to meet Caesar; and when he had sailed to that city, he took off his diadem, but remitted nothing else of his usual dignity: and when, upon his meeting him, he desired that he would let him know what he would do for him, he exhibited a much more noble specimen of a great soul, for he did not betake himself to supplications, as men usually do upon such occasions, nor offered him any petition, as if he were an offender, but told him, that he had account of what he had done; for he spake thus to Caesar, that "he had the greatest friendship for Antony, and did every thing he could that he might attain the government: that he was not a man to lose his dignity, he were with the Porters, he had been a companion of Antony; but Caesar had sworn to put him to death, and so he could not obtain that his petition: and now he returned to Judea again with greater honour and assurance than ever, and trusted those resolutions to the contrary, as still acquiring from his very dangers greater splendour than before, by the favour of God to him. So he prepared for the reception of Caesar, for he was going out to Syria to invade Egypt; and when he came, he entertained him at Ptolemais with all royal magnificence. He also bestowed presents on the army, and brought them provisions in abundance. He also proved to be one of his most especial friends, and put the army in array, and rode along with Caesar, and had a hundred and fifty men, well appointed in all respects, after a rich and sumptuous manner, for the better reception of Caesar, and for his greater security, he was with them that they should want, as they passed over the dry desert, insomuch that they lacked neither wine nor water, which last the soldiers stood in the greatest need of, and besides, he presented Caesar with eight hundred talents, and procured to himself the good-will of them all, because he was assisting to them in a much greater and more splendid degree than the kingdom he had obtained could afford, by which means he more and more was attached to Caesar for his friendship, and his readiness to assist him; and what was the greatest advantage to him was this, that his liberality came at a seasonable time also: and when they returned again out of Egypt, his assistance were nowy inferiour to the good offices he had formerly done them."
that he was in this temper with regard to Marianne, as he was ready to account for their imprisonment, and that they had no power over any thing, either of others or of their own affairs, they were very uneasy; and Marianne, supposing that the king's love to her was but her own, and that he had mistreated, as advan-
ged to himself, than real, she looked upon it as fallacious. She also was grieved that he would not allow her any hopes of surviving him, if he should come to any harm himself. She also re-
corded that he had commanded her to keep him company to Joseph, insomuch that she endeavored to please her keepers, and especially Bohemus, as well apprized how all was in his power. And at the first Bohemus was faithful to Herod, and neg-lects himself, in the hope of the thing's being held in charge; but when the women, by kind words and liberal presents, had gained his affections over to them, he was by degrees overcome, and at length discovered to them all the king's in-
justices, and this on that account principally, that he did not so much, as hope he would come back with the same authority he had had before, so that he thought he should both escape any dan-
gers that might arise, and supposed that he did hereby much gratify the women, who were likely not to be overlooked in the settling of the government, nay, that they would be able to make him abund-
ant recompence, since they must either reign themselves or be very near to him that should succeed the reign. He had a further ground of hope also, that though Herod should have all the success he could wish for, and should return again, he could not contradict his wife in what she desired, for he knew that the king's favor to her was inexpressible. These were the motives that drew Bohemus to discover what injudications had been given him. So Marianne was greatly dis-
pelled to hear that there was no end of the dan-
gers that she was threatened with from Herod, and was by this in such an uneasiness at it, and wished he might obtain no favours [from Caesar,] and esteemed it almost an insupportable task to live with him any long-
e; and this she afterward openly declared, with-
out restraint in her resentment. 2.

And now Herod sailed home with joy, at the unexpected good success he had had, and went first of all, as was proper, to this his wife, and told her, and her only, the good news, as pres-
ted it to him, before the rest, on account of his fondness for her, and the intimacy that had been between them, and saluted her; but so it happened, that as he told her of the good suc-
cess she was so far from rejoicing and it, that she rather was sorry for it; nor was she able to conceal her resentments; but, depending on her dignity, and the nobility of her birth, in return for his salutations she gave a groan, and declared evidently that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success; and this till Herod was disturbed at her, as affording him not only marks of her suspicion, but evident signs of her dis-
satisfaction. This much troubled him, to see that he was misjudged of; that he was not concealed, but open; and he took this so ill, and yet was so unable to bear it, on account of the fondness he had for her, that he could not continue long in any one mind; but sometimes was rebellious to her, and sometimes reconciled him-
to her; but by always changing one passion for another, he was still in great uncertainty. And thus was he entangled between hatred and love, and was frequently disposed to inflict punish-
ishment on her for her insensibility towards him; but being deeply in love with her in his soul, he was not able to get quit of this woman. In short, as he would gladly have her punished, so was he afraid lest, ere he were aware, he should, by punish-
ing her, prick death, bring a heavy punishment upon himself at the same time.

3. When Herod's sister and mother perceived

* Whereas Marianne is here represented as accompany-
ing Herod with the murder of her father [Alexander] as well as her brother [Aristobulus], while it was her grand
proached her daughter in the hearing of all the people; and cried out, that "she had been an ill woman and ungrateful to her husband, and that her punishment came justly upon her, for such her insolent behaviour, for that she had not made proper return to him, who had been the common benefactor." And when she had for some time acted after this hypocritical manner, and been so outrageous as to tear her hair, this indecent and dissembling behaviour, as was to be expected, was most sincerely disowned by the king before the spectators, as it was principally by the poor woman who was to suffer; for at the first she gave her not a word, nor was discomposed at her peevishness, and only looked at her; yet when, out of a great desire to concern for her mother's offence, and especially for her exposing herself in a manner so unbecoming her; but as for herself, she went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the colour of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life.

6. And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature, yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her spirit and disposition, and therefore arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgent to herself, she was not so to others, nor could she spare her fondness to her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most affected her was, what he had done to her relations; and she ventured out of all thing only by his kindness, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments.

7. But when she was once dead, the king's affections for her were kindled in a more outrageous manner than before, whose old passion for her we have already described; and to her was now added a new one, namely, such as we usually meet with among other husbands, for at its commencement it was of an enthusiastic kind, nor was it by their long solitation, and free conversation that he was tempted to manage; but it at this time his love to Mariamne seemed to seize him in such a peculiar manner, as looked like divine vengeance upon him for the taking away her life, for he would frequently call for her, and frequently lament, for her in a most indecent manner. Moreover, he betought him of every thing he could make use of to divert his mind from thinking of her, and contrived feasts and assemblies for that purpose, but nothing would satisfy her; he therefore laid aside the administration of public affairs, and was so far conquered by his passion, that he would order his servants to call for Mariamne, as if she were still alive, and could still hear them. And when he was in this manner, there arose their calamity, which carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends, and made all men suspect that this was brought upon them by the anger of God, for the king's iniquity. And now the king, by his former boldness, and this after a very indocent manner: for out of her desire to show how entirely ignorant she was of the crimes laid against Mariamne, she leaped out of her place, and re-

Such Herzyman, and not her father Alexander, whom he accused to be slain, (as Josephus himself informs us, ch. vi. sect. 4.) we ought either take Zama's reading, which is here wrongly quoted, or else we must, as before, ch. i. sect. 1., allow a slip of Josephus's pen, ex entering the place before.
ANTiquities of the Jews.

his grief there many days before he fell into a most dangerous distemper himself: he had an inflammation upon him, and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with madness; and for the remedies that were used, they did him no good at all, but proved contrary to his disease, and his strength brought him to despair. All the physicians also that were about him, partly because the medicines they brought for his recovery could not at all conquer the disease, and partly because he was obstinate in his disorder, and sickly and sickly, and sickly, they all inclined him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and determined him to fortune. And thus dide his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called Sebasti.

3. Now Alexandra abode at this time in Jerusalem, and being informed what condition Herod was in, and having knowledge of the fortified places that were about the city, which were two, the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple; and those that could get them: into their hands had the whole power over their poorest subjects; without the command of them it was not possible to offer their sacrifices, and to think of leaving off those sacrifices, is to every Jew plainly impossible, who are still more ready to lose their lives than to lose their whole power in the liberty of divine worship, which they have been wont to pay unto God. Alexandra, therefore, discoursed with those that had the keeping of these strong holds, that it was proper for them to deliver the same to her, and to Herod's sons, lest, either, in their possession, they might be the resource she was not able to seize upon the government; and that upon his recovery none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family. These words were not by them all taken in good part; and after the death of her mother, they resolved to continue so more than ever, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they thought it a sort of impiety to deliver the city and the kingdom of Herod, on his recovery, which way it was, he was yesternight alive, for they had been his old friends; and one of them, whose name was Achiabos, was his cousin-german. They sent messengers, therefore, to acquaint him with Alexandra's design; and that he was ready at any distance to deliver the kingdom, and the power; to have her slain; yet was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely affected both in mind and body, and made very unskilful answer to them, and laid every occasion of inflicting punishment upon those that fell under his hand. He also slew the most intimate of his friends, Costobarus, and Lysimachius, and Gadidas, who was also called Antipater; and also Dositheus, and those that followed him upon his recovery, out of the city.

9. Costobarus was an Idumenean by birth, and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeneans had [formerly] esteemed as a nation under the power of the Pharisees by their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law. Herod made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife; and this was upon his slaughter of [his uncle] Joseph, who had had that government before, as we have related already. When Costobarus had gotten to be so highly advanced, it pleased him, and was more than he hoped for, and he was more and more puffed up by his good success, and in a little while he exceeded all bounds, and did not think fit to obey what Herod, as their ruler, commanded him, or that the Idumeneans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumeneans had been always under his progenitors, and that for the same reason it was not fit for them to be subject to Herod. The queen of Cappadocia, inclining him to, desired him to eat whatever he had a mind to, and so left the small hopes they had of his recovery in the power of that diet, and determined him to fortune. And thus did his distemper go on while he was at Samaria, now called Sebasti.

10. But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, because he used to bring the Jews to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away. Herod, seeing Salome did not follow the laws of her country, but the law of her authority, and so denounced her wedlock; and told her brother Herod, that she left her husband out of her good will to him, because she received that he be his Antipater, and Lysimachus, and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him: as an evidence whereof, she alleged the case of the sons of Babas, that they had been by him preserved alive otherwise, and had been put to death. And in order thereto he was proved to be true. But when Herod thus unexpectedly heard of it, he was greatly surprised at it, and was the more surprised, because the relation appeared incredible to him. As for the former case, it was found that the sons of Babas, formerly taken great pains to bring them to punishment, as being enemies to his government, but they were now forgotten by him, on account of the length of time since he had ordered them to be slain. Now, the cause of his ill-will and hatred to them arose hence, that while Antigonus was king, Herod with his army besieged the city of Jerusalem, where the distress and miseries which the besieged endured were so pressing, that they resolved to surrender to Antigonus, whose name was Costobarus, and to become his vassals. But at last he was persuaded to give up the city, and to give up the kingdom, and to attach himself to Antigonus, and Herod, and encouraged the people to preserve the government to that royal family which held it by inheritance of Christianity. Now this Babas, who was one of the race of the Ammonites of Maccabees, as the latter end of this section informs us, is related by the Jews, as Dr. Hudson here mentions, that he was the son of Laodamos. This is the same as that of the Book of the Maccabees, with this exception, that the latter has it that the reason of his coming to Jerusalem was to offer a sacrifice for his sins of ignorance; and that he was made a sacrifice of such a sort as to make him a sacrifice of the Jewish law, which he did not do.
So these men acted thus politically, and, as they thought, for their own advantage; but when the city was taken, and Herod had gotten the government into his own hands, and Costobaurus was appointed to hinder men from passing out of the gates, and to guard the city, that those citizens that were guilty, and of the party opposite to the king, might not get out of it, Costobaurus became so conceited of his own respect and honour by the whole multitude, and supposing that their preservation might be of great advantage to him in the changes of government afterward, he set them by themselves, and increased their observances, in order to hide; when the thing was suspected, he assured Herod upon oath that he really knew nothing of that matter, and so overcame the suspicions that lay upon him; by which means he might be able to propose a reward for the discovery, and had put in practice all sorts of methods, for searching out this matter, he would not confess it, but being persuaded that when he had at first denied it, if the charge came out, he would be unpunished, he was forced to keep them secret, not only out of his good-will to them, but out of necessity with regard to his own preservation also: but when the king knew the thing, by his sister's information, he had the intimation they were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were now none at all of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and no more of Costobaurus, but in the king's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

CHAP. VIII.

How Ten Men of the Citizens [of Jerusalem] made a Conspiracy against Herod, for the foreign Practices he had introduced, which was a Transgression of the Laws of their Country, Concerning the building of Sebaste and Cæsarea, and other Edifices of Herod.

§ 1. On this account it was that Herod revolted from the laws of his country, and gave up their ancient constitution, by the introduction of foreign practices, which constitution yet ought to have been preserved inviolate; by which means we became guilty of great wickedness afterward; but when the king had taken the multitude to piety, were now neglected: for, in the first place, he appointed solemn games to be celebrated every fifth year, in honour of Cæsar, and built a theatre at Jerusalem, and other places, and a temple in the same manner, as a plain. Both of them were indeed costly works, but opposite to the Jewish notions; for we have had no such shows delivered down to us as fit to be used or exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner. He also made proclamation to the neighbouring countries, and called men together out of every nation. The wrestlers also, and the rest of those that strove for the prize, were by the king's pleasure made matter of sport and delight to these men of Cæsar's land, both by the hopes of the rewards there to be bestowed, and by the glory of victory to be there gained. So the principal persons that were the most eminent in these sorts of exercises, were gotten together, for there were very great rewards for victory proposed, not only to those that performed their exercises naked, but to those that played as musicians also, and were called Thymelicis; and he spared no pains to induct all persons, the most famous for such exercises, to come to this contest for victory. He also proposed no small rewards for those who ran for the prizes in chariot races, when these were drawn by two, or three, or four pair of horses. He also imitated everything, though ever so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most pleasing demonstrations of the greatness of his kingdom, as also of the great actions of Cæsar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself; nor there was any thing too great to be reserved to his devotion, whether it were precious garments or precious stones set in order, which was not also exposed to sight in these games. He had also made a great preparation in this point, he called to himself those men of the highest estimation, and of high position in the city, in such sort as had themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight one with another, or that men who were curious might come and see them. And truly foreigners were greatly surprised and delighted at the vastness of the expenses here exhibited, and at the great dangers that were there seen; but to natural Jews, who were not of another nation, this was no other than a great abomination of the king's own power, and there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws.

2. Nor was Herod unacquainted with the disturbance they were under; and as he thought it unreasonable to use violence with them, so he spoke to some of them by way of consolation, and in order to free them from that superstition that they were in danger: yet could not he satisfy them, but they cried out with one accord, out of their great uneasiness at the offences they thought he had been guilty of, that although they should think of bearing all the rest, yet would they never bear images of Cæsar, and refused to receive his trophies, because this was disagreeable to the laws of their country. Now when Herod saw them in such a disorder, and that they would not easily change their resolution unless they received some rewards, he took care to give them the most eminent men among them, and brought them upon the theatre, and showed them the trophies, and asked them, what sort of things they took these trophies to be and when they cried out, that they were the images of men, he gave order that they should be stripped of these outward ornaments which were about them, and showed them the naked pieces of wood; which pieces of wood, now without any ornament, became more precious in his eyes, and brought much more to those because they had before always the ornaments of images themselves in derision.

3. When therefore Herod had thus got clear of the multitude, and had dissipated the vexation of passion under which they had been, the greatest part of the people were disposed to change their conduct, and not to be displeased at him any longer; but still some of them continued in their displeasure against him for his introduction of...
new customs, and esteemed the violation of the laws of their country as likely to be the origin of very great mischief to them, so that they deemed it an instance of piety rather to hazard themselves (to be put to death) than to seem as if they were in notice of Herod, who, upon the change in their government, introduced such customs, and that in a violent manner, which they had never been used to before; as indeed in presence a king, but in reality one that showed himself a servant of the people to their whole nation; on which occasion ten men that were citizens of Jerusalem conspired together against him, and swore to one another to undergo any dangers in the attempt, and took daggers with them under their garments. [As for the purpose of the thing, as that which was the concern of the country and the city in arms. Now there was a certain blind man among those conspirators, who had thus sworn one to another, on account of the indignation he had against such work, that he had been done; he was not indeed able to afford the rest any assistance in the undertaking, but was ready to undergo any suffering with them, if so be they should come to any harm, insomuch, that he became a very great matter of the rest of the undertakers.

4. When they had taken this resolution, and that by common consent, they went into the theatre, hoping that, in the first place, Herod himself would not escape them, as they should fall upon him unexpectedly and surprising, however, that if they missed him, they should fill a great many of those that were about him, and this resolution they took, though they should die for it, in order to suggest to the king the weight of the injuries he had done the multitude, the conspirators, therefore, standing thus prepared beforehand, went about their design with great alacrity; but there was one of those spies of Herod, that were appointed for such purposes, to fish out and inform the king, and the conspirators made against him, who found out the whole affair, and told the king of it, as he was about to go into the theatre. So when he reflected on the hatred which he knew the greatest part of the people bare him, and on the disturbances that have upon every occasion, he thought this plot against him not to be immoveable. Accordingly, he retired into his palace, and called those that were accused of this conspiracy before him by their several names; and as they were falling into a great passion; that what they intended to do was not for gain, or out of any indulgence to their passions, but principally for those common customs of their country which all the Jews were obliged to observe, or to die for them. This is what they made said, out of their undaunted courage in this conspiracy. So they were led away to execution by the king's guards that stood about them, and patiently underwent all the tortures inflicted on them till they died. Nor was it less fortunate that the man who had done them was seized on by some of the people, out of the hatred they bore to him, and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces limb from limb, and given to the dogs. This execution was seen by the multitude of the citizens, yet they did not one of them discover the doers of it, till upon Herod's making a strict scrutiny after them, by bitter and severe tortures, certain women that were tortured, confessed that what they had seen done; the authors of which fact were so terrified, as not to be perceived by the king, that their entire families were destroyed for this rash attempt; yet did not the obstinacy of the people, and that undaunted constancy they showed in the defence of their laws, make Herod any easier to them, but he still strengthened himself after a more secure manner, and resolved to encompass the multitudes every way, lest such innovations should end in an open rebellion.

So in the first place, he had now the city fortified by the palace in which he lived, and by the temple, which had a strong fortress by it, called Antonia, and was rebuilt by himself, he contrived to make Samaria a fortress for himself also against all the nation; he then, over against this province, supposing that this place would be a strong hold against the country, not inferior to the former. So he fortified that place, which was a day's journey distant from Jerusalem, and which is the place where Herod the Great built the city of the country and the city in awe. He also built another fortress for the whole nation; it was of old called Strato's Tower, but was by him named Cesarea. Moreover, he chose out some select citizens, and placed them there, and built [for them] a place in Galilee, called Gaba, with Hesebonitis, in Perea. And these were the places which he particularly built, while he was always inventing somewhat farther and nearer to the kingdom of the whole nation with guards, that they might by so means get from under his power, nor fall into tumults, which they did continually upon any occasion, their hatred was such to him; and that if he had any commotions he might know of it, while some of his spies might be upon them from the neighbouring bourough, and might both be able to know what they were attempting, and to prevent it. And besides all this, he built the city of Samaria, and called it Sebaste. Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants of Samaria, that they might be in a happy condition, upon their first visit to it; Before this, while it Sebaste compassed the city with a wall of great strength, and made use of the acclivity of the place for making its fortifications stronger; nor was the place made not so small as it had been before, but was such as rendered it not inferior to the most famous cities; for it was twenty furlongs in circumference. Now, within and about the middle of it he built a sacred place, of a furlong and a half [in circuit,] and adorned it with all sorts of decorations, and therein erected a temple, which was illustrious on account of both its largeness and beauty. And as to the several parts of the city, he adorned them with decorations of all sorts also; and to what was necessary to provide for his own security, he made the walls very strong for that purpose, and made it, for the greatest part, a citadel; and as to the elegance of the buildings, He took care of that; that he might leave monuments of the fineness of his taste, and of his beneficence, to future ages.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Fiumine that happened in Judea and Samaria; and how Herod, after he had murdered his Brother Philip, reared Caesarea, and other Grecian Cities.

§ 1. Now on this very year, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, very great calamities came upon the country; whether they were derived from the anger of God; or whether this misery returns again naturally in certain
periods of time; for in the first place there were perpetual droughts, and for that reason the ground was barren, and did not bring forth the same annual fruits that it used to produce; and after this barreness of the soil, that change of food which the want of corn occasioned, produced distempers in the bodies of men, and a pestilential disease prevailed, one misery following another. In these circumstances, that they were destitute both of methods of curing and of food, made the pestilential distemper, which began after a violent manner, the more lasting, and dangerous, and at the same time, so that the necessity of their own food, by being more frequent, sufficed for themselves, but to make daily provision for their meat, they made this provision for them, that the bakers should make their bread ready for them. He also took care that they might not be hurt by the dangers of winter, since they knew they were in great want of both. For by reason of the utter destruction and consumption of their sheep and goats, till they had no wool to make use of, nor any thing else to cover themselves with, or any other refreshment; so, besides these things for his own subjects, he went farther in order to provide necessaries for their neighbours, and gave seed to the Syrians, which thing turned greatly to his own advantage also, their changeable nature so, he had been used to forebear to provide seasonably to their fruitful soil, so that every one had now a plentiful provision of food. Upon the whole, when the harvest of the land was approaching, he sent no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he had in the open field, beforehand was spent, there was no foundation of hope for relief remaining, but the misery, contrary to what they expected, still increased upon them; and this not only in that year, while they had no food, and no water, but what seed they had sown perished also, by reason of the ground not yielding its fruits on the second year. This distress they were in made them also, out of necessity, to eat many things they used not to eat, and of others which cost him, in getting himself free from this distress any more than other men, as being deprived of that tribute he used to have from the fruits of the ground, and having already expended what money he had, and on the kingdom not being able to supply what he had built; nor had he any people who were worthy of his assistance, since this miserable state of things had procured him the hatred of his subjects, for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.

2. In these circumstances he considered with himself how to procure some seasonable help; but this was but one thing to be done, while their neighbours had no food for all their money also was gone, had it been possible to purchase a little food at a great price. However, he thought it his best way, by all means, not to leave off his endeavours to 1st a help of it, so he cut off the rich furniture that was in his palace, both of silver and gold, insomuch that he did not spare the finest vessels he had, or those that were made with the most elaborate skill of the art of table, came into the use of all men, who had been made prefect of Egypt by Caesar; and not a few had already fled to him under their necessities, and as he was particularly a friend to Herod, and desirous to have his subjects preserved from want, he thought it fit to change the place to export corn, and assisted them every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same, so that he was the principal, if not the only person, who afforded them what help they had. And Herod taking care the people should understand that this help came from himself, did thereby not only remove from him the ill opinion of those that formerly hated him, but gave them the greatest demonstration possible of his good-will to his people, for he was very desirous to find a place, as for those who were able to provide their own food, he distributed them their proportion of corn in the most manner, but for those many that were not able, either by reason of the great want of clothes also; then from Joseph, the governor of Egypt, under Pharaoh king of Egypt, and now from Petronius the prefect of Egypt, under Augustus the Roman emperor. See almost the like case, Antioch, B. xvi. ch. ii. sect. 6. It is also well worth our observation here, that these two years were a Sabbatical year, and that since they were in great want of clothing also; and from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be. 3. About this time it was that he sent five hundred chosen men out of the guards of his body as auxiliaries to Caesar, whom ΕΠΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΡΚΑΣΣΕΝ, and who were of great service to him there. When therefore his affairs were thus in a flourishing condition, he built himself a palace in the

* Here we have an eminent example of the language of Josephus in his writing to Gentiles, different from that when he wrote to Jews; in his writing to whom he still derives all such judgments from the anger of God; but begins upon the back of another; and the circumstancs naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the above sentence. See the note on the War, B. i. ch. 1. Lasting.

† This famine that for two years affected Judea and Syria, the 13th and 14th years of Herod, which are the 23d and 24th years before the Christian era, seems to have been upon the back of another: and the circumstancs naturally come in certain periods, he complies with them in the above sentence. See the note on the War, B. i. ch. 1. Lasting.

‡ This ΕΠΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΡΚΑΣΣΕΝ seems to be or rather than ΕΠΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΡΚΑΣΣΕΝ, whom the speaks of as conducting an expedition to Africa, that was about this time, sending to Petaviius, who is here cited by Strabo. See a full account of this expedition in Plians, in the years 20 and 21.
upper city, raising the rooms to a very great height, and adorning them with the most costly furniture of gold, and marble seats and beds, and these were so large, that they could contain many companies of men. These apartments were also of distinct magnificence, and had particular names given them, for one apartment was called Caesar's, another Agrippa's. He also fell in love again, and married another wife, not suffering his reason to hinder him in living as he pleased. The occasion of this his marriage was as follows: there was one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of one Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there: this man had a daughter, who was very beautiful, and the most beautiful woman of that time; and when the people of Jerusalem began to speak much in her commendation, it happened that Herod was much affected with what was said of her; and when he saw that she pleased himself with her, and that he yet did he entirely reject the thoughts of using his authority to abuse her, as believing, what was the truth, that by so doing he should be stigmatized for violence and tyranny; so he thought it best to be cautious of her, not to mistreat her wife. And, little Simon was of a dignity too inferior to be allied to him, but still too considerable to be despised, he governed his inclinations after the most prudent manner, by augmenting the dignity of the family, and augmenting the same, for he augmented it in manner of a very daintily deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him, by marrying his daughter.

And when the building was over, he built another citadel in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government, and Antigonus enjoyed it. This citadel is distant from Jerusalem about three or four furlongs; it was strong but not suitable for such a building. It is a sort of a moderate hill, raised to a farther height by the hand of man, till it was of the shape of a man's breast. It is encompassed with seven towers, with having a strait ascent up to it, which ascent is composed of steps of polished stones, in number two hundred. Within it are royal and very rich apartments, of a straitness and arrangement that provided both for security and beauty. About this citadel there are habitations of such a structure as are well worth seeing, both on other accounts, and also on account of the water, which is brought thither from a great way off, and at vast expenses, for the security of water. The plain that is about this citadel is full of edifices, not inferior to any city in largeness, and having the hill above it in the nature of a castle.

And now, when all Herod's designs had succeeded according to his hopes, he had got the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom, because he kept his people obedient, as well by the fear they stood in of him, for he was in the inflexion of his powers, and in the full vigour of his strength. He had shewed great kindness towards them, after the most magnanimous manner, when they were under their distresses; but still he took care to have external security for his government as a fortress against his objects; for the orations he made to the cities were very fine, and full of kindness, and he cultivated a seasonable good understanding with their governors, and bestowed presents on every one of them, inducing them thereby to be more friendly to him, and using his magnificent dispositions, so as his kingdom might be the better secured to him, and this till all his affairs were every way more and more augmented. But this was insignificant in the matter of his acts, and by building cities after an extravagant manner, and erecting temples, not in Judea indeed, for that would not have been borne, it being forbidden for us to pay any honour to images, or the Greeks, but still he did thus in the country (properly) out of our bounds, and in the cities thereof. The apology which he made to the Jews for these things was this, that all was done, not by himself, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Caesar and the Romans, as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye as he had the honour of those Romans, while yet he had none of the others. And he imposed himself to be so great and so bold, as indeed was very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity; whence it was that he was so zealous in building such fine cities, and spent such vast sums of money upon them.

6. Now, upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent citadel, and many edifices with great diligence all over it, and this of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and, what was the greatest and most labourious of all, he adorned it with a haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyreneum [at Athens], and had towards the city a double station for the ships lying within the haven. And this was the more remarkable for its being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was to be brought to perfection by materials from other places, and at very great expense. He was on this account, in the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station, but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and to provide for the safety of the ships that might be sufficient for a haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety; and this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet

One may here take notice, that how tyrannical and extravagant soever Herod was in himself, and in his Grecian cities, as to those plays, and shows, and spectacles for idolatry mentioned above, ch. vii. &c. T. and here also, not durst even he introduce very few of them into the cities of the Jews, who, as Josephine here notes, would not even hear of any such idolatries; but what he did introduce, was only the way of the laws of Moses, even under so tyrannical a government as this was of Herod the Great; which tyrannical government stood only in the name of beast Pri- xenuse's honest reduction upon the like ambitious, after such a tyrannical power in Pompey and Caesar. "One of the statesmen of the year 60," (could not bear as equal, see the other superior;) and through the ambitious hu- man, and thir is after more power in those two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite fac-

ations there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it; and the lake fly too much relates in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without entertaining the civil rights of each other, for the vengency of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; for now quiet they are in this; and they, leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrell with each other, they involve all that are under them in that civil war; and the civil war is forever yearly perished by it; so that it may almost raise a doubt whether the benefit which the world receives from government be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and misadventures of those that manage it."
as length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep, and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the hand of his own workmen, and with the help of the half sunken towers of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymania, or the first breaker of the waves, but the other two had no name, nor any cock of the half sunken towers, the largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Caesar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where shipping docked before there were also before them a quay or landing-place, which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise; but the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillness of the winds of all in this place; and the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a road no less than 200 cubits broad, which was made very strong, in order to resist the greatest waves, while on the right hand, as you enter, stood two vast stones, and those each of them larger than the turret, which was over against them: these stood upright, and they were so large, that there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, wherein was erected a temple, that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for the port, and made and made more visible by the waves rolling together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city, and washed it all clean. Herod also built therein a theatre of stone; and on the south quarter of the haven, there was a capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. So this city was thus finished in twelve years; during which time the king did not fail to go on better, his works, and to pay the charges that were necessary.

CHAP. X.

How Herod sent his Sons to Rome; how also he was accused by Zenodorus, and the Gadderens, but was cleared of what they accused him of, and withal gained to himself the good-will of Caesar. Concerning the Pharisees, the Essenes, and Manahem.

§ 1. When Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebastos [Samaria], he resolved to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome, to enjoy the exercise of their rights, and to study what it was necessary for them to do, lodged at the house of Pollio, who was very fond of Herod's friendship; and they had leave to lodge in Caesar's own palace, for he received the sons of Herod with all humanity, and Herod with Herod with a very generous hand, of which he was pleased; and, besides all this, he bestowed on him Trachon, and Batanea, and Auranitis, which he gave him on the occasion following: one Zenodorus had hired what was called the house of Lysanias, who, as he was not satisfied with its revenues, became a partner with the robbers that inhabited the Trachonitis, and so procured himself a larger income; for the inhabitants of those places lived in a mad way, and pillaged the country of the Damaecenes, while Zenodorus did not restrain them, but par took of their booty from them. All the neighbouring people were hereby great sufferers, they complained to Varro, who was then president [of Syria] and entertained him to write to Caesar about this injustice of Zenodorus. When these matters were reported, Varro was sent back to Varro to destroy those nests of robbers, and to give the land to Herod, that by his care the neighbouring countries might be no longer disturbed with these deceitful inhabitants of the Trachonitis, for it was not an easy thing to restrain them, since this way of robbery had been their usual practice, and they had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession, but only to make receptacles and dens in the earth, and there they and their cattle lived in common together. However, they had made contrivances to get pools of water, and laid up corn in granaries for themselves, and made great store of quickly, by issuing out on the sudden against any that attacked them; for the entrances of their caves were narrow, in which but one could come in at a time, and the places within incredibly large, and made caves in the sides; besides, their habitations was not very high, but rather on a plain, while the rocks are altogether hard and difficult to be entered upon, unless any one gets into the plain road by the guidance of another, and those are not so many that they can make no revolutions. But when these men are hindered from their wicked preying upon their neighbours, their custom is to pray upon another, insomuch that no sort of justice comes amiss to them. But when Herod had received this grant from Caesar, and was come into this country, he procured skillful guides, and put a stop to their wicked robberies, and procured peace and quietness to the neighbouring people.

2. Herod was extremely grieved, in the first place, because his principality was taken away from him, and still more so, because he envied Herod, who had gotten it; so he went up to Rome to accuse him, but returned without any success. 

[about this time] sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian sea, upon whom Herod lit when he was wintering about Mitylene, for he had been his particular friend and companion, and then returned into Judea again. However, some of the Gadderens came to Agrippa, and accused Herod, whom he sent back bound to the king without giving them the hearing; but some of the Arabians, who of old bar had come to Herod's government, were nettled, and at that time attempted to raise a sedition in his dominions, and as they thought upon a more justifiable occasion: for Zenodorus, desiring alms, came with a number of persons to him to lend him some money [his enemies,] by selling to those Arabians a part of his principality, called Auranitis, for the value of fifty talents; but as this was included in the donations of Caesar, they contested the point with Herod: and Herod in the end, by reason that he had bought. Sometimes they did this by making incursions upon him, and sometimes by attempt-

sect. 4, but Antonius Pollio the Roman, as Saphaneus here observes.

[The character of this Zenodorus is so like that of a famous robber called Orestes, a name in Wreth, and they are both very strong, and about this very time also, that I think Dr. Hudson hardly needed to have put a passage to his determinations that they were the same.
ing force against him, and sometimes by going to law with him. Moreover, they persuaded the poorer soldiers to help them, and were troublesome to him, out of a constant hope that they should seduce the people to raise a sedition; in which designs those that are in the most miserable circumstances of life, are still the most zealous, and although Herod had been a great while apprized of these attempts, yet did not he indulge any severity to them, but by rational methods aimed to mitigate things, as not willing to make himself notorious for tumults. 3. Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Galilee clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injections, and thence took away the honours. They reproached they mainly ventured upon by the encouragement of Zenodorus, who took his oath that he would never leave Herod till he had procured that they should be severed from Herod's kingdom, and joined to Caesar's province. The Galareans were induced hereby, and made no small cry against him, and that the more boldly, because those that had been delivered up by Antipas were not punished by Herod, who let them go, and did them no harm, for indeed he was the principal man in the world who appeared almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the others. Thus they were committed elsewhere. And while they accused Herod of injuries, and plunderings, and subversion of temples, he stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence. However, Caesar gave him his right hand, and remitted nothing of his kingdom to him, upon this disturbance by the multitude; and indeed those things were alleged the first day, but the hearing proceeded no further; for as the Galareans saw the inclination of Caesar and of his associate, and expected, as the best reason to do that they should be delivered up to the king, some of them, out of a dread of the torments they might undergo, cut their own throats in the night-time, and some of them threw themselves down precipices, and others of them cast themselves into the river, and destroyed themselves of their own accord; which accidents seemed a sufficient condemnation of the rashness and crimes they had been guilty of: whereupon Caesar commanded the nearest Herod from the crimes he was accused of. Another happy accident there was, which was a further advantage to Herod at this time; for Zenodorus's belly was the great quantity of blood issued from him in his sickness and decay, and when he departed this life at Antioch in Syria; so Caesar bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulath, and Panias, and the country round about. He also made him one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do every thing with his approbation; and, in short, he arrived at that pitch of felicity, that which was before two years and that he governed of the vast Roman empire, first Caesar, and then Agrippa, who was his principal favourite; Caesar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod; and when Caesar had acquired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy* for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he could not be born himself, his heir might be born in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus's country, near the place where Caesar was born. This is a very fine cave in a mountain, under which there is a great cavity in the earth, and the cavern is abrupt, and prodigiously deep, and full of a still water, over it hangs a vast mountain; and under the cavern there is a spring of water, which adored this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further, by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar. 4. At which time Herod released to his subjects those who had fled from them for taxes, upon a just concise instead of relieving them, after the death they had had; but the main reason was, to recover their good-will, which he now wanted, for they were uneasy at him, because they had been exposed to all the inconveniences of the dissolution of their religion, and of the disuse of their own customs; and the people everywhere talked against him, like those that were still more provoked and disturbed at his procedure: against which discontent he greatly guarded himself, and took away the opportunities they might have to disturb him, and enjoined them to be always at work, nor did he permit the citizens either to come to market, or to go out of their houses, watched every thing they did, and when any were caught they were severely punished, and many there were who were brought to the citadel Hycranias, both openly and secretly, and banished under a very great tax. He made it every where, both in the city and in the roads, who watched those that met together; nay, it is reported, that he did not himself neglect this part of caution, but that he would oftentimes himself take the leads of a kind of pursuit among the multitude, in the night-time, and make trial what opinion they had of his government; and as for those that could now be reduced to a pursuance under his scheme of govern ment, he made no scruple to do it, but in the midst of ways, but for the rest of the multitude, he required that they should be obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him, and at the same time compelled them to swear that they would bear him good-will, and continue certainly to do, in his management the government; and indeed a great part of them, either to please him, or out of fear of him, yielded to what he required of them; but for such as were of a more open and generous disposition, he was far from being angry at them; he by one means or other made away with them. He endeavoured also to persuade Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and the greatest part of their scholars, to take the oath; but they would not; for the law commanded them to do it; and when they were punished togeth er with the rest, out of the reverence he bore to Pollio. The Essenes also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same sort of life as those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans, concerning whom I shall discourse more fully elsewhere. However, it is but fit to set down here the reasons wherefore Herod had these Essenes in such favour, because it is a mark of an upright and moral nature required; nor will this account be unsuitable to the nature of this history, as it will show the opinion men had of these Essenes. 5. Now there was one of these Essenes, whose name was Aremas; and when he had acc quired such freedom, he begged of Caesar a tetrarchy* for his brother Pheroras, while he did himself bestow upon him a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own kingdom, that in case he could not be born himself, his heir might be born in safety, and that his sons might not have dominion over him. So when he had conducted Caesar to the sea, and was returned home, he built him a most beautiful temple of the whitest

* A tetrarchy properly and originally denoted the second part of an entire kingdom or country, or a fourth one was ruler of each a fourth part, which al...
his hand, and said, "However that be, thou wilt be king, and wilt reign like the kings of God finds thee worthy of it. And do thou remember the blows that Manahem hath given thee, as being a signal of the change of thy fortune. And truly this will be the best reasoning for thee, that thou wilt learn of the piety and piety towards God, and clemency towards thy citizens; yet do I know how thy whole conduct will be, that thou wilt not be such a one, for thou wilt excel all men in happiness, and obtain an exceeding honor and reputation, but all these things and righteousness; and these crimes will not be concealed from God, at the conclusion of thy life, when thou wilt find that he will be mindful of them, and punish thee for them." Now at this time Herod was attentive to what Manahem said, as having no hopes of such advancement; but a little afterward, when he was so fortunate as to be advanced to the dignity of king, and was in the height of his dominion, he sent for Manahem, and asked him, How long he should reign? Manahem did not tell him the full length of his reign, wherefore, upon that silence of his, he asked him further, Whether he should reign ten years, or not, he replied, "Yes, two hundred years, but I do not determine the just determinate limit of his reign. Herod was satisfied with these replies, and gave Manahem his hand, and dismissed him, and from that time he was more prosperous with, and trusted by, Herod. We have thought it proper to relate these facts to our readers, how strange sooner they be, and to declare what hath happened among us, because many of the Essenes have by their excellent virtue been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations.

CHAPTER XI.

How Herod rebuilt the Temple, and raised it higher, and made it more magnificent than it was before; as also concerning that Tower which he called Antonia.

§ 1. And now Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and after the acts already mentioned, undertook a very great work, that is, to build of himself the temple of God, and make it larger and raise it to a most magnificent altitude, as esteeming it to be the most glorious of all; and then to finish it to the perfection, and this would be sufficient for an everlasting memorial of him; but as he knew the multitude were not ready nor willing to assist him in his design, he thought to prepare those who were first by maturing the matter, and then set about the work itself; so he called them together, and spake thus to them: "I think I need not speak to you, my countrymen, about such other works as I have done since I came to the kingdom, although I may say they have been performed in such a manner as to bring more security to you than glory to myself; for I have neither been negligent in the most difficult times about what you receive from your territories. But I think, of all, the works I have made have been so proper to preserve me as yourselves from injuries; and I imagine that, with God's assistance, I have advanced the nation of the Jews to a degree of happiness which they never had before; and for the particular edifices belonging to your own country, and your own cities, that is, to have acquired, what we have erected and greatly adorned, and thereby augmented the dignity of your nation, it seems to me a needless task to enumerate them to you, since you well know them yourselves; but what I have in mind is, to have a mind to set about at present, and which will be a work of the greatest piety and excellence that can possibly be undertaken by us, I will now declare it to you. Our fathers indeed, when they came to the return to Babylon, built this temple to God Almighty, yet does it want sixty cubits of its largeness in altitude; for so much did that first temple which Solomon built exceed this temple; nor let any one condemn our fathers for their negligence or want of piety, for in it was not its fault that the temple was no higher; for they were Cyrus, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, who determined the measure for its rebuilding; and it hath been by reason of the subjection of those fathers of ours to them, and to their posterity, and after them to the Macedonians, that they had not the opportunity to follow the original model of this pious nation. It is true, it stands there, but since I am now, by God's will, in your government, and I have had peace a long time, and have gained great riches, and large revenues, and, what is the principal thing of all, I am at amity with the Romans, and under no necessity, if I may so say, are the rulers of the whole world, I will do my endeavour to correct that imperfection, which hath arisen from the necessity of our affairs, and the slavery we have been under formerly, and the fearful and most pious manner, to God, for what blessings I have received from him, by giving me this kingdom, and that by rendering his temple as complete as I am able." 2. And thus spake the speech which Herod made to them; but still this speech affrighted many of the people, as being unexpected by them; and, because it seemed incredible, it did not encourage them, but put a dam upon them, for they were afraid that he would put down the whole edifice, and not be able to bring his intentions to perfection for its rebuilding; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But with a heart full of kindness and disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them, "He would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely again." And he brought one of the priests before him, and told him, "I did not speak thus before you, but I did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and brought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stonecutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build, but this not till every thing was well prepared for the work."

§ 3. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which twenty, upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down; for some of our modern students in architecture have made a table, which (for the sake of things of their temples, the second temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews is, because the temple of Haggai, 2:6-9, which was a pound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zechariah's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be the easy, in continuous order, or merely mention, of coming to the fourth and last temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel. Where I take the former notion, how general severer, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 94.

We may here observe, that the fancy of the modern Jews, in calling this whole, which was really the third of their temples, the second temple, followed so long by later Christians, seems to be without any solid foundation. The reason why the Christians here follow the Jews is, because the temple of Haggai, 2:6-9, which was a pound of the Messiah's coming to the second or Zechariah's temple, of which they suppose this of Herod's to be the easy, in continuous order, or merely mention, of coming to the fourth and last temple, or to that future largest and most glorious one described by Ezekiel. Where I take the former notion, how general severer, to be a great mistake. See Lit. Accomp. of Proph. p. 94.

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and this part it was that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now, the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, each of which was twelve cubits, three cubits in height and eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were met the same height that the city was to the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height as the temple itself. The temple was adorned with embroidered vails, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crownwork, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fall, and the manorship of which was a surprising sight; to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a fine proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a workmanship by both the cloisters, which was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. The temple was built upon which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also encompassed the entire temple which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to the greatest height, and till both the largeness on the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron wedges, and pierced with iron bolts, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister, of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times. And round about the entire temple were fixed the aloes taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by hands, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arameans.  

4. Now on the north side of the temple was built a citadel, whose walls were square, and stood without the city, in military direction. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asmonean race, who were also high priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower, in which were reposed the vestments of the high priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments king Herod kept in that place, and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Caesar; under whose reign Vitellius, the emperor of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most warily received by the multitude, had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had showed him; so, upon their petition to have them restored, he sent to Tiberius Caesar, and wrote about them to Tiberius Caesar, who granted his request; and this their power over the sarcodical vestments continued with the Jews till the death of king Agrippa; but after that, Cæcilius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the Tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had for it was impossible it should reach any other there. And that these things were so, the cestions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence: but for the tower itself, when we began to build on the bottom, it was more firmly than before, in order to secure and gurd the temple, he fortified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.
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sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into one of these three did king Herod enter; for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the priests and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years.

6. But the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months: upon which all the people were full of joy; and presently they returned thanks, in the first place to God, and in the next place, for the alacrity the king had showed. They feasted, and celebrated this rebuilding of the temple: and, for the king, he sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, as did the rest, even to the nobility; the number of which sacrifices is not possible to be set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it: for at the same time with this celebration for the work about the temple, fell also the day of the king's inauguration, which he kept of an old custom as a festival, and it now coincided with the other, which coincidence of them both made the festival most illustrious.

7. There was also an occult passage, built for the king: it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate; over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subordinate ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings. It is also reported, that during the time that the temple was building, it did not rain in the daytime, but that the showers fell in the night, so that the workmen did not hinder the work, as though their fathers had delivered to us; nor is it incredible, if any one have regard to the manifestations of God. And thus was performed the work of the rebuilding of the temple.

BOOK XVI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWELVE YEARS—FROM THE FINISHING OF THE TEMPLE BY HEROD TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS.

CHAP. I.

A Law of Herod about Thieves. Salome and Pheraora columnate Alexander and Aristobulus upon their Return from Rome, for whom yet Herod provides Wives.

§ 1. As king Herod was very zealous in the administration of his entire government, and despising those who were the hereditary princes, which were done by criminals about the city and country, he made a law, noway like our original laws, and which he enacted of himself, to expose house-breakers to be ejected out of his kingdom; with which he inflicted another penalty upon those who were from this time to be borne out of the city by the offenders, but contained in it a dissolution of the customs of our forefathers; for this slavery to foreigners, and such as did not live after the manner of Jews, and the necessity that it was under to do, which service men should command, was an offence against our religious settlement, rather than a punishment to such as were found to have offended, such a punishment being voided in an original law; for those laws ordain, that the thief shall restore forthwith: and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor as that he be under perpetual slavery, for he must have been released after six years. But this law, thus enacted, in order to introduce a severe and illegal punishment, seemed to be a piece of insolence in Herod, when he did not act as a king, but as a tyrant, and thus contemptuously, and without any regard to his subjects, did he impose upon them this punishment. And in this penalty, thus brought into practice, was like Herod's other actions, and became a part of his accusation, and an occasion of the hatred he lay under.

2. Now at this time it was that he sailed to Italy, very desirous to meet with Caesar, and to see his sons who lived at Rome: and Caesar was not only very obliging to him in other respects, but delivered him his sons again, that he might live at home with him; and having already completed themselves in the sciences, but as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them, and they become acquainted among themselves, and as adorned with great blessings of fortune, and having the commandments of persons of royal
many that came to him, and obliged them by giving them royal gifts. And when he saw that his portico to the city was by no means, which, as it is now a图表 in the Mitridatic building, was a very large and fine building, so was it not so easy to rebuild that, as it was the rest; yet did he furnish a sum not only large enough for that purpose, but also for meeting with the expenses of finishing the building, and ordered them not to overlook that portico, but to rebuild it quickly, that so the city might recover its proper ornaments. And when the high winds were laid, he sailed to Athens. By journeying thither in winter he heard that Agrippa was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks, he made all the haste possible to overtake him, and came up with him about Sunope, in Pontus. He was seen sailing by the ships, he was most unexpectedly beheld, and to their great joy; and many friendly salutations there were between them, insomuch that Agrippa thought he had received the greatest marks of the king's kindness and humanity towards him possible, since the king had come so long a voyage, and at a very proper season, for his assistance, and had left the government of his own dominions, and thought it more worth his while to come to Alexander, to the king of Macedon, and to all Agrippa in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel as to particular matters. He was also a pleasant companion for him when he re- apered, and found himself in a joint participation in all things: in troubles, because of his kindness, and in prosperity, because of the respect Agrippa had for him. Now as soon as those affairs of Por- tus were finished, for whose sake Agrippa was sent out, they did not think it to return by sea, but passed through Paphlagonia and Cap- padocia; they then travelled thence over Great Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, and then they sailed from Ephesus to Samos. And indeed the king was more respected many better letters would that the king came to, according as they stood in need of them; for as for those that wanted either money or kind treatment, he was not wanting to them; but he supplied the former himself out of his own expenses: he also became an intercessor with Agrippa, for all such as came after his favour, and he brought things so about, that the petitioner- ers failed in none of their suits to him, Agrippa being himself a great person, and ready to grant all such requests as might be advantageous to the petitioner, provided they were not to the detriment of others. The inclination of the king was of great weight also, that the soldiers of the cities were ready to do good; for he made a reconciliation power between the people of Hebron, at whom he was he saw, and paid what money the people of Chios owed Caesar's procurators, and discharged them of their his gratitude, and the private of those which were with him, many presents; but King Herod he was contented with the king's doing; and he was the principal of those and this the king of Macedon was made haste; when Herod had before the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again so that Herod, as he had been engaged to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed from Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have over- taken Agrippa there, but he was taken short before he was, he ordered his men to be ready to go to the shore; so he continued many days at Chio, and there he kindly treated a great curiosity of the Jews. They soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome, the king's sister, and to such as had raised calumnies against Mariamne: for they were suspicious, that when these came to the government, they should be punished for the wickedness they had been guilty of against their mother: so they made this very fear of theirs a pretext to embitter the enmities against them also. They gave it out that they were not pleased with their father's company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear contrary to their mother's wishes. Now by carrying the bund, that they had indeed a true foundation in the fact, but were only built on probabilities as to the present accusation, they were able to do them mischief, and so make Herod to take away that kindness from him which he had had before borne to them, for they did not say these things to him openly, but scattered abroad such words among the rest of the multitude; from which words, when carried to Herod he was induced [at last] to hate them; and which natural affection itself, even in length of time, was not able to overcome; yet was the king at that time in a condition to prefer the natural affection of a father before all the suspicions which came upon his mind under so he respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for his wife Bernice, Salome's daughter, and to Alexander, the high priest, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

CHAPTER II.

How Herod twice sailed to Agrippa; and how, upon the Complaint of the Jews in Ionia against the Greeks, Agrippa confirmed the Laws of the Jews to them.

§ 1. When Herod had despatched these affairs, and he understood that Marcus Agrippa had sailed again out of Italy into Asia, he made haste to him, and besought him to come to him into his kingdom, and to partake of what he might justly esteem that had been his guest, and was his friend. This request he greatly pressed, and to it Agrippa agreed, and came into Judæa; whereupon Herod omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built city, and the king himself had built it, and he provided all sorts of the best and most costly delicacies for him and his friends, and that at Sebaste and Caesarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at Tyre, and at Aradus, and at Auran, and at Hyrcania. He also conducted him to the city Jerusalem, where all the people met him in their festival garments, and received him with acclamations. Agrippa also offered a hecatomb of sacrifices to God, and feasted the people, without omitting any of the greatest delicacies that could be gotten. He also took so much pleasure there, that he abode many days with them, and would willingly have stayed longer, but that the king of Macedon that year had made haste to sail away; for, as winter was coming on, he thought it not safe to go to sea later, and yet he was of necessity to return again to Ionia.

2. So Agrippa went away, when Herod had bestowed on him and on the principal of those that were with him, many presents; but King Herod when he had passed the winter in his own dominions, made haste to get to him again in the spring; and when he knew he designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus. So when he had sailed from Rhodes, and by Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there, but he was taken short here by a mean wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore: so he continued many days at Chio, and there he kindly treated a great
We have here observe the ancient practice of the Jews, of dedicating the Sabath-day not to idleness, but to the learning their sacred rites and religious customs.

in itself a privilege to be enjoyed, so it is for the advantage of those that grant it to us; for if the Divinity delights in being honoured, he must delight in those that permit him to be honoured: and there are none of our customs which are inhuman, but all tending to piety, and to the preservation of justice; and we do conceal these injunctions of ours, by which we govern our lives, they being memorials of piety, and of a friendly conversation among men: and the seventh day we set apart from labour, it is dedicated to the law of our customs and laws. We think it proper to reflect on them, as well as on any [good] thing else, in order to our avoiding of sin. If any one, therefore, examine into our observances, he will find those are invented for us, and that they are ancient also, though some think otherwise, inasmuch, that those who have received them cannot easily be brought to depart from them, out of that honour they pay to the largest justice, he may have been granted to enjoy them, and observed them. Now our adversaries take these our privileges away, in the way of injustice: they violently seize upon that money of ours which is offered to God, and called them sacred monies; and this oppression, in a disgraceful manner; and they impose tribute upon us, and bring us before tribunals on holy days, and then require other like debts of us, not because the contracts require it, or for their own advantage, but because they would destroy our religion, of which they are conscious as well as we, and have indulged themselves in an unjust, and to them involuntary hatred; for your government over all is one, tending to the extirpation of the bishoping of the Jews; and this you will find in your own institutions, and you will have no such as are disposed to it. This is therefore what we implore from thee, most excellent Agrippa, that we may not be ill-treated; that we may not be abused; that we may not be hindered from our meeting of our own free will; nor be despised of our goods; nor be forced by these men to do what we ourselves force nobody to do; for these privileges of ours are not only but also in the publick good will among such as are disposed to it. And we are able to read to you many decrees of the senate, and the tables that contain them, which are still extant in the capitol, concerning these things, which it is evident were not granted after our being taken captive, nor to dissolve the religious solemnities of any others, as to be negligent in the observation of their own towards their gods. And let us now consider the one of these practices: is there any other practice that has been had of your government and the Roman power does not appear to be the greatest blessing? Is there any one that can desire to make void the favours they have granted? No one is certainly so mad: for there are no men but in this have been partakers of their favours, both public and private: and indeed those that take away what you have granted, can have no assurance; but every one of their own grants made them by you, may be taken away as if they were yours, and yet never be sufficiently valued: for if they consider the old governments, under kings, together with your present government, besides the great number of benefits which this government hath bestowed on them in this world, this is instead of all the rest, that they appear to be no longer in a state of slavery, but of freedom. Now the privileges we desire, even when we are not free men, we have been at times as if we were, and may also pass fit here not to pass over in silence the valour of his father Antipater, who, when Cesar made an expedition into Egypt, assisted him with two thousand armed men, and proved inferior to none, neither in the battles on land, nor in the management and to the meditation on the law of Moses. The like to which we meet with elsewhere in Josephus also against Apion, B. i. sect. 29.
of the navy; and what need I say any thing of how great weight those soldiers were at that juncture? for how many and how great presents were vouchsafed by Caesar? And truly I ought before now to have mentioned the epistles which Caesar wrote to the senate, and how Antipater had honours, and the freedom of the city of Rhodes was bestowed upon him. For their declarations both that we have received these favours by our own deserts, and do on that account petition thee for thy confirmation of them, from whom we have such reason to hope them, though they had not been given us before, both out of regard to our king's disposition towards you, and your disposition towards him. And farther, we have been informed by those Jews that were there at that time, that thou art most in our country, and how thou offeredst the most perfect sacrifices to God, and honoured him with remarkable vows, and how thou gavest the people a feast, and acceptedst of their own hospitable presents to entertain them, and what thou gavest them, whereby thou didst not see taken away by others from us."

4. When Nicolaus had made his speech, there was no opposition made to it by the Greeks, for this was not as inquiry made, as in a court of justice, with an understanding to extort violence to be offered to the Jews any longer; nor did the Greeks make any defence of themselves, or deny what it was supposed they had done. Their presence was no more than this, that while the Jews were so bold as to charge them, they might be unjustly accused of impiety to the holy place. But they demonstrated their generosity in this, that though they worshipped according to their own sect, they yet esteemed all these kind entertainments, made both by our nation and our city, to a man who is the ruler and manager of so much of the public affairs, as indications of that friendship which thou hast returned to them, of thy nation, and which hath been procured them by the family of Herod. So we put thee in mind of these things, in the presence of the king, now sitting by thee, and make our request for no more but this, that what you have given to the Jews, and what you will give, you will not see taken away by others from us."

"And when Agrippa perceiving that they had been oppressed by violence, he made this answer: "That on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to join them in whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing farther, he should not scruple to grant it them, provided it was not to the detriment of the Jews; but, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury."

And when he had said this, he dissolved the assembly; upon which Herod stood up, and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also saluted him as a very obliging man, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbo; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, as if he were arrived at Caesar's in a few days' time, as having favourable winds, from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the countries of Asia; and he came to them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire and fortunate he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any thing which was for their advantage; and as he was very joyful, he now gave a perfect account of the whole year both for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness."

CHAP. III.

How great Disturbances arose in Herod's Family on his preferring Antipater, his eldest Son, before the rest, till Alexander took that Injury very gravely.

§ 1. But now the affairs in Herod's family were in more disorder, and became more severe than before. There was a great contention between two men [Alexander and Aristobulus,] which descended as it were by inheritance from their mother Mariamne; and as she had fully succeeded against her mother, so she proceeded to the destruction of the latter. The young men had also somewhat a bold and unworthy disposition toward their father, and of those occasions which had been put into their hands; and ensnared them, and went about to craftily and with malicious designs, and treacherous snares for them. Now, as for the hatred, it was equal on both sides, but the manner of exerting that hatred was different: for as for the young men, they were rash, reproaching and affronting the others openly, and were unexperienced enough to think it the most generous to declare their minds in that undaunted manner; but the others did not take that method, but made use of calumnies after a subtle and sly manner, in an artful way, and imagining that their boldness might in time turn to the offering violence to their father; so inasmuch as they were not ashamed of the pretense of madness, their mother, now thought to have suffered justly, these supposed that it might at length exceed all bounds, and induce them to think they ought to be avenged on their father, though it were by despatching him with their own hands, in order to deliver the whole city from the discourses, as, and as usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitted, but the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what impetuosity in their conduct, by means of their own conduct; for they were so deeply affected with the death of their mother, that while they said both she and themselves were in a miserable case, they vehemently complained of the all-mighty and, which indeed was truly such, and said that they were themselves in a pitiable case also, because they were forced to live with those that had been her murderers, and to be partakers with them.
and considered that the disorders in his family had hindered him from enjoying any comfort from those that were dearest to him, or from his wife whom he loved so well; and suspecting that his future troubles would soon be heavier and more annoying than those that were past, he had great confusion of mind; for Divine Providence had in reality conferred upon him a great many outward advantages for his happiness, even beyond his hopes, but the troubles he had at home had not left him a moment of repose, and rendered him unfortunate; nay, both sorts came upon him to such a degree as no one could have imagined, and it made him a doubtful question, whether it was a combination of both, or he ought to have exchanged so great a sum of good things for so great misfortunes at home, or whether he ought not to have chosen to avoid the calamities relating to his family, though he had, for a compensation, never been possessed of the admired grandeur of a kingdom.

3. As he was thus disturbed and afflicted, in order to depress these young men, he brought to court another of his sons, that was born to him when he was a private man; he was Antipater; yet did he not then indulge him as he did afterward; when he was quite overcome by him, and let him do every thing as he pleased, but rather with a design of depressing the insolence of the sons of Mariamme, and this elevation of his son, that it might be for a warning to them, for this bold behaviour of theirs (he thought) would not be so great, if they were once persuaded, that the succession to the kingdom should never come to him, and necessity come to them. So he introduced Antipater as their antagonist, and imagined that he made a good provision for discouraging their pride, and that after this was done to the young men, and he was grieved at hearing these to be of a better disposition: but the event proved otherwise than he intended, for the young men thought he did them a very great injury; and as Antipater was a skrewd man, when he had once obtained this degree of freedom, and began to expect greater things than he had before hoped for, he had but one single design in his head, and that was, to distress his brethren, and not at all to yield to them the pre-eminence, but to keep himself always and only such as his malicious mind dictated, in order to purchase a greater hope of the succession, which yet was already great in itself: and thus he did till he had excited such a degree of anger in Herod, that he became very prejudiced against him, and turned towards the young men, but still, while he delayed to exercise so violent a disgust against them, and that he might not either be too remiss or too rash, and so offend, he thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Cæsar, and not indulge himself in any such crime as might be heinous enough to be suspected of impiety; but as he was going up to Rome, it happened that he made such haste as to it but with Cæsar at the city Aquileia: so when he came to the speech of Cæsar, he asked for a time for hearing this great cause, wherein he thought himself very miserable, and presented his sons there, and accused them of the most heinous actions, and on their attitudes against him: that "They were enemies to him; and by all the means they were able did their endeavours to show their hatred to their own father, and would take away his life, and so obtain his kingdom after the most barbarous manner, though what he here says belonged distinctively to Alexander Agrippa's government in Asia, more than true, for the elder brother of his was put to death, and in the Roman history. See Justin's Annals at A. M. 3399.

1 Although Herod and Augustus at Aquele, yet it was

* This interval of ten years for the duration of Marcus

** Although Herod and Augustus at Aquele, yet it was

† Although Herod and Augustus at Aquele, yet it was
that he had power from Cæsar to dispose of it, by necessity, but by choice, to him who shall exercise the greatest piety towards him, while these may and care not so desire to be tranquil, and they are, upon a disappointment thereof, to expose their own life, if so be they may but deprive their father of his life, so wild and polluted is their mind by time become out of their hatred to him. For though he had a little misfortune, he was now compelled to lay it before Cæsar, and to pollute his car with such language, while he himself wants to know what service they may ever suffer from him, or what hardships he hath ever laid upon them to make them complain of him? and how they can think it just that he should not be lord of that kingdom, which he in a long time and with great desire with his own hand, and with his own at home and prisoner, to have it, and dispose of it to him who should deserve it best? And this, with other advantages, he proposes as a reward for the piety of such a one as will hereafter imitate the care he hath taken of them. This, then, is a retribution as that is: and that it is an impious thing for them to pretend to meddle with it beforehand, for he who hath over the kingdom in his view, at the same time reckons upon procuring the destruction of his master, because he otherwise cannot come at the government: that as for himself, he had hitherto given them all that he was able, and what was agreeable to such as are subject to the royal authority, and the sons of a king; who, then, if they were not needed, and so they wanted, this delicate fare; and had married them into the most illustrious families, the one Aristobulus to his daughter's daughter, but Alexander to the daughter of King Archelaus: and what was the greatest injury that they had in the world, and a care to the government, and to the royal authority: and had not used the authority which, either as a father who had been impiously and grossly deserted, or as a king who had been assailed treacherously, he might have done, he made them stand upon the level with him in judgment; that he had done no such thing to all this sort, or any thing, for no such reparation should not be passed over without punishment, nor himself live in the greatest fear; nay, that it was not for their own advantage to see the light of the sun after what they have done, although they should not suffer it at that time when they had done the vilest things, and would certainly suffer the greatest punishments that ever were known among mankind."

2. These were the accusations which Herod also made against his sons before Cæsar. Now, the young men, both while he was speaking, and evenly at his concluding, wept, and were in confusion. Now, as to themselves, they knew in their own consciences they were innocent, but because they were accused by their father, they were sensible, as the truth was, that it was hard for them to make their apology, since, though they were at liberty to speak their minds freely as the occasion required, and might without scandal, as at that time, they had done the vilest things, and which that he called a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried; nor does any one lay any claim to our clemency, as the honours of our house, and that which thou call'st a reward of piety, is possessed of! For what reason can we be so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet, are not we in hopes of them? Or, can you conceive this difficulty to be from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar unapprehensive when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskillfulness and modesty. They were also commiserable to those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest; he had been much ado to conceal them.

3. But when they saw there was a kind disposition arisen both in him and Cæsar, and that every one of the rest did either shed tears, or at least was in great grief with them, the one of them, whose name was Alexander, called to his father, and attempted to answer his accusation, and said, "Of father, the benevolence thou hast shown to us is evident, even in this very justice which our civility demands of thee; this is the case we have never entertained intentions about us, thou hast not produced us here before the common savour of all; for it was thy power, both as a king, and as a father, to have made us what we are: but there is a great and grave question, whether our open defence may be taken to be true, we shall be happy, both in pacifying thee, and escaping the danger we are in; but if this calamity so prevails, it is more than enough for us that we should suffer what we do; for we never see, if this suspicion be fixed upon us? Now it is easy to say of young men, that they desire to reign; and to say farther, that this evil proceeds from the case of our unhappy mother. This question, is it possible I should pass through the nation out of the former; but consider well, whether such an accusation does not suit all such young men, and may not be said of them all piously? for nothing can hinder him that is against those that merit concealment; but dead, but the father may have a suspicion upon all his sons, as intending some treachery to him; but a suspicion is not sufficient to prove such as impious practices. Now let any one say, that we have not actual and inoffensive and trustworthy, and letters written against thee! though indeed there are none of those things but that sometimes been pretended by way of calumny, when they were never done; for a royal family must have some things that are not written, and that which thou callest a reward of piety, often becomes, among very wicked men, such a foundation of hope as makes them leave no sort of mischief untried; nor does any one lay any claim to our clemency, as the honours of our house, and that which thou callest a reward of piety, is possessed of! For what reason can we be so? If we already have royal honours, as we have, should not we labour in vain? And if we have them not, yet, are not we in hopes of them? Or, can you conceive this difficulty to be from a consciousness of guilt, nor had they any defence ready, by reason of their youth, and the disorder they were under; yet was not Cæsar unapprehensive when he looked upon them in the confusion they were in, that their delay to make their defence did not arise from any consciousness of great enormities, but from their unskillfulness and modesty. They were also commiserable to those that were there in particular, and they moved their father's affections in earnest; he had been much ado to conceal them.

* Since some prejudiced men have indulged a wild suspicion, as we have supposed already, Antiq. B. 37. 15. sect. 7 that Josephus's history of Herod's relations
of other dangers, can any murderer go off unpunished, while Caesar is alive? We are thy sons, and not so impious, or so thoughtless, as that comes to, though perhaps more unfortunate than is convenient for thee. But in case thou neither dost any cause of complaint of these treacherous designs, what sufficient evidences hast thou to make such a wickedness of ours credible? Our mother is dead indeed, but then what befell her might be an instruction to us to consider her fate. As it is, it is worse to all. We are willing to make a larger apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of discourse: nay, we will make this agreement with thee, and that before Caesar, the lord of all, who is added to Caesar, thy father, caststhyself, by the evidence of truth, to have a mind free from suspicion concerning us, let us live, though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of ought to build such an accusation upon, he is a terrible thing; but if thou hast any fear remaining, continue thou on in thy pious leisure, we will give this reason for our own conduct, our life is not so despicable to us as to desire to have it, if it be not to be held for our life. 4. When Alexander had thus spoken, Caesar, who did not before believe so gross a calumny, was still more moved by it, and looked intently upon him, and perceived that it was well founded; the reasons there present were under an anxiety about the young men, and the famine that was spread abroad made the king hated, for the very incredibility of the calumny, and the commiseration of the flowers of age, for the very persons present of the country, which had been bedewed with tears and cast downwards to the ground, but now there arose in them a hope of the best; and the king himself appeared not to have had foundation enough to build such an accusation upon, he having no real evidence wherewith to convict them. Indeed he wanted some apology for making the accusation; but Caesar, after some delay, said, that "although the young men were thus provided with measures of management, for they were calumniated, yet had they been so far to blame, that they had not demeaned themselves towards their father so as to prevent that suspicion which was spread abroad concerning them." He also excused himself and them, and then led them to be reconciled to his sons; for that it was not just to give any credit to such reports concerning his own children; and that this repentance on both sides might still heal those breaches that had happened between them, and might improve their good-will to one another, whereby those on both sides, excusing the rashness of their suspicions, might resolve to bear a greater degree of affection towards each other, as if they had been his sons. After Caesar had given them this admonition, he beckoned to the young men. When therefore they were disposed to fall down to make intercession to their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as the want, it is true, and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw. 5. After this did they return thanks to Caesar, and went away together; and with them went Antipater, with a hypocritical pretense that he rejoiced at this reconciliation. And in the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made him a present of three hundred talents, as he was then exhibiting shows and largesses to the people of Rome; and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines in Thrace, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honoured him with other gifts and incomes: and as to his own kingdom, he left it in his own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor; and it is clear, from the first thought, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately, Caesar said, "He would not give him leave to deprive himself, while he was alive, of the power over his kingdom, or over his sons." 6. After this Herod returned to Judea again, but during his absence no small part of his dominions about Trachon had revolted, whom yet he had no sooner returned to his succession, but it was made up again, as it was made, and by that time was made, to render the power over his kingdom larger. Now, as Herod was sailing with his sons, and was come over against Cilicia, to [the island] Eleusa, which hath now changed its name for Seleucia, he met with Archelaus, whose kind hand he had, with that he had received kindly, as rejoicing that he was reconciled to his sons, and that the accusation against Alexander, who had married his daughter, was at an end, and that he was made king, as it became kings to make. From the time Herod came to Judea, and to the temple, where he made a speech to the people, concerning what had been done in this his journey: "He also discourse to them about Caesar's kindness to him, and about as many of the particulars he had done, as he thought it for his advantage other people should be acquainted with. At last he turned his speech to the admonition of his sons; and exhorted those that lived at court, and the multitude, to concord; and informed them, that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamme; but he desired that at present they should all have regard to himself, and esteem him king and lord of all, since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life when he must be the most skilful in governing; and that he was not deficient in other arts and sciences, so that he might govern the kingdom well, and to rule over his children also. He farther told the rulers under him, and the soldiery, that in case they would look upon him alone, their life would be led in a peaceable manner, as if they had no other head but he, and so they would be happy." And when they had said this, he dismissed the assembly. Which speech was acceptable to the greatest part of the audience, but not so to them all, for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desires of innovations among them.

CHAP. V.

How Herod celebrated the Games that were to return every fifth Year, upon the Building of Cesarea, and how he built and adorned many other Places after a magnificent Manner; and did many other Actions gloriously.

§ 1. About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste, which he had built, was finished. The entire building being accomplished in the tenth year, the solemnity of it fell into the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and it was almost hindered and ninety-second Olympiad. There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous that pulled down his golden eagle from the front of the temple, where he takes notice, "How the building of the temple cost him a vast sum; and that the Asmonæans, in those 125 years which the temple was in ornament, were not able to perform so great a work, to the honour of God, as this was." Antip. R. xvi. ch. vi. sect. 3.
preparations made presently, in order to its dedication, for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose: horse-races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome, and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be held, every fifth year also, at the diversity of Herod's nature and purposes: for when we have respect to his magnificence, and the benefits which he bestowed on all mankind, there is no possibility for even those that had committed the most tremendous crimes to openly confess, that he had a nature vastly beneficial; but when any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relatives, the punishment was not inexpedient in itself: for the containing disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutal, and a stranger to all humanity, insomuch that these men suppose his nature to be different, and sometimes at contrariety, we must not include him under the same opinion, and imagine that the occasion of both these sorts of actions was one and the same; for being a man ambitious of honour, and quite over-fond of showing prosperity, it is related, that Herod was so magnanimous, wherefore there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present: and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects; for the persons on whom he expended his money were so many, that they made him a very bad procurer of it; and because he was conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them, he thought it not an easy thing to amend his fortunes, for that it was not convenient for his revenue; he therefore strove on the other side to make their ill-will an occasion of his gains. As to his own court, therefore, if any one was not very obsequious to him in his language, and was not confiding himself to be his slave, or but seemed to think of any in novation in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but pytestigated his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies: he did not consider in the city the more for public usefulness, or the object of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured. Now for this my assertion about that passion of his, we have the greatest evidence, by what he did to honour Caesar and Agrippa, and his other friends: for within what time he lived, he paid his respects to them who were his superiors, so that he desired to be paid to himself; and what he thought the most excellent present he could make another, he discovered an inclination to have the ill-treated, and those that had no relation to him.

CHAP. VI.

An Embassage of the Jews in Crete and Asia to Caesar, concerning the Complaints they had to make against the Greeks: with Copies of the Letters sent by Caesar and Agrippa to the Cities for them.

§ 1. Now the cities ill treated the Jews in Asia, and all those also of the same nation which resided more afterward, he built Nicopolis at Actium, and appointed pubic shows to be there exhibited every fifth year."
lived in Libya, which joins to Cyrene, while the former kings had given them equal privileges with the other citizens; but the Greeks afflicted them at this time, and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions. When therefore they were thus afflicted, and found no end of the barbarous treatment they met with among the Greeks, they sent, as we have said, to request, those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonial of the constancy of the Romans, and disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

2. "Cesar Augustus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman welfare and industry, not to forbid the Jews how many letters of contentation they shall have sent, those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonial of the constancy of the Romans, and disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

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3. "Cesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting: Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same, and not in all haste; but let it be sent to me, who shall send them a message, which shall be sent to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary, shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the precentor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the Sabbath.

5. "Marcus Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting: The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to the governors of the cities, and for that reason I have given orders to the procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them, which I command to be restored, without any diminution or disturbance given to them; and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I further enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

6. "Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting: Cesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews how many letters of contentation they shall have sent, those accounts; who gave them the same privileges as they had before, and sent letters to the same purpose to the governors of the provinces, copies of which I subjoin here, as testimonial of the constancy of the Romans, and disposition the Roman emperors had towards us.

7. Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise: "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting: As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the islands of Asia, I ordered that a copy of these letters should be sent to me, that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity; and that they be not provoked with any measure of piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa to them by my own sanction, I would therefore hereby justly take notice of. According to the will of Augustus and Agrippa, I will permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

8. I have not obliged to set down these decrees, because the present history of our own acts will go generally among the Greeks; and I have hereby demonstrated to them that we have been long in great esteem, and have not been prohibited by those governors we were under from keeping any of the laws of our forefathers; nay, that we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion, and the worship we paid to God; and I frequently make mention of the same, in order that I may not offend other people to us, and to take away the causes of that hatred which unreasonable men bear to us. As for our customs, there is no nation which always makes use of the same, and in every city we meet with them from one another; but natural justice is most agreeable to the advantage of all men equally, both Greeks and barbarians, to which our laws have the greatest regard, and thereby retain us, if we abide as we are, benevolent and friendly to all men: on which account we have reason to expect the like return from others, and to inform them that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions as sufficient of these defections, but, on the contrary, pursue the thread of virtue and probity, for by itself alone is sufficient for the preservation of human life. I now return to the thread of my history.

CHAP. VII.

How, upon Herod's going down into David's Se
gnacle, the Sedition in his Family greatly in
creased.

§ 1. As for Herod, he had spent vast sums about the cities, both without and within his own

domitory, from positive institutions in all countries, and as morality, from positive institutions in all countries, and as evidently preferring the former before the latter; as did the true prophets of God always under the Old Testament, and Christ and his apostles always under the New Testament, who have been at this time never Chris
tianity than were the scribes and Pharisees of his age, who, as we know from the New Testament, were entirely of a different opinion and practice.
2. And indeed Herod's troubles in his family seem to be augmented by reason of this attempt he made upon David's sepulchre, whether divine vengeance increased the calamities he lay under, in order to render them incurable, or whether fortune made an assault upon him in those cases, wherein the seasonableness of the cause made it strongly possible that the civil tumult came upon him for his impiety; for the tumult was like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each stripe strove to exceed another in calumnies. However, Anthony augments this passage perpetually against his brethren, and that very cunningly; while abroad, he loaded them with accusations, but still took upon him frequently to apologize for them, that this apparent benevolence to them might make him be believed, and forward his attempts against them, by which means he, after various manu-

* It is here worth our observation, how careful Josephus was, so as to the discovery of truth in Herod's history, since he would not follow Nicumaus of Damascus himself, so great a historian, where there was great reason to suspect that he flatterer Herod; which importance in history

ners, circumvent his father, who believed that all he did was for his preservation. Herod also recommended Ptolomy, who was a great minister of the affairs of his kingdom, to Antipater, and consulted with his mother about the public affairs also. And indeed these were all in all, and did what they pleased, and made the king to be degraded and put to the ground; as they thought, it might be to their own advantage: but still the sons of Mariamme were in a worse and worse condition perpetually, and while they were thrust out, and set in a more dishonourable rank, who they thought, they did not bear the dishonour. And for the women, Ul phyra, Alexander's wife, the daughter of Archelaus, hated Salome, both because of her love to her, and her of her, whom she beheld herself somewhat insensibly towards Salome's daughter, who was the wife of Aristobulus, which equality of hers to herself Gaphyra took very impatiently.

3. Now, besides this second contention that had fallen among them, neither did the king's brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble, but had a particular foundation for suspicion and hatred; for he was overcome with the charms of his first wife, a woman of wears and handsome, despised the king's daughter, to whom he had been betrothed, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant. Herod also was grieved by the dishonour that was done him, as it was not done of himself; he had enriched him, and had advanced him to that height of power that he was almost a partner with him in the kingdom, and saw that he had not made him a due return for his favours, and esteemed himself as such, but in case of the king's death, toldfalsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed a man, as I said, may have a great deal to say by way of excuse for Nicol au; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as somewhat that might be subservient to the king himself. As for ourselves, who come of a family nearly allied to the Asmonean kings, and on that account have an honourable place, which is the priesthood, we that are in an indecent to say any thing that is false about them, and forget what his unjust actions after an unblemished and upright manner. And although we reverence many of Herod's posterity, who still reign, yet do we pay a great account to truth than to our own; and think, though it sometimes happens that we incur their displeasure by so doing.

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ANTIOCHUS OF THE JEWS.
which means she learned all their concerns, and
made the damsel ill-natured to the young man. And in order to gratify her mother, she often
stated that the young men used to mention Mari
sane when they were by themselves; and that
they hated her father, and were continually
threatening, and how if he left the house, they
would make Herod's sons by his former
wife, and the son of his daughter, and that, if
evolved so as for the sake of his son, when ever
they saw they adorned with their mother's
clothes, they threatened, that instead of their
present gay cub, apparel, they should be clothed in
such as had been in his own day, and if he ever
saw them, he would not let them out of his
house, unless she should not see the light of the sun. These
stories were presently carried by Salome to the
taking, who was troubled to hear them, and en
davored to make up matters; but those suspi-
ions were increased, and more uneasy, he believed everybody against every body. However,
upon his rebuking his son, and hearing the defence they made for himself, he was easier for a while, though a little afterward much more accidents came upon him.

4. For Phæroras came to Alexander, the hus
band of Giaphyras, who was the daughter of Ar
cheas, as we have already told you, and said,
that he had heard from his wife that the king,
who was very much accuscured of Giaphyras, and that his passion for her was incurable. When Alexander heard that he was all on fire, from his youth and jealousy;
and he interpreted the instances of Herod's oblig
ations, as he had been accustomed to do, and
more and more worse, which came from those suspicions he had on account of that which fell from Phæroras; nor could he conceal his grief at the thing, but informed him what words Phæroras had said. Upon which Herod was in a great disorder than ever, and not bearing such a false calumny, which was to his shame, was much dis
turbed at it; and often did he lament the wicked
nesses of his domestics, and how good he had been to them, and how ill requisites they had made him. So he sent for Phæroras, and reproached him, and
said, "Thou wilt of all men! art thou come to
that unmeasurable and extravagant degree of im
cerity and insensibility? I have heard from
me, but to speak of them! I now indeed perceive what thy intentions are: it is not thy only aim to reproach me, when thou useth such words to my son, but thereby to persuade him to plot anything against thee. And who is there, and who is his family, that would bear such a suspicion of his father, but would revenge himself upon him? Dost thou suppose that thou hast only sharpened a word for him to thing, or that not rather hast put a sword in his hand to slay his father? And what dost thou mean, when thou really hatest both him and his brother, to pretend kindness to them, only in order to raise a reproach against me, and that I have been already in effect a reproach to them? Now the art thou such an impious wretch as thou art could either devise in their mind, or declare in their words. Become, thou that art such a plague to thy ben
edictor and thy brother, and may that evil con
sequence, which I have heard from thee, now overtake my relations by kindness, and am so far from avenging myself of them as they de
serve, that I bestow greater benefits upon them than they are worthy of." Then said the king to him, Whereupon Phæ
roras, who was caught in the very act of his vil
lancy, said, that "it was Salome who was the fra
ter of this plot, and that the words came from her." But as soon as she heard that, for she was of a mind to go and not to desert the cause,
which could not be believed, that no such thing ever came of her mouth; that they all earnestly endeavored

to make the king hate her, and to make her
away, because of the good-will she bore to He
rod, and because she was always foreseeing the dangers that were coming upon him, and that at present there were more plots against him than usual; for with the she was the only one who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him. As she said this, and often tore her hair, and often beat her breast, her countenance made her denied to be believed; but the perverseness of her man
ners declared at the same time her dissimulation in these proceedings; but Phæroras was taught between them, and had nothing plausible to offer her, while he had the face of a frien
and he had said what was charged upon him, but was not believed when he said he had heard it from Salome; so the confusion among them was in
creased, and their quarrelsome words one to an
other. At last the king, out of his hatred to his
brother and sister, sent them both away; and when he had commended the moderation of his son, and that he had himself told him of the re
port, he went in the evening to refresh himself. After such a scene to think that this had happened to them, Salome's reputation suffered greatly, since she was supposed to have first raised the calum
ny; and the king's wives were grieved at her, as
knowing she was a very ill-natured woman, and would sometimes be a friend, sometimes an
enemy, at different seasons; so they perpetually said one thing or another against her, and some
what that now fell out made them the bolder in
speaking against her.

5. There was a man called Obodas, king of Arabia, an invective and slothful man in his nature; but Syl
leus managed most of his affairs for him. He was a
shrewd man, although he was but young, and was handsome withal. This Sylleus, upon some occasion came to stand against Obodas, and while he
saw him, saw Salome, and set his heart upon her;
and, understanding that she was a widow, he discoursed with her. Now, because Salome was at this time least in favour with her brother, she
looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him; and on the
days following there appeared many, and those very great, indications of their agreement to
gether. Now they also spoke with the king, and languished at the indecency of it; whereupon Herod inquired about it farther of Phæror
as, and desired him to observe them at supper, how their behaviour was one toward another; who told him that they were made as one from their heads and their eyes, they both were evidently in love. After this, Sylleus the Arab
ian, being suspected, went away, but came
again in two or three months afterwards, as it were on that very design, to speak to Herod about it, and desired that Salome might be given
him to wife; for that his affinities might not be
adverse to his affairs, by a union with Arabia, the government of which country was already in effect a member in the kingdom; and evi
dently would be his hereafter. Accordingly, when Herod discovered with his sister about it, and asked her whether she were disposed to this match, she immediately agreed to it. But when Sylleus was about to content himself with religion, and then he should marry her, and that it was impossible to do it on any other terms, he
could not bear that proposal, and went his way;
for he said, that if he should do so, he should be
stayed by the Arabs. Then did Phæroras re
proach Salome for her incontinency, as did the
women much more, and said, that Sylleus had
abased her. As for that damsel, whom the king had betrothed to his brother Phæroras, but
she was not niggardly to him, but had not taken
him because he was enamoured of his former wife, Salome desired of Herod she might be given to
her son by Costobarus; which match he was very willing to, but was dissuaded from it by Pheroros, who pleaded, that this young man would not be kind to her, since his father had been slain by him, and that it was not safe to cast a man who was to be his successor in the trarchy, should have her; so he begged his pardon, and persuaded him to do so. Accordingly, the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to this young man, the son of Pheroros, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

How Herod took up Alexander, and bound him; whom yet Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, reconciled to his Father Herod again.

§ 1. But still the affairs of Herod's family were no better, but perpetually more troublesome. Now this accident happened, which arose from no decent occasion, but proceeded so far as to bring great difficulties upon him. There were certain enmities which the king had, and on account of their beauty, was very fond of them; and the care of bringing him drink was intrusted to one of them, of bringing him his supper to another, and of putting him to bed to the third, who almost managed the principal affairs of the government; and there was one told the king, that they were corrupted byander, and had betrayed his king's son, with great sums of money: and when they were asked, whether Alexander had had criminal conversation with them? they confessed it, but said they knew of no farther mischief of his, but this one thing, that they were more severely tortured, and were in the utmost extremity, and the tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater, stretched the rack to the very utmost, they said, that Alexander bare great ill will, and had hated to his father, and that they told them, that Herod despaired to live much longer; and that in order to cover his great age, he coloured his hair black, and endeavoured to conceal what would discover how old he was; but that if he would apply himself to him, when he should attain the kingdom, which, in spite of his father, could come to no one else, he should quickly have the first place in that kingdom under him, for that he was now ready to take the kingdom himself by right, and if the preparations he had made for obtaining it, because a great many of the rulers, and a great many of his friends were of his side, and those ill men neither, ready both to do and to suffer whatso- ever was necessary, he could assist him.

2. When Herod heard this confession, he was all over anger and fear, some parts seeming to him reproachful, and some made him suspicious of dangers that attended him, insomuch that on both accounts he was provoked, and bitterly afraid lest some more heavy plot was laid against him than he should be then able to escape from; whereupon he did not now make an open search, but was well provided to watch such as he suspected, for he was now overfull with suspicion and hatred against all about him; and indulging abundance of those suspicions, in order to his preservation, he continued to suspect those that were near to him, and did not depend on the bounds to himself, but supposing that those who staid with him had the most power to hurt him, they were to him very frightful; and for those that did not use to come to him, it seemed enough to name them as dangerous, which suspicion did not seem to himself safer when they were destroyed: and it last his domestics were come to that pass, that being no way secure of escaping themselves, they fell to accusing one another, and imagining themselves suspected and accused, and being more likely to save himself; yet, when any had overthrown others, they were hated, and they were thought to suffer justly, who unjustly accused others, and they only thereby prevented their own accusation; nay, they now executed their own private enmities by this means, and when they were caught they were punished in the trarchy, which was not a little the less the more use of this opportunity as an instrument and a snare against their enemies; yet when they tried it, were themselves caught also in the same snare which they laid for others: and the king soon repented of what he had done, because he could not find clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain; and yet what was still more severe in him, he did not make use of his repentance, in order to leave off doing the like again, but in order to inflict the same punishment upon their accusers.

3. And in this state of disorder were the affairs of the palace: and he had already told many of his friends directly, that they ought not to appear before him, nor come into the palace; and the reason of this injudicious was, that when they were there he had less freedom of acting, or a greater restraint on himself on their account: for at this time it was that he expelled Andromachus and Gamelius, men who had of old been his friends, and been very useful to him in the affairs of his kingdom, and been of advantage to his family, by their embassages and counsels; and had been tutors to his sons, and had in a manner of the advice of the latter he expelled Andromachus, because his son Demetrias was a companion to Alexander; and Gamelius, because he knew that he wished well, which arose from his having been with him in his youth, and he would not suffer him to be near him. These he expelled out of his palace, and was willing enough to have done worse by them but that he might not seem to take such liberty against men of so great reputation, he contented himself with his owninthunder, and of their dignity, and of their power to hinder his wicked proceedings.

4. Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this; who, when he knew what a mad and bountious way of acting his father was in, and had been a great while one of his counsellors, he harried him on, and then thought he should bring him to do somewhat to purpose, when every one that could oppose him was taken away. When, therefore, the king, looking to himself, was driven away, and had no discourse nor freedom with the king any longer, the king in the first place examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander, whether they knew of his design, and if so, to discover all that they knew without having any thing to say to that matter, which made the king more zealous [after discoveries] when he could not find out what evil proceedings he suspected them of. As for Antipater, he was very sanguine to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity [to Alexander,] and thereupon provoked Herod to discover, by the torture of great numbers, whose attempts were still concealable. Now there was a certain person among the many that were tortured, who said, that he knew that the young man had often said, that when he was commanded as to what degree of his body was to be cut off, and that in his commendable exercises he exceeded all men, these qualifications given him by nature, though good in themselves, were not disadvantageous to him, because his father was not without a great deal of suspicion; but he thought that it was the essence of it, that when he walked along with his father he endeavoured to depress and shorten himself, that he might not appear too tall, and that when he shot at any thing as he was hunting, when his father was on horseback, that he aimed in such a manner to be not seen as much as that he knew how ambitious his father was of being superior in such exercises. So when the man was tormented about this saying, and had ease given
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. VIII.

is body after it, he added, that he had his brother Aristocles for his assistance; and contrived to be in wait for their father as they were hunting, and kill him: and when they had done so, to fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given to him, on the delightful promise which a young man found, written to his brother, wherein he complained, that his father did not act justly in giving Antipater a country, whose yearly revenue amounted to two hundred talents. Upon these confidences Heraclius, for his part, did not doubt in any manner that the king had somewhat to depend on, in his own opinion, as to his suspicion about his sons: so he took up Alexander and bound him: yet did he still continue to make the most of the truth of what he had heard; and when he came to recollect himself, he found that they had only made juvenile complaints and contentions, and that it was an incredible thing, that when his father should have slain him, he should openly go to Rome [to beg the kingdom]; so he was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness, and was very solicitous about it, that he might appear to have condemned him to be put to death too rashly; so he tortured the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of him which he suspected. And while Heraclius was very busy about this matter, and the palace itself was so imagined, and for this reason, when he was in the utmost agony, confessed that Alexander had sent to his friends at Rome, desired that he might be quickly invited by Caesar, and that he could discover a great number of his father's discontents, in excus of his rashness, as flatly himself with finding things in so bad a case; but as for the poisonous potion, which seemed to find, he could find none. As for the other, he was very desirous to aggravate the fortunes he was under; so he pretended to deny the accusations, but punished the king of his father with a greater crime of all; and perhaps he was willing to make his hatred to his father more evident especially, if he could gain his story, to plague him and his whole house; for he wrote four letters, and sent them, that he did not mean to alter the whole of his conduct, nor be a mourner, and like one that had all the signs upon him of an undone man. Upon this, Archelaus did not overlook the intercession he made to him, nor yet did he undertake to change the king's disposition towards him immediately; and he said, that it was better for him to come himself to the king, and confess himself the occasion of all; that this would make the king's anger not to be extravagant towards him, and that then he could be present to him. While he thus persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, took Heraclius to Paphlagonia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect to him, and in his letters he called him the expectation of farther misery, fancied in his imagination, that his stepson, or stood by him with a sword in his hand; and thus was his mind night and day intent upon this thing, and revolted it over and over, no otherwise than if he were under a distraction. And this was the sad condition Herod was now in.

6. But when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, heard of the state that Herod was in, and being in great distress about his daughter, and the young man [her husband], and grieving with Herod, as with a man that was his friend, on account of so great a disaster as he was in, he came to Jerusalem on purpose to compose their differences; and when he found Herod in such a temper, he thought it wholly unreasonable to continue in the same case as he had when he was in any thing rashly; for that he should thereby naturally bring him to dispute the point with him, and by still more and more apologizing for himself to be the more irritated; he went therefore another way to work, in order to correct the former misfortunes, and appeared angry at the young man, and said, that Herod had been so very mild a man, that he had not acted a rash part at all. He also said, he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander, as it could in justice spare his own daughter, if she were conscious of any thing, and did not inform Herod of it. When Archelaus appeared to be of this temper, and otherwise than Herod expected or desired he was, the king was afraid, and was angry on his account, the king abated of his harshness, and took occasion, from his appearing to have acted justly hitherto, to come by degrees to put on the affection of a father, and be on both sides to the father the son; and the pious refuted the calumnies that were laid on the young man, he was thrown into a passion; but when Archelaus joined in the accusation, he was dissolved into tears and sorrow after an affectation. Accordingly, he said, he would not dissolve his son's marriage, and became not so angry as before for his offences. So when Archelaus had brought him to a more moderate temper, he transferred the calumnies upon his friends; and said, it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted, and he supposed that there was more reason to suspect the brother than the son. Upon which Archelaus was very much displeased at such words, who indeed made no one that could make a reconciliation between him and his brother; so when he saw that Archelaus had the greatest power with Herod, he took himself to his own business. While he was persuaded him to this, he gained his point with both of them; and the calumnies raised against the young man were, beyond all expectation, wiped off. And Archelaus, as soon as he had made the reconciliation, took Heraclius to Paphlagonia, having proved at this juncture of time the most acceptable person to Herod in the world; on which account he gave him the richest presents, as tokens of his respect to him, and in his letters he called him the expectation of farther misery, fancied in his imagination, that his stepson, or stood by him with a
CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Revolt of the Trachonitae: how Syllus accused Herod before Caesar; and how Herod, when Caesar was angry at him, resolved to send Nicolaus to Rome.

§ 1. When Herod had been at Rome, and was come back again, a war arose between him and the Arabians, on the occasion following: the inhabitants of Trachonitis, after Herod had taken the country away from Zenodorus, and added it to Herod, had not now power to rob, but were forced to plough the land, and to live quietly; which was a thing they did not like; and when they found that this was the case, they did not produce much fruit for them. However, at the first the king would not permit them to rob, and so they abstained from that unjust way of living upon their neighbours, which procured Herod a greater name. But when he was sailing to Rome, (it was at that time when he went to accuse his son Alexander, and to commit Autipater to Caesar's protection,) the Trachonitae spread a report as if he were dead, and revolted to their dominion, and added again to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours; at which time the king's commanders subdued them during his absence, but about forty of the principal robbers, being terrified by their success, fled into Arabia, as is said, and retired into Arabia, Syllus entertaining them, after he had missed of marrying Salome, and gave them a place of strength, in which they dwell. So they overran not only Judea, but all Cessarea, and they also carried off the prey, while Syllus afforded them places of protection and quietness during their wicked practices. But when Herod came back from Rome, he perceived that his dominions had only suffered by them, and as since he could not reach the robbers themselves, because of the secure retreat they had in that country, and which the Arabian government afforded them, and yet being very uneasy at the injustice that had been done to him by these Trachonitae, he slew their relations; whereupon these robbers were more angry than before, it being a law among them to be avenged on the murderers of their relations by all possible means; so they continued to plunder every thing under Herod's dominion with impunity; then did he discourse about these robberies to Saturnus and Volumnius, and required that they should be punished; upon which occasion they still continued to plunder, and went about in their robberies, and became more numerous; and made very great disturbances, laying waste the countries and villages that belonged to Herod's kingdom, and killing those men whom they caught, till these unjust proceedings came to be like a real war, for the robbers were now become about a thousand. At which time Herod was sore displeased, and required the robbers, as well as the money which he had lent Obodas, by Syllus, which was now past, he desired to have it paid him; but Syllus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturnus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should, in the other's name, send the tribute he was past, he desired to have it paid him; but Syllus, who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment of the money; about which there was a hearing before Saturnus and Volumnius, who were then the presidents of Syria. At last, he, by their means, agreed, that within thirty days' time Herod should be paid his money, and that each of them should, in the other's name, send the tribute he was due: they retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar's anger at him. Therefore the city, and the Trachonitic cities, all consented to this, and rose up against the Idumean garrisons, and followed the same way of robbing with the Arabians, who had pillaged their country, and were very much afraid of their unjust proceedings, and were troubled as to how to get by it, but by way of revenge also. Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that like a procurator under the Roman; as the very learned Noris and Paget, and with them Dr. Hodge, demonstrated.
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. X.

Characteristics of his being, quite plain with which so
fitting a man to inspire him: for Caesar
did not sit so much as an emissary from
his master to make an apology for him: and as he
again, he sent them away without success,
was cast into sadness and fear; and Syli-
us circumstances show him exceedingly
was now believed by Caesar, and was pre-
eminent, nay, sometimes aspiring higher.
Six months came to pass that Obodas was dead: and
a, whose same was afterwards changed to
a death of another, and as for Herod, Caes-
red by calumny to get him turned out
is; that he might himself take, in his which design he gave much money to
in, and promised much money to Caes-
him, and on his failure in the first thing he killed the kingdom: yet did
send his epistle and presents to Caesar, and
the crown, of the weight of many talents, to
ascribed Syllaeus and the ambassador he
tered, and was accused of having killed Obodas by
it; and that, while he was alive, he had got
him as he pleased; and had also deauched
wires of the Arabians; and had borrowed
money from them; and as for Caesar, he
did not care give heed to these accu-
sed, but sent his ambassadors back, without
ignoring any of his presents; but in the mean-
the affairs of Judea and Arabia became
are, and he veered by the words he had heard: he
had thought, and partly because, as bad as
ere, nobody had power to govern them, for of
kings, the one was not yet confirmed in
dom, and so had not authority sufficient to
in the Jewish government, for Syllaeus and
immediately angry at him, for having aven-
self, and so he was compelled to bear all
ries that were offered him. At length,
t at saw no end of the mischief which sur-
that he had been many ways of a natural
ous, to see whether his friends had pre-
mitigate Caesar, and to address them
Cesar himself: and the ambassador he
her was Nicolas of Damascus.

CHAP. X.

By the false accusations Herod's Sons;
t heir Father bound them, and wrote to
about them. Of Syllaeus, and how he was
by Nicolas.

as disorders about Herod's family and
t his time grew much worse; for
geared certain, nor was it unforeseen
all, but it threatened to make the
unimportant misfortunes possible to
. Its progress and augmentation at
rose on the occasion following: One
a Lacedemonian, (a person of note
man of a perverse mind, and so cut-
ways of voluptuousness and flattery,
, both, and yet seem to indulge nei-
came in his travels to Herod, and
presented, but so that he received us
well, he also took some proper
insinuating himself into his friend's
became one of the most intimate of
. He had his lodging in Anti-
now he had himself a new phase of
ation with Alexander, as pretending
was in great favour with Arche-
confederate; whence he pre-
respect to Gلب, and, in an a,
the Great, and Damascas,) the
wrote to his great friends that he
"No man's life in his conversation, as to
was now become so established a name
Arabia: as Petra and Damascus,) the
name to this. Bucephalus was changed his name

appear to be his particular friend, and he made
others believe that his being anywhere was for
that person's advantage. So he went upon Alex-
ander, who was but young; and persuaded him
that he might open his grievances to him with
assurance, and with nobody else. So he de-
clared his grief to him, and said his father was
wronged from him. He related to him also the 14
fairs of his mother, and of Antipater; that he
had driven them from their proper dignity, and
had the power over every thing himself; that no
part of this was true: that it was all that he had
already come to hate them; and he added, that
he would neither admit them to his table, nor to
his conversation. Such were the complaints, as
was but natural, of Alexander, about the things
that troubled him; and those done to be carried
from his former Antipater; and told him, he did not in-
form him of this on his own account, but that,
being overcome by his kindness, the great im-
portance of the thing obliged him to do so,
he warned him to have a care of Alexander, for
that what he said was spoken with vehemency,
and, in consequence of what he said, he
would certainly kill him with his own hand.
Place. When Alexander returned to Sylla,
thought his friend by this advice, gave him presents upon all
occasions, and at length persuaded him to inform
Herod of what he had heard. So when he re-
related to the king Alexander's ill temper, as disac-
rogations had been delivered by the words he
said, he was easily believing by him, and he there-
forth brought the king to that pass, turning him about
by his words, and irritating him, till he increased
his hatred to him, and made him impalpable,
which he showed at that very time, for he im-
mediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty ta-
ents; who, when he had gotten them, went to
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended
Alexander before him, and told him that he had
not so much as to wish for Alexander, and that he
had a reconciliation between him and his father. So
he got money from him also, and went away,
before his pernicious practices were found out;
but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedem-
he did not leave off doing mischief, and so, for
his many acts of injustice, he was banished from
his own country.

2. But as for the king of the Jews, he was not
now in the temper he was in formerly towards
Alexander and Aristobulus, when he had been
content with the hearing their calumnies when
others told him of them, but he was now come to
that pass as to hate them himself, and to urge
men to speak against them, as he did with the
insinuations of his son, and he told him: He
attacked, that many times or ever to him, he im-
mediately gave Eurycles a present of fifty ta-
ents; who, when he had gotten them, went to
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and commended
Alexander before him, and told him that he had
not so much as to wish for Alexander, and that he
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3. But still a greater misfortune came upon
the young men, while the calumnies against
them were continually increasing: and as a man may
say, one would think it was every one's endeav-
our to lay some grievous thing to their charge,
which might appear to be for the king's preserva-
tion. There were two guards of Herod's, who
were in great esteem for their strength and
tallness, Juseundus and Tyranus: these men
had been cast off by Herod, who was displeased
at them; these now used to ride along with Alex-
ander, and for their skill in that art to excel in
him, and had some gold and other gifts bestowed upon them. Now the king,
having an immediate suspicion of these men,
had them tortured: who endured the torture cou-
trary for a long time, but at last confessed
to Aratus, as Hierocampus hastily observed. See An-

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that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod, when he was in pursuit of the wild beasts, that it might be said he fell from his horse, and was run through with his own spear, for that he had once such a misfortune formerly. The young men had by this time become so suspectible to the suggestion of Diophantus, that they would have had Herod put to death, and his own fortune as well. 4. After these, the commander of the garrison of Alexandria was caught and tortured; for he was accused of having promised to receive the young men into his forces, and to pay them with money; that is, with the money which was laid up in that fortress, yet did he not acknowledge any thing of it himself; but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as they could read, was in Alexander's handwriting. Its contents were these: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do your endeavors, as you have promised, to receive us into your forces." After this writing, it was production, Herod had no doubt about the treacherous designs of his sons against him. But Alexander said, that Diophantus, the scribe, had imitated his hand, and that the paper was maliciously drawn up. For Diophantus appeared to be very cunning in such practices; and as he was afterward convicted of forging other papers, he was put to death for it. 5. So the king produced those that had been fornicating; he multitudinous at Jerusalem, and in order to have them accuse the young men, which accords many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander, and Aristobulus likewise, the king would not permit them to do it, but prevented them, and punished, by the means of Ptolemy and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody; the meek that nobody might come at them; and all that they did or said was watched; and the report that their fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals; and one of them, who was Aristobulus, was so deeply affected, that he brought Salome, who was his mother, to him, to intercede with him for his calamities, and to beseech him that they had suffered things come to that pass; when he said to her, "Art not thou in destruction also, while the report goes that thou hast been found before all the affairs to Sylla, when thou wast in hopes of being rescued to him?" But she immediately carried those words to her brother: upon this he was out of patience, and gave command to bind him; and expelled them both, now they were kept separate one from the other, to write down the ill things they had done against their father, and bring the writings to him. So when this was communicated, they wrote this, that they had made no preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away; and that by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and dangerous to them. 6. About this time there came an ambassador out of Cappadocia from Archelaus, whose name was Melas: he was one of the principal rulers under the king. So Herod, being desirous to show Archelaus a bill to him, called for Alexander, as he was in his bonds, and was assured concerning his flight, whither and how they had resolved to retire? Alexander replied, "To Archelaus, who had promised to send them away to the Parthians, but that they had picked no mischievous designs against their father, and therefore nothing of that nature which their adversaries had charged upon them was true; and that their desire was, that he might have examined Tyre, Jerusalem and Jezreel more strictly; but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Archelaus, who put his own friends among the multitude for that purpose." 7. When this was said, Herod commanded them to bring Archelaus and Melas should be carried to Gephyra, Archelaus's daughter, and that she should be asked, whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander's treacherous designs against Herod! Now as soon as they were carried thither, Alexander inquired of her, and she made answer, and in a great consternation gave a deep and moving groan. The young man she fell into tears. This was so miserable a spectacle to the boy, that, for a great while, he was not able to say or do anything; but by length Ptolemy, who was ordered to bring Alexander, bade him say, whether his wife was conscious of his actions! He replied, "Here is possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do!" Upon which he cried out, that she knew of no wicked design of his; but that yet, if her accusing herself falsely would not tend to his preservation, she would confess it all." Alexander replied, "There is such wickedness as those (whoought the least of all to do) suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we thought they had been about to send thee to Rome." Which she also confessed. Upon which Herod, supposing that Archelaus's ill-will to him was fully proves, sent a letter to Olympus and Volumnius; and bade them, as soon as they arrived at Eleutheropolis, to give Archelaus the letter. And when that they had expostulated with him that he had a hand in his son's treacherous design against him, they should from hence sail to Rome; and that, in any case, he carry this message: that he had been in danger, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him, he should give him his letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men. As to Archelaus, he made this defence for himself, that "he had promised to receive the young men, because it was both for their own and their father's advantage so to do, lest some too severe procedure should be gone upon, in that anger and disorder they were in, on account of the dissensions; and that he had not promised to send them to Caesar: and that he had not promised any thing else to the young men that could show ill-will to him." 8. When those ambassadors were come to Rome, and had a fit opportunity of delivering their letters to Caesar, because they found him reconciled to Herod; for the circumstance of Nicolau's embassy had been as follows: as soon as he was come to Rome, and was about to press the court, that "he did not first of all set about what he was come for only, but he thought fit also to accuse Sylla. Now the Romanians, even before he came to talk with them, were quarrelling one with another; and some of them left Sylla's party, and changed their opinions; others formed him of all the wicked things that had been done; and produced to him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Cicero's friends by Sylla; for when these men left Sylla, they had carried off with them these letters whereby they could convict him. When Nicolaus saw such an opportunity afforded him, he made use of it, in order to gain his own point of reference. He accordingly made a reconciliation between Caesar and Herod; for he was fully satisfied, that if he should desire to make a defence for Herod directly, he should not be allowed that liberty; but that if he delayed, and let the occasion present itself of speaking on Herod's behalf, he would be cut off from the opportunity in the future. So when the cause was ready for a hearing, and the day was appointed, Nicolaus, while Archelaus's
embassadors were present, petitioned Sylla, and asked him to impede the departure of his king (Obodas), and of many others of the Indians; that he had borrowed money for several design; and he proved that he had been very careful, not only with the Arabians, at the request of the representatives of several cities, as many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylla was condemned to die, and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod, and owned his repentance for what he had done; that he had never seen him, occasioned by calumny, inasmuch that he had told Sylla, that he had compelled him, by his lying account of things, to be guilty of ingratitude against a man that was his friend. At the last, he came to this: Sylla was sent away by him, to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished [with death:!] but still Caesar was offended with Ar- tas, that he had taken upon himself the government, without his consent first obtained, for he had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod; but that the letters he had sent hindered him from doing so, for Olympias and Volumnius, perceiving that Caesar was now become favourable to Aradas, gave in writing to Herod that the letters they were commanded by Herod to give him concerning his sons. When Caesar had read them, he thought it would not be proper to add another government to him, now he was old, and in an ill state of health, and to send him to Cæ- zareus and Volumnius; the presidents of Syria; that at last he had sworn at Berytus, by thy word, that he would certainly pay the money in thirty days, and deliver up the fugitives retained under his dominion. After his return, and he had performed nothing of this, Herod again before the presidents; and upon their suggestion to make a seizure for his money, he, difficulty, went out of the country with a safe conduct; for that purpose which these men so tragically de- livered, and this is the affair of the expedition to Arabia. And how can this be called a war? by presidents permitted it; the Caesarians sent them; and it was not executed till thy name, as well as that of the other gods, had dis- appeared. And now I must speak in order to the captives. There were robbers that returned to Pelusium, that their numbers were forty, but they became more after- ward they escaped the punishment Herod inflicted on them, by making Arabians. Sylla received them, and sup- posed that he might be mis- took to all mankind, and gave them a new habit, and himself received the gains by robbery; yet did promise that he deliver up these men, and that by the same time that he swore on the payment of his debt; nor can he by any law that any other persons have at this taken out of Arabia, besides these, and all these neither, but only a few that escaped, the number of the captives, which had been so presented, appear to be no better than had a lie, made on purpose to provoke ation; for I venture to affirm, that number of them. Two of Herod's party fell, he then took himself, and there fell Nacebas, and, in all, about twenty-five others; whereas Sylla, by multiplying seven to a hundred, reckoned he had been two thousand five hundred.  

Berytus, which is a city belonging to the Romans, and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought to be illustrious, for their friendship to him, and to make him less feared, and determine what should be done by their approbation. These were the directions that Caesar gave him. Accordingly Herod, when he poster was brought to him, was immediately very glad of Caesar's letters, and was very glad also, that he had a complete authority given him over his sons. And it strangely came about; that whereas before, in his adversity, though he had indeed showed himself severe, yet he had not been very rash, nor hasty in presenting the destruction of his sons, he now, in his prosperity, took advantage of this change for the better, and the freedom he now had, to exercise his hatred against them, after many years of woe; he therefore sent and called as many as he thought fit to this assembly, except Archelaus, for an

† The fortress of Caesar, was put to Poly- f. – Fust. by the Romans a Christian, as they were then esteemed, during the times of the Cath. Martyrs. Polyb., book v. 9. Polybius relates Augustus to have said, that only belongs to the Roman, is con-
ANTIOCHITIES OF THE JEWS.

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For him, he either hated him, so that he would not invite him, or he thought he would be an
obstacle to his designs.

2. To remove the Kings and the rest that belonged to the cities, were come to Berytus, he
kept his sons in a certain village belonging to Sidos, called Platana, but near to this city, that
if they were called he might produce them, for he was doing the thing before the assembly:
and when there were one hundred and fifty assessors present, Herod came by himself alone;
and accused his sons, and that in such a way if it were not a melancholy accusation, and not
be known out of necessity, when he came to the demonstration of the crime they
were of those misfortunes he was under: indeed, in such a way, as was
very indecent for a father to accuse his sons, for he was very vehement and disordered, when
he came to the demonstration of the crime they they themselves had written, wherein there
was no confession of any plots or contrivances against him, but only how they had contrived to flee
away, and containing within certain reproaches against the
accusers, so as if he was to cry out against them; and when he came to those reproaches, he
cried out most of all, and exaggerated what they said, as if they had confessed the design against
him. Now the king took care that he should not lose his life than hear such reproachful words.
At last he said, that he had sufficient authority both by nature, and by Caesar's grant to him, [to
do what he thought fit.] He also added an alle-
gation of a law of his country, which enjoined this: that if parents laid their hands on the head of
him that was accused, the standers by were obliged to cast stones at him, and thereby to slay
him, which though he was ready to do in his own kingdom, yet he would wait the time of
their determination: that yet they came thither not so much as judges, to condemn them for such
manifest designs against him, whereby he had almost perished by his sons' means, but as per-
sons who had an opportunity, and read him himself what determination of such practices, and declaring how
unworthy a thing it must be in any, even the most remote, to pass over such treacherous de-
signs (without punishment).

3. As had said this, and the young men had not been produced to make any defence
for themselves, the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so
they confirmed his authority. And in the first place, Saturenius, a scribe, pronounced his sen-
tence, but with great moderation and trouble, and said, "That he condemned Herod's sons,
but did not think they should be put to death. He had not the business, nor the
safety of his young men, whose death, is a greater misfortune than any other that could befall him by their means." After him Saturenius, for he had three sons that fol-
lowed him, and whom he arrogates, pretended the same sentence with their father: on the contra-
ry, Saturenius' sentence was to inflict death on such as had so impiously seduced unto their
father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same sentence. This seemed to be the appro-
priate: that the young men were condemned to die.

Immediately after this, Herod came away from the place, and took his sons to Tyre, where Nico-
mas met him in his voyage from Rome; of whom he inquired, after he had related to him, what
had passed at Berytus, what his sentiments were about his sons, and what his friends at Rome
thought of that matter? His answer was, "That
what they had determined to do there was imp-
ious, and that thou oughtest to keep them in
prison; and if thou thinkest any thing further
necessary, thou mayest indeed so punish them,
that thou mayest not appear to indulge thy
anger on thyself. I judge so far, if thou incline
to the milder side, thou mayest absolve them, lest perhaps thy misfortunes be rendered incurable: and this is the greatest part of thy friends at Rome also." What Herod was silent, and in great
thoughtfulness, and bade Nicolaus sail along with him.

4. Now as they came to Cesarea, every body was there talking of Herod's sons and the king-
dom; and as they were of the expectation of what would become of them, for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the an-
cient disorders of the family should come to a
sad conclusion, and they were in great trou-
bles and perplexities, it was said danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor
even to hear another saying it; but men's pity
was forced to be shut up in ourselves, which rendered the excess of their sorrow very int-
tense. But one man here and there said some
thing concerning Tero, who was a son of the same age with Alexander, and his
friend, who was so very free, as openly to speak out what others silently thought about that man,
whom they considered not to be true of the multitude, and said, in the most unguarded ma-
ner, "That truth was perished, and justice taken
away from men, while lies and ill-will prevailed.
And that the name of that illustrious Tero
who had done such good, and that the officers were not able to see the greatest mischief that
befalls men." And as he was so bold, he seemed not to have kept himself out of
danger, by speaking so freely; but the reason
able and judicious were able to keep him, as having behaved himself with great man-
hood, and this at a proper time also, for which reason every one heard what he said with plea-
sure; and although they first took care of their own safety, by keeping silent, yet did they kindly receive the great freedom he took for the expectation they were in of so great an
affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatever they pleased.

5. Thus many being left him into the king's
presence with the greatest freedom, and desired
to speak with him by himself alone, which the king permitted him to do, where he said this:

"Since I am not able, O king, to bear up under
so great a calamity, as I am unable to disren-
nered the use of this bold liberty that I now take,
which may be for thy advantage, if thou wilt
get any profit by it, before my own safety. Whet-
ther is thy understanding gone, and left thy soul
empty? It either is that exalted madness of thine gone, whereby thou hast performed so
many and such glorious actions! Whence comes
this solitude, and desertion of thy friends and rela-
tions? Of which I cannot but determine, that
they are neither thy friends nor relations, but
they overlook so horrid wickedness in thy once
happy kingdom. Dost not thou perceive what is
doing? Wilt thou slay these two young men,
horns out of the body? Say then, whether thou
earnest not every virtue in the highest degree, and leave thyself industrious in thy old age, but exposed to
one son, who hath very ill managed the hope
thou hast given him; and to relations, whose
death is not yet forgotten?" Do not thou take
notice, that the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime and ab-
hors the fact? The whole army and the officers
have commiseration on the poor unhappy youths, and hatred to those that are the actors in that
matter." These words the king heard, and for
some time with good temper. But what can one
say! When Tero plainly touched upon the bad
behaviour and perfidiousness of his domestics
he was moved at it; but Tero went on further.
BOOK XVI.—CHAP. XI.

... he used an unbounded military freedom, nor was he so well disciplined as late himself to the time: so Herod disturbed, and seeming to be rather by this speech, than to be hearing or his advantage, while he learned both the soldiers abhorred the thing, and the people. Wheresoever that all whom Tero had named, himself, should be bound and kept in his was even, one Trypho, who was barber, took the opportunity, and bid the king, that Tero would often ded him, that when he trimmed him, to cut his throat, for that by this could be among the chief of Alexand- r. And, therefore, he made great rewards from him, he had said this, the king gave Tero and his son, and the barber tortured, which was done accordingly, are bore upon himself, his son seeing ready in a sad case, and had no hope, ce, and perceiving what would be of his terrible sufferings, said, king would free him and his father arter, for what he should say, be the truth." And when the king had done to do, he said that "there was it made, that Tero should lay violent to king, because it was easy for him so he already was, and that if, when thing, he should suffer death for not unlikely, it would be an act of one in favour of Alexander." This ero's son said, and thereby freed the distress he was in; but uncertain he had been thus forced to speak, or whether it were a contrivance to procure his own and his father's from their miseries. If he had before any doubt son of his sons, there was now room left in his soul for it; but he had away whatsoever might afford him suggestion of reasoning better about se he was alone, and that if, when the multitude was stoned with whatsoever l, and thereby slew them. Alexander stobulus, were brought to Sebaste by a command, and there strangled; but bodies were in the night-time carandrium, where their uncle by their e, and the greatest part of their an deposited.

... or perhaps it may not seem unreasonable, that such an invertebrate hatred are so much [on both sides] as to their, and overcome nature: but it deserves consideration, whether it be on account of their nature, and such an occasion to their father's ed him to do what he did, and by go in the same way, put things past reenjoyed him to use them so unmercifully, either it be to lead the father's

w is here to note, that this eighth section is in the old Latin version, as Spanheim charge, that he was so hard-hearted, and so very tender in the desire of government, and of other things that would tend to his glory, that he would not take no one into a partnership with him, that so whatsoever he would have done himself might continue immoveable; or indeed, whether fortune have not greater power than all prudent reasons: whence we are persuaded that human actions are thereby determined beforehand by an inevitable necessity, and we call her Fate, because there is nothing which is not done by her: wherefore I suppose it will be sufficient to compare this notion to the other, which attributes somewhat to ourselves, and renders men not accountable for the different conduct of their lives, which notion is no other than the philosophical determination of our ancient law. Accordingly, of the philosophical event, any body may lay the blame on the young men, who acted by youthful vanity, and pride of their royal birth, that they should bear hear the calumnies that were raised against their father, while certainly they were not judges of the actions of his life, but ill-educated in suspecting, and interpose in speaking of it, and on both accounts easily caught by those that observed them, and made them say, yet cannot their father be thought worthy of excuse, as to that horrid impiety which he was guilty of about them, while he ventured, without any certain evidence of their treacherous designs against him, and murdering him, and they had made preparation for such attempt, to kill his own sons, who were of very comely bodies, and the great darlings of other men, and nowayes deficient in their conduct, whether it were in hunting, or in war, or in any other thing, and making upon occasional topics of discourse: for in all these they were skillful, and especially Alex- ander, who was the eldest; for certainly it had been sufficient, even though he had condemned them, to have kept them alive in bonds, or to let them live at a distance from his dominions in banishment, while he was surrounded by the Roman forces, which were a strong security to him, whose help would prevent him suffering any thing by sudden onset, or by force; but for him to kill them on the sudden, in order to gratify a passion that governed him, was a demonstration of insufferable impiety; he also was guilty of so great a crime in his old age; nor will the de laws that he made, nor the liberty of time in which the thing was done, plead at all for his excuse; for when a man is on a sudden amazed, and in commotion of mind, and then commits a wicked action, although this be a heavy crime, yet is it a thing that frequently happens; but to do it upon deliberation, and after frequent attempts, and as frequent puttings off, to undertake it at last, and accomplish it, was the action of a murderous mind, and such as was not easily mov ed from that which is evil: and this temper he showed in what he did afterward, when he did not spare those that seemed to be the best beloved of his friends that were left, whereas, though the justice of this punishment caused those that perished to be the less pitied, yet was the barbarity of the man here equal, in that he did not abstain from their slaughter also; but of these persons we shall have occasion to discourse more hereafter.

... truly observes; nor is there any other reason for it, I suppose, than the great difficulty of an exact translation
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.

BOOK XVII.

CHAP. I.

Here Antipater was hated by all the Nation [of the Jews] for the Slaughter of his Brethren; and how, for that Reason, he got into peculiar favour with his friends, and the money Princes; as he did likewise with Sata-

rinus, the President of Syria, and the Gov-

ernors who were under him; and concerning Herod’s Wives and Children.

§ 1. WHEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of simplicity, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, he could think of no other thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great: and besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the solider grieves the still more, who was alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. Nevertheless, he presumed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already; and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for which he ought himself to have turned to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill-will to them, and before them, to his father himself; and this was the accrued state he was in. Now, all Antipater’s contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy; insomuch that the very plots he and laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because, if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but, if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger, upon a dis-

covery of the treachery of which he had been the author, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy, and on that account it was that he became very bountiful to his father’s friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to secure himself with his good
deads, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome, particularly, to gain their good-will; and above all to Sata-

rinus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the friends of Sata-

rinus, the king’s sister, who had married one of Her-

od’s chief friends. And, when he saw the sufficiency of these presents, he resolved, having been very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deceived, while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater’s uncle by the mother’s side was mar-

ried to her daughter, and this by his own con-

trivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome’s sister was married to the son of Calleus; yet that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindness to him could not prevent the hatred of his wife, who compelled Salome, while she was in love with Syllaeus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instan-

cce of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to inter-

cept the marriage of her own advantage. At this time, also, it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus’s daughter, who had been Alexander’s wife, to her father, retaining the portion he had with her of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his sons’ children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by the same woman as Archelaus, Berenice, Salome’s daughter, and two daughters, and, as his friends were once with him, he pre-

sented the children before them, and deposing the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that they might now have a kind regard to theirs, that the reign and power should come to them, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed in their youth against the marriage of his sons’ to Phae-

rora’s daughter, and Antipater’s daughter to Aristobulus’s eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’s daughters to Antipater’s son, and Aristobulus’s other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now, the king made these appointments of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fall to bear the same tem-

per of mind to his brothers’ children, which he had borne to his brothers’ families, and to his father’s; and besides that he advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time, also, it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus’s daughter, who had been Alexander’s wife, to her father, retaining the portion he had with her of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it. 

§ 2. Now Herod brought up his sons’ children with great care; for Alexander had two sons by the same woman as Archelaus, Berenice, Salome’s daughter, and two daughters, and, as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them, and deposing the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that they might now have a kind regard to theirs, that the reign and power should come to them, but that they might improve in virtue, and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed in their youth against the marriage of his sons’ to Phereoros’s daughter, and Antipater’s daughter to Aristobulus’s eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus’s daughters to Antipater’s son, and Aristobulus’s other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest’s daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now, the king made these appointments of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fall to bear the same temper of mind to his brothers’ children, which he had borne to his brothers’ families, and to his father’s; and besides that he advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time, also, it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus’s daughter, who had been Alexander’s wife, to her father, retaining the portion he had with her of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.
with the impositions of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.

3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died; having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him; one of whom was Jasonus, who was famous for his valour, and taught his Babyloniains how to ride their horse-races, and a troop of them were foremost in the manly educated kings. And when Jasonus was dead in his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects; more eminent for his valor than any of his contemporaries: on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army which he maintained as great as that of a king; which he exalted, and led whereas he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such, that he could do good or evil, as pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good-will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his powers still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe, as he said, he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts behind the scenes; but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Phoebus, him who received and the like marks of his friendship: while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women, whom he placed as guards about him; for Phoebus kept to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bore them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, so much that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Phoebus and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their faction was made in order to do Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was nearer than ever when they were in private. And this was the course they took; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first con- sensus, when they got these intimations, nor when they had made some progress in them; but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, "As well their secret assemblies and their confabulations in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But, to appearances, they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but..."
antiquities of the jews

agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves, they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of the whole plot. She then told her brother of them, who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that opposed the Pharisees in Jerusalem, and they were highly esteemed upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were called. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were the most bold in the capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Phereor's wife paid their fine for them. In order for that, as they were of a sort, and kindred, of the Pharisees, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and his posters. And they kept on of this sort, that the king's sons should come to her and Phereor, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; and also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself, so the king sent such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoes, the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his caitiff. He slew also those of his own family who had been taken in the capacity foretold; and for Bagoes, he had been puffed up by them as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoes to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

chap. iii.

considering the enmity between herod and phereor; how herod sent antipater to caesar; and of the death of phereor.

§ 1. when herod had punished those phari"sees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Phereor's wife; and ascribing the abuses of the virgin to the impudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonesty she had brought upon them; that "she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of wrangle, and her cruel words and fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her advice for which reason she was not to be trusted, if he would, on his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this wife away, as one that will still be trusty. And now, Phereor, if thou vaxnest thy relation to put this wife of thine away; for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me. Then said Phereor, (although as we were pressed hard by the former words,) that "as he would not do so respect a thing as to renounce his brotherly re-

Jation to him, so he would not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live if the wife was so dear unto him." Herodupon Herod put off his anger against Phereor on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater to come to him, and ordered that he be kept under guard. He also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Phereor's wife, and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

But Antipater had now no suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase: so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bade them to send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Caesar; which, as we have already said, Herod sent Antipater thither, and many noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die, then his son should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome, Syllicus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that Caesar had enjoined. Antipater also accused him of all sorts of slanders, that the king's sons should come to him and to their children. These things were of which Syllicus was accused, and that on the occasion following: there was one Carabas, belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's person, who was greatly trusted by him. Syllicus had persuaded this man with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod; and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been acquainted with this, for Syllicus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who commanded Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabsians, who were discovered by him, and one the head of the sect, and the other a friend to Syllicus, who both were by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were come to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and they both, with their own hands, avenged the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time, Herod commanded Phereor, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own territories, which he did very willingly, and swore many oaths that he would not come again, till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed, when upon a certain occasion he was sent to Rome, he sent a report to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him; yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Phereor, and his father-in-law, as to send him, even without seeing him: for when he was dead, he took care of his kinsman, that he had thus brought to Jerusalem, and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This (death of Phereor) became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he had been called for Rome, God now being about to punish him for his murder of his brethren. I will ex-
history of this matter very distinctly, ye be for a warning to mankind, that care of conducting their whole lives is of virtue.

CHAP. IV

Wife is accused by his freed-men as poisoning him; and how Herod, upon the Matter by Torture, found the but that it had been prepared for his son Antipater; and, upon an Intoxication, he discovered the dangers of Antipater.

As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his nor a son, two of Pheroras's freed-men, much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and directed him not to leave the murder without avenging it, but to ex-such an unreasonable and unhappy man when he was moved with these words as he was not; but that when he had eaten he died this potion was brought out of Arabia, under pretence indeed as a love that was its name, but in reality to this one uncongratulated, and on the contrary, she promised and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said, what many took to be entirely true, that 'The potion was brought out of Egypt by Antipater, and that he sent it to Herod, who was a physician, had procured it; and that when Theudion brought it us, she kept it upon Pheroras's committing it to her; and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee.' Then, therefore, Pheroras was the most of them, but this, that 'she prayed that send the like agonies upon Antipa- ther, who had been the occasion of these all of them.' This prayer induced the woman's tortures, till was discovered: 'their merry meet-ings, and the disclosing of what said to his son alone unto Pherora-

(Now what Herod had charged to conceal, was the gift of a hundred ing up, that might have hopes of s, as well as himself, all which made Herod had ordained, and that should be committed, and not only on a brother. He also had king of great barbority, and of the king, and had resolved to confine it, first, that Herod divorced her, and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boanas, and appointed The- tathias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be his high priest in his room.

her mother, and sister.—It seems to me, by put together, that Pheroras was not himself poisoned; by poisoning of Pheroras serve any design that
3. While this was doing, Batnusas, also Antipater's freed-man, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroros, that if the former potion did not suffocate the king, the least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the murder of Alexander. Antipater, with Antichus and the Gallicus, by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Syleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on the same day had brought splendid offers to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during several months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.

CHAP. V.

Antipater's Navigation from Rome to his Father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then President of Syria; and how he was bound till Caesar should be informed of his Cause.

§ 1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and this to the manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and he began not to delay his coming, but the harm should befall himself in his absence. At the same time also he made some little complaint about his mother, but promised that he would lay those complaints aside with his coming. He also expressly expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him, and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroros' death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroros, but because he was sensible that his father's favorite which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celenderis in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now he hopes by this time, that his friend and he should marry a while somewhere, in expectation of further information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all. But Antipater would have borne this burden and that which incurred any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus, which Herod had built at vast expenses in honour of Caesar, called Sebastus. And Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him nor saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter cares, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

2. When Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succour Saurianus, as president of Syria, and was come as an aссessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater, his friend, introduced him to him. It was not a matter of anything new; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the matter, and he delivered words to the parts, to salute his father he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditer, and judge the very next day; so he found, that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion: upon which his mother and his wife, that he had his treatment in writing of Antigonus (who was king of the Jews before Herod,) from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. The next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment; and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discern any thing, and such as had been tortured; and before their arrival the slaves of Antipater, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: "He should not come back, because all was come to his father, then Varus; and that Caesar had left it to prevent both him and her delivery into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him not to prejudice his cause, but that he should be delivered by his father, and that his father would keep him still unprejudiced." So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then "lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great troubles, because, not knowing Antipater to be the heir to him in his old age. He also reckoned upon what maintenance and what education he had given them, and what reasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their age; for it seemed to have hindered them from contriving against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass, as to be hardy enough to attempt such things, as that he would declare him his successor in the government; and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty thousand from his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren, whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and that he had indeed, and did not accept of any regulations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he was to depose, if he should think proper."

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but
ment to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even the most creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors, while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hindrance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet what thou, O Antipater! (as thou hast thyself confessed,) the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author and helper of the greatest impunity, which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off, because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs; but thou didst not yield up their partners; and that thou didst thereby didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thy self alone this advantage of laying against them the greatest evidence, and that it was not real for the calumnies of such as provoked disturbances before those letters; part of which calumnies had been last thy lies raised been received in that manner; they, which they had not do it if he had been there. Moreover the weakness of the evidence torture, which was commonly false; in which case he also obliges them to say many things false, and that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised been believed, and so make thee to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parish grave. For so thou art his son, did not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee, and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had been thyself; because thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determinations, and the security of a written testament. But for certain thou didst measure these things according to thy father's various disposition, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and was desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and sought to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretended to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raisedst disturbances among thy brethren, and hast a boldness to call thy father a wild beast, while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sentest out that poison among thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee, and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the arts of both men and women, against an old man: as though of mind that wise
not sufficient of itself to support so great a ha-
tred as thou barest to him. And here thou ap-
pearest, after the tortures of freemen, of domes-
tics, of men and women, which have been ex-
acted on thy account, and after the informa-
tions of thy fellow-conspirators, as making haste
to contradict the truth; and hast thought on ways
not only to take thy father out of the world, but
to dissuad that written law which is against
the nature of virtuous men. What then? for
the nature of Varus, as a just man; and the
justice; may, such is that impulse of thine on
which thou confidest, that thou desiriest to be put
to the torture thyself, while thou allegest, that
the tortures of those already examined thereby
have not been in vain; tell him; that it has been
the deliverers of thy father may not be al-
lowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tor-
tures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth.
Wilt not thou, O Varus! deliver the king from
the sacred flame? for thou callest on those who for
strove this wicked wild beast, which hath pretend-
ed kindness to his father, in order to destroy his
brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to
carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears
to be the first; to the very uttering of his last
word. For thou art sensible, that parricide is a general
injury both to nature and to common life, and
that the intention of parricide is not inferior to
the accomplishment, and he who does not punish it,
is injurious to nature itself."

6. Nicobulus added further what belonged to An-
tipater's mother, and whatsoever she had pratt-
tled like a woman; as also about the predictions
and the sacrifices relating to the king, and what-
soever Antipater had done lasciviously in his
cups and his amours among Phereor's women;
the examination upon torture; and whatsoever
concerned the testimonies of the witnesses,
who were many and of various sorts; some
prepared beforehand, and others were sudden
answers, which farther declared and confirmed
the foregoing evidence. For those men who were
acquainted with Antipater's practices, but
had concealed them out of fear, who saw that
he was exposed to the accusations of the
former witnesses, and that his great good for-
tune, which had supported him hitherto, had
now evidently betrayed him into the hands of
his enemies; who were now inflamed with a
hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And
his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the
enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his
gross, and impudent, and wicked courtesies,
and his cruelty to his father-in-law and to the
people of Aner, while he had filled their house with
disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and
was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his
friendship; but just so far as served his own
interest. Of these, he was afraid, and who for a
long time beforehand had seen all this; and es-
specially such as were naturally disposed to judge
of matters by the rules of virtue; because they
were used to determine about affairs without pass-
ing over such a reason; and had never been making any
open complaints before; these, upon the leave
now given them, produced all they knew before
the public. The demonstrations also of these
wicked facts could not be kept away, because they
were all the many witnesses there were did neither speak
out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to
keep back what they had to say; out of suspic-
ion of any danger they were in; but they spoke with
liberty, because they had such averse opin-
tions very wicked, and that Antipater deserved
the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much
for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's
own wickedness. Many things were also said, and
that he had a great number of persons who were
now obliged to have them; inasmuch that
Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd
in his lies and impudence, was not able to say
one word to the contrary. When Nicobulus had
left off speaking, and had produced the evidence,
Varus bade Antipater to betake himself to making
his defence, if he had prepared any thing where-
by it might appear that he was not guilty of the
crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was
himself desirous, so did he know that his father
was in like manner desirous also to have him
found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down
on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men
that could give him shelter, to the nature of
God; and that God would declare by some evident signals, that
he had not laid any plot against his father. This
being the usual method of all men destitute of
virtue, that when they set about any wicked
undertaking, to beguile God by such or other
inventions, as they believed that God was unconcerned in human
affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger
of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes,
was, because that was the palace of the Syrians;
against them, by appealing to God; which was
the very thing which Antipater now did; for
whereas he had done every thing as if there
were no God in the world; when he was on all
sides beset and beset by sides, he thought to
other advantage to expect from legal proofs,
by which he might disprove the accusations laid
against him, he impudently abused the majesty
and power of God, and laid it to his heart that he
had been preserved hitherto; and produced before
them all what difficulties he ever encountered
in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater who
had nothing to say besides his appeal to God,
and saw that there was no end of that, he bade
them bring the potion before the court, that he
might see what virtue still remained in it; and
what it was that would still serve him to do what
he had done to drink it by Varus's command, he
died presently. Then Varus got up, and depart-
ed out of the court, and went away the day fol-
lowing to Antioch, where his usual residence
was, because he was the owner of the Alexandrias
upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But
what were Varus's discourses to Herod, was not
known to the generality, and upon what words it
was that he went away; though it was gossi-
ped and computed that he went to visit his
ward about his son, was done with his approbation.
But when Herod had bound his son, he sent
letters to Rome to Caesar about him, and
such messengers withal as should, by word of
mouth, be the better acquainted with Herod's
treatments. Now, at this very time there was seized a letter
of Antiphostus, written to Antipater out of Egypt,
(for he lived there,) and, when it was opened by
the king, it was found to contain what follows:
"I have sent thee Acme's letter, and bade thee
my own life; for thou knowest that I am in dan-
ger from two families, if I be not discovered. I wish
thee a good success in thy affair." These were
the words in the letter, but the contents of the
inquiry about the other letter also, for it did not
appear, and Antiphostus's slave, who brought
that letter which had been read, denied that he had
received the other. But, while the king was in doubt about it, he,
seem upon the inner coat of the slave, and
the doubling of the cloth, (for he had two coats on,) he
guessed that the letter might be within that
doubling, which accordingly proved to be true.

So Varus, being asked after the letter of these:
"Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desiredst me. I have
also taken a copy and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady [Livia] which, when
thou seekest, I know that he hate; so, as Salome,
acting against him." Now, this pre-
tended letter of Salome's to her lady was com-
posed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as
it to its meaning, but in the words of Acme. The
2. There was one Judas, the son of Sarchaeus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all the works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers, and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety, for that it was truly on account of Herod's races in making war, as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, was so usual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him; for Herod had caused such things, which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle, of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now, the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alleging, that "although they should incur any danger by that, it was better for them to die, than to bring upon their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observance of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of that spirit to posterity, since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fate if he fell upon them as may carry them out of the world with praise and honour; and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and, at the same time, to preserve that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women, which will be of great advantage to them afterward."  

3. And with such discourses as this, did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place; and he may have done what seemed good to him, and given him in his wicked designs, of the epistles before mentioned.  

**CHAP. VI.**

**The Disease that Herod fell into, and which the Jews raised thereupon, in pursuit of the Stichimias.**

Herod's ambassadors made haste to tell, as instructed beforehand, what were to make to the questions put by also carried the epistles with him; but now fell into a diastrem, and bequeathed his kingdom to his brother-in-law, of a higher nature than he; he left behind him, having a great band of soldiers with him, such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was also to the whole world, as he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away, together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had

* That the making of images, without an intention to worship them, was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. vii. sect. 3.
ANTIOCHENES OF THE JEWISH.

5. But now Herod's disturbance greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins; for a fire went in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or another; and hisDigitized by Google

And they said, and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily act about this undertaking. And when the things had been ordered to the end, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre, and because he could not himself extend his hands on such a great number, he enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account, and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him, while the Ammonians, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was; that he had adored it with very valuable donations, on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and not that it must have been known to his descendants. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from afflicting him, even in his lifetime, but that, in the very daytime, and in the sight of the multitude, they had subjected him to that degree, as to fall upon what he had done, and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to afflict him; but if any one consider the things that he did, like a man mad, and were guilty of sacrilege against God the rein.

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "Let those who have done wrong, bear their application, and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others (of the assembly;) but he deprived Matthias his high priest of the priestly office, and this was an occasion of this action, and made Jason, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened, that during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person named high priest, and they were in the custom that every day which the Jews observed as a fast, the occasion was this: this Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day, when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream to be measured with his weight, and because he could not offset himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Eleazar, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office. But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood, and buried the other Matthias who had raised the session, with his companions, alive. And that very night the Jews became very sad, and this continued for five days, and the chief violence of his pain lay on his colon; an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Now, when he was thus before death, he produced worms; and when he was up, he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its return; he had also consumed things, and for a long time he was not in his senses, but he was in a manner stupor, and in a general consumption. And when he was thus, he said to them: "I shall increase his strength to an unsurpassable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foresee such things, that God inflicted this punishment on me, because I was still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his sickness. He also bathed himself in the warm bathes that were at Caesarea, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink, which water ran into the lake called Apollonitis. And when he was thus fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived, and having no longer any thoughts of recovering, he gave orders that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmas, and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric, that it brought him consumptive things; and to Mullus who he was near his death, he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Then he said to his soldiers this, that as the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was sick, and he gave orders for all as well as those that had afforded ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hippodromes, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband. Also he wrote to the king thus; the king was in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and with unkindness with his weight, which weighed by itself a crown of thorns. For the many important duties he was to perform on that occasion, thus disperses him only to perform them. Nor do any measures, which are attempted by when, as the evidence much less as constructed thereby, seem to
ready to revolt from him, and to onisten he had dedicated to God; therefore their business to resolve to come alleviation of his great sorrow: for, that, if they do not refuse unrest in what he desires, he shall remembering at it; the such thing had before him; for then the raim would mourn from their very soul, wise would be done in sport and of. He desired them to him as soon as he had given up the ghost, they riders round the hippodrome, while know that he is dead: and that they bare his death to the multitude till be ordered that that are in custody shot with the hat that slaughter of them all will: shall not miss to rejoice on a double that as he is dying, they will make him in will shall be executed in what he as to do; and that they shall have the memorable mourning at his funeral. And his condition, with tears in his appeared in them by the kindness due of by his kindred, and by the God, and begg'ed of them that they under him of this honourable mourning. So they promised him not to commands.

one may easily discover the teman's mind, which not only took doing what he had done formerly sations, out of the love of life, but minds of his which savoured of no sotook care when he was done of this life, that the whole nation into mourning, and indeed made their dearest kindred, when he gave not out of every family should be the they had taken them, that was against him, nor were they other crimes; while it is usual for be any regard to virtue, to lay aside it such a time, even with respect to sty esteemed their enemies.

CHAP. VII.

thoughts of killing himself with his and a little afterward he orders Antipater.

was giving these commands to his came letters from his ambassa- die when they were read, their purport was his name was slain by Cesar, out of his what hand he had in Antipater's as; and that as to Antipater him- fitlii to have acted as a become king, and either to banish him or life, which he pleased.7 When this, he was somewhat better, out he had from the contents of the as his enemies, the power that was given him over his sins pains were become very great, ady to faint for want of something called for an apple, and a knife; for stom formerly to wear the apple upon afterward to eat it, and eat it, got the knife, he looked about, and stab himself with it; and he had at his first cousin, Archias, pre-

we said, that Philip the tetarch, and Archelaus, were children of hers, or as those whose names were brothers, or born in another. These must be here meant: they had indeed the same father, Herod, hers; the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus were indeed brought up together as his own brothers; and Philip was as when he went to have his kingdom com-

vanted him, and hold his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a word lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king was dead. Upon which, Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, gave bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discourse with the jailer about letting him go, and in that case as that was the only thing now in question. But the jailer did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had had that he should take Herod. Hereupon Herod, who had formerly so affection very good-will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailer said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised Cesar tan millions of drachmes of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cesar's wife; and to uncertain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain, having reigned since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men, a subject to his passion, and in the consideration of what was right: yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he was encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clearness them, and continued his life to a very old age. But them, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexas, before the king's death was made known, dismissed them that were shut up in the hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteem'd by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexas gathered the

BOOK XVII.—CHAP. VII. VIII.

§ 1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gerasa, and Trachonitis, and Panias, to Philæ who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus, by the name of a tetarchcy; and bequeathed Jamsis, and Aedus, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand drachmas silver that was secured. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cesar tan millions of drachmes of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly, to Julia, Cesar's wife; and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain, having reigned since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men, a subject to his passion, and in the consideration of what was right: yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was, for from a private man he became a king; and though he was encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clearness them, and continued his life to a very old age. But them, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate, because he was able to conquer his enemies, yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

1 Those numbers of years for Herod's reigns, 34, and 37, are the very same with those of the Wart, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 1, which intimacy is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before.

2 These numbers of years for Herod's reigns, 34, and 37, are the very same with those Of the Wart, B. ii. ch. xxixii. sect. 5, and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod. See Harm. of the Evang. p. 130—135.
soldierly together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter, written to the soldierly, thanking them for their fidelity and good-will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had chosen as king, the same fidelity and good-will. After which, Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament, which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cassar had inspected it; and Cassar was represented as having made Archelaus, as king, and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good-will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod, and therefore came to God to be contented with him.

3. After this was over, they prepared for his funeral, which Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments and his ephod and his sceptre; and his body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself: he had a diadem upon his head, and rods, and a sceptre, and a chair upon which he used to sit; and he sent his guards with him, some right and left of all his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians; every one in their habitations of war; and these marched the whole day, as they were accustomed to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their master-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying his shield; so they went forth from Jerusalem to Herodium; for there by his own command he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect, as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for the fast of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple; he had also acclamations and praises given him, which way sooner he had been the one striving for the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat, in a throne made of gold, and spoke kindly to the multitude, and declared 12 when he had been appointed by the consent of Cassar, and the marks of the good-will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them he would endeavour not to be beheld with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner; but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity if Cassar should consent thereto, and settle it on him, which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although, by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him, and that it should be in all things wherein they were concerned, to prove in every respect better than his father. Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed that the first day of the feast that entered upon such a scale of events, governments, declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by much Archelaus spoke the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly commend him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would receive them of some of their annual payments, but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away the taxes that were laid upon them so severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good-will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good-will as a sure presage of the prosperity of his government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then bestowed himself to fast with his friends.

CHAP. IX.

How the People raised a Sedition against Archelaus, and how he sailed to Rome.

§ 1. At this time also it was, that some of the Jews got together out of a desire of innovation and tumults, and would have made the chief of the kingdom, Archelaus, to deal in a civil war with the inhabitants of the country; and they came to him, and intimated the miseries of the decayed 13. The people assembled together, and desired Archelaus, that in this year of our Lord nineteen, he should have his request. So Archelaus, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod: and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive them of all their estates and fortunes, and choose one more agreeable to the laws and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was greatly offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cassar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was not such as he could have wished; and that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should go to Rome, to be invested in the consent of Cassar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions; but they opposed at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditious persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to depart, but put their requirements and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent them going on in their present courses; because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that while Herod was alive, they should lose their liberty and freedom, and that, when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them and to satisfy the dangers they incurred; and when they had supposed of

Of the War, B. I. ch. xxiii. sect. 8. must have taken up no less than twenty-three days.
Yet did the present pleasure they had in their punishment of those they deemed enemies, override all such considerations. He Archelaus, in his own caprice, not only sealed them as traitors, but sent them in his own manner, yet they treated them not as traitors, but as persons that were not brought to a proper sentence, nor were courted to mitigate their anger, but let out of them speak. The same, after Archelaus had been so much overruled, it was evident that they were pro-\[\ldots\]er in seditious practices, by the running so fast upon them, upon the approach of those forces of an alarm, which the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them, until Caesar should declare his resolution about them; so that, upon this his promise, he tarried still at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus was removed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effect, and declared publicly that he should require them to give an account of all the matters they had: and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them concerning them, but all the commands they had been enjoined, and their pretense was, that they kept them all for Cæsar.

4. At the same time, also, did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises, that he should take the govern-ment; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority; since Archelaus had, in his former testament, declared him the worthiest to be made king, ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testa-ment. Antipas also brought with him his mother, the old Pilate the brother of Nicodemus, one that had been Herod's most honored friend, and was now zealous for Antipas: but it was Irenæus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom; by whose means it was that, when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he was so full of spirit. And now, when Antipas came to Rome, all his relations revolved to him: not out of their good-will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him, in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also, by letters, accused Ar-\[\ldots\]

5. Now, when Archelaus had sent in his pa-\[\ldots\]ers to Cæsar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Piteomy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Cæsar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the account of the money, and what were the annual revenues of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also written letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caïus, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spoke first to this purpose: that it was ridiculous for those beloved of Cæsar to plead nor to give the kingdom given him, since he had in reality taken already the power over it to himself, before Cæsar had granted it to him: and appealed to those bold actions of our ancestors at the Jewish festival, and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing of them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them, and not been executed by a man that, if
he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to
Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was
determined for him by Cæsar, but, if he owned
himself to be a private person, his case was much
worse, since he who was quite himself, for the king,
could by no means expect to have that
power granted him, of which he had already de-
prived Cæsar [by taking it to himself]. He also
touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his
courage in the commanders in the army, and his
sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his
determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were
no other than a king. He appealed also to his
concessions to those that petitioned him on a pub-
lic issue, and the safe conduct, and what he could
doe or otherwise, than which he could devise no greater if he had been
already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He
also ascribed to him the releasing of the prison-
ers that were in the hippodrome, and many other
things, which he had been certainly done by
him, or were believed to be done, and easily
might he believed to have been done, because
they were of such a nature, as to be usually done
by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of
raising himself, what was done was done without
charge, and which he could devise no greater if he had been
already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He
also charged him with the neglect of the funeral
mourning for his father, and with having merry
meetings the very night in which he died; and
that it was the mirth and joy that took the ban
of revenge off of Cæsars kingdom could thus
requite his dead father, who had bestowed such
benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great
things to him, by pretending to shed tears for
him in the daytime, like an actor on the stage,
but even more when he had bought the govern-
ment, he would appear to be the same
Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted
him the kingdom, which he hath been to his
father, since he undid the government too soon.
And what was dishonourable in his pleading, was the
slaughter of the army about the temple and the
violation of it, as done at the festival; and how
they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of
whom were foreigners, and others of their own
country, and his temple was full of his blood.
And all this was done, not by a minor, but by one
who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that
he might complete the wicked tyranny which his
nature prompted him to, and which is hated by
all kings, that either had been certainly done by
the temple was rather to be attributed to the
mind of those that had been killed, than to the
authority of Archelaus; for that those, who are
the authors of such things, are not only wicked
themselves, but they do themselves, but in
forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon
them. Now, it is evident that what these did in
way of opposition was done under pretence in-
deed against Archelaus, but in reality against
Cæsar, and for the sake of himself. He
softened, attacked and slew those who were sent
by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to
their doings. They had no regard, either to God
or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not
ascribed to patronize, it could be out of his
indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of
his hatred of virtue and justice. For as for those
who begin such tumults, and first set about such
unrighteous actions, they are the men who force
those that punish them, to arm themselves even
against their wills. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all
those who were of counsel to the accusers, for
nothing which is here accused of injustice has been
shown to be true, but what was soon after ascribed
as its authors; nor are those things evil in them-
seves, but so represented only in order to do
harm to Archelaus. Such are these men's incli-
nations, and they are in joy to a man's result; he
kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly
acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived
in friendship with them; for that, as to this testa-
ment, it was made by the king when he was of
a sound mind, and ought to be of more authority
than his former testament: and that for the rea-
son, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge
and disposer of all therein contained; and for
Cæsar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the
acts of such, but will judge strongly of those men, who, during
Herod's whole life, had on all occasions joint partakers of power with him, and yet de-
zealously endeavour to injure his determination,
while they have not themselves had the same re-
gards, and have been men (which Cæsar will
not therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his
friend and confederate, and that which is com-
mited to him in trust, to ratify; nor will Cæsar's
wishes be thwarted by any distinction, and
uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in conden-
miring a king as a madman, and as having lost his
reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession
to Antipater. Insulting the authority of Cæsar's
upright determination for refuge. Nor can
Herod at any time have been mistaken in his
judgment about a successor, while he showed so
much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar's deter-
mation.
7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things
before Cæsar, he ended his plea; whereupon
Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he
ruined him up when he had cast himself down at
his feet, and, as Archelaus also was called by his
father to that dignity, when he was in a dying
condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas
was called upon when he was
ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of
body as made him capable of his own
affairs; and if his father had the like notion of
him formerly that he had now showed, yet hath
given him a sufficient specimen what a king he is
likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived
Cæsars of disposition of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from
making a terrible slaughter of his fellow-citizens
in the temple, while he was but a private person." 6.
So when Antipater had made this speech, and said that he had been obeyed by produ-
cing many witnesses from among Archelaus's
own relations, he made an end of his pleading.
Upon which Nicolaus rose up to plead for
Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at

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CHAPTER X.

A Solution of the Jews against Sabæus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.

§ 1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother.
BOOK XVII.—CHAP. X.

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temper, and died of it; and letters
Varus, the president of Syria, which
year of the revolt of the Jews; for,
as was sailed, the whole nation was
So Varus, since he was there him-
self to do; for when they had disturbed
and when he had restrained them
part from this sedition, which was a
ake his journey to Antioch, leav-
g of his army at Jerusalem to keep
set, who were greatly distressed by it. Yet when
of any harm, and did not this at all avail to put an end
shed; for after Varus was gone
us, Cæsar’s procurator, staid behind, dis-
restressed the Jews, relying on the
and on the roofs of the cloisters, which
the Romans, who were greatly dis-
ndesire to protect him: for he made use of
mend them as his guards, whereby so
Je, and giving them so great that
length they rebelled; for he
and extraordinary covetousness.
the approach of Pentecost, which is one
an that of the Jews was as great
men and women, and many men from
Je who had passed over the river
habited those parts. This

ded themselves to all the rest, and
Romé, the northern part of the temple to
 east quarter; but the third
western part of the city where
place was the chief of the Jewish tem-
igh Varus, and to ense-
des. Now, Sabinus was afraid of
number, and of their resolution,
regard to their lives, but were
med to the point of suasion to overcome
ire sent immediately a letter to Va-
be used to do, was very pressing
ntreatment to come quickly to
nt. Thus the bands, one pitched them
men danger, and would probably,
e, he seized upon, and cut to pieces;

self get up to the highest tower
Phasaelis, which had been built
Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also.
However, the Jews went on with the siege, and
dug mines under the palace walls, and besought
those that were gone over to the other side, not
to be their hindrance, now they had such a pro-
portunity for getting the recovery of their city’s ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly he
was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy,
on account of what mischief he had already done
them; and he took this great [pretended] liberty of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them: and so, because he expected that
Varus was coming, he still bore the siege.

4. Now, at this time there were ten thousand
Je, which were like a multitudinous army, and
multus; because a great number put themselves
into a warlike posture either out of hopes of gain
to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In
been fully re-edited in the days of Nero; till whose time
there were 18,000 workmen continually employed in
rebuilding and repairing that temple, as Josephus informs
us, Antiq. b. xx. ch. iv. sect. 7. See the note on that place.

Book xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 10, and of The
sect. 9.
facultations made about the temple here,
B. ii. ch. iii. sect. 3, seem not to have

being much used to those executions. All the
archers also in array did the Romans a great
deal of mischief; because they used their hands
dexterously from a place superior to the others, and
because the others were at an utter loss what to
did, because they were astonished by their own
against the Jews upwards, these arrows could
not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were
easy too hard for their enemies. And this sort of
fight lasted a great while, till at last the Rom-
es, who were greatly pressed, and had
done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that
those who were gotten upon them did not per-
ceive it. This fire being fed by a great deal of
combustible matter, caught hold immediately
on the roof of the cloisters; so the roof
was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold
was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame pre-
sently, and those vast works, which were of
the highest value and esteem, were destroyed ut-
tely, while those that were expectedly perished at the same time; for, as the
roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled
down with it, and others of them were killed by
their enemies who encompassed them. There
were a great number of them, who, out of des-
saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the
misery that surrounded them, did either cast
themselves into the fire, or threw themselves
upon their own swords, and so got out of their
misery. But as to those that retired behind the
same way by which they ascended, and thereby
escaped, they were all killed by the Romans,
as being unarmed men, and their courage failing
them; their wild fury being now not able to help
them, because they were death of arms, and in
so much that, of those that went up to the
roof, not one escaped. The Romans also
rushed through the fire, where it gave them room
so to do, and seized on that treasure where the
sacred money was supposed, which was a large
part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus
got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews’ friends, who
fall in this battle, grieved them, and did all in
plundering of the money dedicated to God in the

temple. Accordingly, that body of them which
continued best together, and was the most war-
like, encompassed the palace, and threatened to
set fire to it, and kill all that were in
. When they commanded them to go out presently, and
promised, that if they would do so, they would
not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which
time the greatest part of the king’s troops de-
serted to them, while Rufus and (2) the
three thousand of the most warlike of Herod’s
army with them, who were men of active bodies,
went over to the Romans. There was also a
band of horsemen under the command of Rufus,
which itself went over to the Romans also.

References made about the temple here,
B. ii. ch. iii. sect. 3, seem not to have
ANTIOCHENES OF THE JEWS.

particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops; although Archelaus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the hills, by the valour and prowess of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas, the son of that Ezechias whom had been head of the robbers; which Ezechias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas having got together a multitude of men of a prodigal character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there], and all the wealth and hall were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as a reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

Also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had great things committed to his care. He was stationed at the royal palace, with archers and other soldiers, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any else. He also left Judea, the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set four to many of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take much left there from them for a prey; and he would have done greater things, unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skilful manner, were destroyed; and although many were saved by the sea, yet Gratus through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burnt down by a parcel of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon, and wild fire spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because those foreigners, who came to them, the seditions to sobriety, did, on the contrary, set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. At this time also Athronges, a person noted for the dignity of his proconsul, nor for any great wealth he possessed or had, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the estate of his wealth, he was set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a deed.

*Unless this Judas, the son of Ezechias, be the same with that Thaddeus, mentioned Acts v. 36, Josephus must have been mistaken in that other Thaddeus, he was b. c. 17, he was born at Athens under Ptolemy, B. c. 280. Th. v. sect. 1, is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in Acts. The name Thaddeus, Thaddai, and Judas, differ but little. See Archibishop Usher's sac. males at A. M. 4601. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those ten thousand sign. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in the kingdom. Each of those ruled over a band of men of his name; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders, but, when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him; while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; and he had huge forces of money and men, and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot-soldiers; but the rest of them were afforded at their own charges; but they preserved themselves by means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now, these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions as they pleased, yet they did not feel all the mischiefs that seemed to them; for the people made their own nation also a great deal mischiefs. Yet were they afterward subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus; another with Ptolemy; and others took the eldest of them prisoner, while the last of them was so desolate at the others' misfortunes, and saw so plainly that he had no way left to save himself, his army being worn away by sickness and continual labours, that he also delivered himself up to Arius, and built a tomb for him, and preserved his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterward.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies, and as, the several companies of the seditions in the several districts were, the king was also a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and so in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon the own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varsus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinius' writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left: so he took the first that came, and sent them also to the legions in all belonging to Syria, and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to reach Judea, and destroy the rebels that way. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition, should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytos also gave him fifteen hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through the disorderers in Judea, which he tells us were there assembled, sec. 5 and 6, the Thaddeus of the Acts might be the Thaddeus, who was an officer of the army. Judea was named by him. Thus he informs us here, sect. 6, and O the War, B. c. 4. sect. 2, that certain of the seditions came and burned the royal palace at Amathus, or Berytos, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their name, who is not named by Josephus, might be the Thaddeus.
At last also, the king of Arabia Per- his hatred to Herod, and in order to no favour of the Romans, sent him assisance, besides their footmen and and, when he had now collected all together, he called a council of part of them and to a friend of his, and the sedition into Galilee, which lies in the nook of Ptolemais, which made an attack enemy, and put them to flight, and on, and made his inhabitants slaves of the city. But Varus himself pursued or Samaria with his whole army; yet neeble with the city of that name, be not at all joined with the sedition; but you can give them no comfort, because they are burnt, out of their hatred to Herod, the enmity they bore to his friends; your marched to another village, whose is known to me, although it was a fortified and a se; and all along this march nothing m, but all places were full of fire and ; Emmerus was also burnt by Varus's in, who was there to be a witness, there should say who had the power to revenge those that had there de- rom thence he now marched to Jeru- see upon those Jews whose camp lay who had besieged the Roman legion, g was the apprehended, but not the more, by; but as to the Jerusalem Jews, reproached them bitterly for what one, they cleared themselves of the and alleged, that the confux of the occasion was right; and they declare, nade with their approbation, but the rodestrians, who were on the Romans, and besieged together rather than having any inclination to make war; they, Joseph, the cousin-german of king also Gratus and Rufus, who brought less along with them, together with who had been Agrippa; but Sal- oot come into Varus's presence, but the city privately, and went to the this, Varus sent a part of his army and of the revolt; and when they were to punish some of them that were ; and some he dismissed: now the those that were crucified on this ac- tor, together with the king's bodyguard, which he found now worse their owing to the fact that the same army, which he found now worse matters happened to them; but they none; Varus forgave the crime of revolt- tude, but sent their several command- er; many of them Caesar dismissed: several relations of Herod having been away by him: that he did never leave off adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: the king, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraor- dinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates and when he permitted any of them to live, he con- demned them to the forfeiture of what they pos- seded. And, besides the annual impositions which he laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax- gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not so much a species of pleasure to the su- ferers to have such things concealed than it would have been not to have suffered them. That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he

* See Of the War, B. ii. ch. 1. sect. 3.
† See the note, Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.
‡ He was tetrarch afterward.
had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with what Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been; and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him, and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of moderation, and that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son, and so, without any delay, he immediately set the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the act of disposing of it belonged to Caesar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. That he had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, he led his first address to them, concerning them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How, then, could they avoid the just hatred of him who, to gratify his ambition, had placed this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now, the main thing they desired was this, That they might be delivered from kingliness and the necessity of so grievous a tax, which might both be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them: for that it would thereby be made evident, whatever they might be really a sedulous people, and generally above every innovation, that neither they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them.

3. Now, when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, That, as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him of less crimes than those now condemned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusatian against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him, who affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him accused of having complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be in all things. This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Caesar had heard these pleadings, he directed his attention to Archelaus, and, as far as he could discover by his behavior towards him, he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity herself, and that, however, for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now, to the other ethnarch, which consisted of a twelfth of the land of Samaria, he added the province of Galilee, which paid a twelfth part of the revenues, which amounting annually to two hundred talents, while Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain part of what was called the house of Zenodorus, paid the tributes of the Decapolis cities, with the cities of Tiberias and Gennesaret, and the countries of Samaria, paid tribute to Archelaus, but had now a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Caesar, who decreed them that mitigation, because they were so far removed from any thing and every thing of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus, Strato's Tower, and Sebastae, with Joppa and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were put under the administration of the procurator of the Roman government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, which amounted to a girt hundred talents, were kept in the temple, as well as the rest of the Jewish money. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phanassa, and five hundred thousand pieces of silver, which were given by the order of Caesar, made her a present of a royal habitations.

* If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the Jews, which Jesus Christ would execute over them, if they would be so foolish as to prefer it before their ancient territory or laws, as it seems, that it was superabundantly fulfilled in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree, that the nation now at last seem to be ready to repeat of such their ancient choice in opposition to God's better choice for them, and had much rather be subject to a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod, which required, B. C. Augustus did not now grant them: but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon fresh complaints by the Jurebus: and made Archelaus, against Archelaus, which were his earliest, so in a moment, in order to be such good offices, as we may therefore gather pretty nearly what was Herod the Great's yearly income; I mean about 1000 talents, which, at the present value of 3000 shekels to a talent, and about 2d. to a shekel, in the days of Josephus, see the note on Anticp. B. iii. ch. vii. sect. 7, amounts to 2,600,000 sterling, which was more than he had in his revenues, though he spent it itself, bearing no proportion to his vast expenses every where visible in Josephus, and to the vast sums he left behind him in his will, chap. viii. sect. 1 and chap. xii. sect. 1, the rest must have arisen either from his confiscation of them when he levied them, or from the fines for the saving of their lives, or from some other heavy methods of oppression which such savage tyrants usually employed, as we may see from these several methods put together, all which you seems very much too small for his expenses, being drawn from no larger a nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade to bring them riches; so that I cannot but strongly suspect that no small part of this his wealth arose from another source: I mean from some vast sums he took out of the revenues of the Phœnician trade, as is concealed from the people. See the note on Antip. B. viii. ch. xv. sect. 3.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phanassa, and five hundred thousand pieces of silver, which were given by the order of Caesar, made her a present of a royal habitations.
BOOK XVII.—CHAP. XII.

Imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet, having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadius, a freed-man of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and made him bring Alexander into his presence; so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Caesar; for although there was a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet was it not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough by the labours he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Caesar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who, it seems, was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his family. And when he said, the boy had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of the sea, that, in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that had caused such treacherous designs against them. And when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Caesar took the young man by himself, and said to him, if this were true, thou mightest have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life, tell me, then, who thou art, and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this; for this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villainy to be undertaken by one of thy age. Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Caesar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom, it was laid together. From this it appeared the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but he slew him that induced him to be said, that he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

CHAP. XIII.

How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienna.

§ 1. When Archelaus was entered on his etharchic, and was come into Judæa, he accused Joazer, the son of Boethus, of assisting the sedition, and took away the high priesthood from him and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Narea used to be watered, and drew off that water to the plain, to water those palm-trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it Archelaus. Moreover, he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had three children by her, while it was a thing detestable among the Jews, to marry the brother's wife; nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, for Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living, had children by her first husband, and that Zozoreus [note or] interprets the clause before us accordingly.

reasonably observes here, that it was for to marry his brother's wife, when she
ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

CHAP. I.

How Cyrenius was sent by Cesar to make a Taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Cephas was sent to be Procurator of Judea: concerning Judas of Galilee, and concerning the Sects that were among the Jews.

§ 1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and him the emperor as procurator for the province of Galilee, where he, by the consent of the people, had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cesar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their affairs, for the purpose of determining the just claim to the villages and the cities of the region.

§ 2. After the tenth year of Archeles's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cesar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon, Cesar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archeles, who took his time with him at Rome, and whose name was Archeles also, and thinking it beneath him to write to Archeles, he bade him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to Rome: so the man made haste to go, and when he came to Judea he found Archeles feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cesar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come to Rome, Cesar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had said, and what reply he could make, both harassed him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now, before Archeles was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat, perfectly ripe, which ears, as it seemed to him, were devourd by oxen." And when he was awake and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another, (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simeon, a man of the sect of the Essenes, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, that the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archeles, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted further, a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state; and that the ears of corn being ten, determined that this year should be fruitful, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archeles's government was over." And thus did this man expound the dream. Now, on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archeles, the other Archeles, that was sent to Judea by Cesar to call him away, came hither also.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyr a sister, who was the daughter of king Archeles, who, as I said before, was married, while she was a virgin, to Alexander, the son of Herod, and brother of Archeles; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Libya, and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archeles divorced his former wife, Mariamme, and married her, so great was his affection for this Glaphyr; who, during her marriage to him, saw the following dream. She thought "she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she was rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection, but that he complained of her, and said, O Glaphyr! thou provest that saying to be true, which assures us that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me, that thou wouldst be true? but how wast thou a virgin? and had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bore to thee, out of the desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee, and in an indecent and improper manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archeles, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not proceed to reproach thee with this, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she heard that relation to her female companions, in a few days' time she deserted this life, and the one in Galilee, she came also to Judea.

5. Now, I do not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings; and otherwise also on account of the advantage hence it be fit to be set down, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinions; but let him not hinder another, that works they encourage himself in virtue. So Archeles's country was laid to the province of Syria, and Cyrenius, one that had been consul, was sent by Cesar to take account of the people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archeles.

BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS—FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELES TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

*Since St. Luke once, Acts v. 37, and Josephus four several times, once here, sect. 6; and B. xx. ch. v. sect. 8; Of the War, B. ii. chap. viii. sect. 1; and ch. x. sect. 8; B. calls this Judas, who was the pestilent author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction. Galilee is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, B. xz. ch. v. sect. 2, he is not only called a Galilean, but it is added to his story, as I have signified in the books that go before these, as if he had still called him a Galilean in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich observes. On the War, B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 1. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a Galilean, in the 5th month of the 1st year, and in the 2nd month after the destruction of the Temple; as twice Of the War, he still calls him a Galilean. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, since there were two of that name, one in Galilee, the other in Gal-
away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that God hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe, that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that they can live under the earth; and, by that means, be in a great manner, and very magnanimity. They also said, that did not otherwise being as it were the tears of the body of the people, and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities give great attentions at them, and the entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that souls die with the bodies; nor do they require the observation of their law enjoineth them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are not able to do nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they add themselves to the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Essenes is this, that all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to God into the temple, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure and holy aspirations of their own; on which account they were excluded from the common service of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; and, in their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addit themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how much they exceed other men in the alliance of their Dress, and this in righteousness: and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured them. This is also demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he hath for their use; and these are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempt men to be unjust, and the former gives the hand to domestic quarrels, but as they live by the fruits of the earth, they are therefore devoted men, and strangers to others from the Essenes in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Deus, who are called Pollites, [dwellers in cities.]

go up to the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem, or to offer sacrifices there, which may be one great occasion why they are never mentioned in the ordinary books of the New Testament; though in the Apostolic writings, they are so much as to be called of those that observe the customs of their forfathers, and that without any such ill character laid upon them as is laid upon the other sects among them.

[Who these Παλαια as Josephus, or Παλαια as Strabo, among the Ptolemaic Duce were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no other reason on the one side except of these Duce lived alone like monks, in tents of canvas, but that others of them lived together in stilt cities, and likewise were called by such names as implied the same.  

46.
6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men took many of the things of the Gentiles with the Pharisaic notions: but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say, that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the death of any of their friends, but if any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor are I afraid that any thing I have said on this subject should be a bar to the Jews to go wild by it with the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

CHAP. II.

How Herod and Philip built several Cities in Honour of Caesar. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; as also what befell Phraates and the Parthians.

§ 1. When Cyrenius was now disposed of Archelaus’s money, and when the taxations were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-ninth year of Caesar’s victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joszer of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip gave unto each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settle the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sephoris, (which is the securitas of all Galilee,) and made it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it Julias, from the name of the emperor’s wife. When Philip also had built Panæas, a city at the fountain of Jordan, he named it Cæsarea. He also advanced the village Bethbeasis, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of Julius, the same name with Cæsar’s daughter.

2. Coænus, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the Passover, a Roman came and opened the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and there about the dead men’s bodies in the cloisters; on which account the Jews, afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after this, a servant, Cyprianus, went to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia Caesar, who was then in the prime of her age, and to Tiberius Nero, the son of his brother Tiberius. Tiberius, after the death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julias’s son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratius to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. The reign of this last procurator, who was of this name, was the most beautiful, and appointed Iahmael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Anana, who had been high priest before, to be high priest, with which title he was called Ananius. Gratius deprived him of, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus, and, when he possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Gamaliel was made high priest. Gratius did these things, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the Jews with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emes, which has a great fame, and inhabitants to which a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants: and by habitations there was a very great population. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite free men, and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in his last will and testament: but others, Gratius deprived him of, and gave the city to the building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the ancient laws of his forefathers because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias; whereas our laws pronounce that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

4. About this time died Phraates, the king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraates his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legitimate sons of his own, he had also an Italian manservant, whose name was Thermess, who had been formerly sent to him by his father, among other things. He first made him his consobrin, but, being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was Phraates, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great desire to get rid of his first son; he caused him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavors would not succeed, unless she could construe how to reconcile him to his father’s legitimate sons [out of the kingdom]; so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to construct any circumstance to the purpose. Now, when Phraates was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father’s donation [as his successor]; he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father, by his mother’s assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversations also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be noway inferior to that which he was by them, in a sedition, expelled out of the

* We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel parts of the books Of the Life of the King, in chapter second, after the death of Herod the Great, and the succession of Archelaus, Josephus is very brief in his accounts of Judea, till near his own time. I suppose the reason is, that after two days, (of which time Antipas ruled together with him fourteen years, but the duration of his reign was time enough to make his two sons to succeed him,) it was about two days, but two days, (of which time Antipas ruled together with him fourteen years, but the duration of his reign was time enough to make his two sons to succeed him,) it was about two days, but two days, (of which time Antipas ruled together with him fourteen years, but the duration of his reign was time enough to make his two sons to succeed him,) it was about two days, but two days, (of which time Antipas ruled together with him fourteen years, but the duration of his reign was time enough to make his two sons to succeed him,) it was about two days, but two days, (of which time Antipas ruled together with him fourteen years, but the duration of his reign was time enough to make his two sons to succeed him,) it was about two days, but
since he grew too great, and died.

The best sort of Parthians agreed to
that it was impossible they should be
without a king, while also it was: their
practice to choose one of the family;
(nor did their law allow of any others;) hence,
that their form of government was to be carried
into that of a (Roman) province; as were the
multitudes desirous to be under kings, as their
fathers had been. So the senate made a decree,
that Germanicus should be sent to settle the
affair of the next, fortune hitherto taking
proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for
when he had been in the east, and settled all
affairs there, his life was taken away by the
poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related
elsewhere.

CHAP. III.

A Sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate
Concerning Christ, and what befell Pantaia and the
Jews at Rome.

§ 1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judee,
removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem,
to take their winter quarters there, in order to abo-
nish the Jewish laws, and put down the effigies,
which were upon the ensigns, and brought
them into the city; whereas our law forbids us
the very making of images; on which account,
the former procurators were wont to make their
entrance into the city, with such ornaments
and not those ornaments. Pilate was the first
who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set
them up there; which was done without the knowl-
dge of the people, because it was done in the
night-time; but as soon as they knew it, they
came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded
with Pilate many days that he would remove the
images; and when he would not grant their re-
quests, because it would tend to the injury of
Cesar, while yet he persevered in his request,
the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to
have their weapons privately, while he came and
sat upon his judgment-seat, which place was so
prepared in the open place of the city, that it con-
cealed the army that lay ready to oppress them;
and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave
a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round,
and threatened that their punishments should be
no less than immediate death, unless they would
abstain from further disturbance. But they threw
themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take
their death very willingly rather than the wis-
dom of their laws should be transgressed; upon
which Pilate was duty affected with their de-

cision, to keep their laws inviolable, and pre-
cently commanded the images to be carried back
from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of
water to Jerusalem, and did it with the second
money, and derived the origin of the stream from
the distance of two hundred furlongs. However,
the Jews were not pleased with what had been
done about this water; and many ten thousands
of people went to Nazareth to speak against him, and insisted that he should leave off
that design. Some of them also used reproaches,
and abused the man, as crowds of such people

us, Luke xxii. 6, 7, that when Pilate heard of Galilea, he
asked whether Jesus were a Galilean? And as soon as he
learned that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him
to Herod. And ver. 19. The same day Pilate and Herod
were made friends together: for before they had been at enmity
between themselves. Take the very probable key of the
words of matter in the word of Jesus to Herod. No. 345. "The
cases of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (says he) seems to
be here that Pilate had intermeddled with the taxmarch's jurisdiction, and
had stolen some of his Galilean, if Pilate in the passage (I. 19).
he was willing to correct that error, he sent Christ to Her-
rod at this time."
usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but he went on his way by daylight, and came towards him. He approached upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them with much greater blows than they had undergone. He punished them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least: and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, and a great number of them alighted by this means, and the rest ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.

3. Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these things, and many others wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this time.

4. About the same time, also, another and calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain disturbances happened about the temple of the goddess Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Salome, who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation; she was also very rich, and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age wherein women most the gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Decius Mucius fell in love with this woman, who was a very great beauty in him, and as I said before, and as she was of too great dignity to be carried by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, in some measure, I say, to get a divinity of her, as if it were a sort of Attic drachm for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to marrying himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal; and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now, Mucius had a vast beauty, a woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of medicines. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself, (for he did not conceal his intention to destroy himself from others,) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse; and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully heard this, and with that, the she said she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmas for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gained as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been before, but she, so the woman was by no means to be tempted by money; but as she knew that she was very much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances of (concealment,) she promised her some money, but charged her with the offer of money, of twenty-five thousand drachmas in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect, and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to do that. And they being drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly, the oldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and, pretending to speak with her, he desired her to come to him. Upon this she took the inconceivably kind and great gift, and greatly upon this condensation of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and lie with Anubis; as he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fairly satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly, she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. The rest of those things therein, and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god, and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew not any more of the matter, she came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her among her friends, also, she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the things that he said, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now, on the third day after what had been done, Mucius met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me 200,000 drachmas, which thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches which I have received from him, his order, and also the name of his mother, in so many names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of what had been done, and confessed her guilt to her husband, and told him what had happened, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor; whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified, as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived their laws, and which was so injurious a woman. He also denounced them to the judgement of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mucius, but did no more to him, because he supposed that whatever he had done was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests.

I now return to the relation of what happened among the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing the laws of the Jews at Rome, and by the fear that he should be deprived of his property, and by the jealousy of the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.
same character with himself, to be
s. These men persuaded Fulvia, a
great dignity, and one that had em-
Jewish religion, to send purple and
temple at Jerusalem, and when he
them, they employed them for their
and spent the money themselves, on
ant it was that they at first required
as they were not called the Passover. Vitellius was
magnificently received, and released the inha-
birants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the
fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them
leaves to have the care of the high priest's vest-
ments, with all their ornaments, and to have
them under the custody of the priests in the tem-
ple, which power they used to have formerly,
although at this time they were laid up in the
tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that
and on the occasion following: There was one in the
(high) priests, named Hyrcanus, and as there
were many of that name, he was the first of them;
this man built a tower near the temple, and when
he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had
these vestments for himself, for he had no
relish for them, and he had them there
reposited when he went down into the city,
and took his ordinary garments; the same things
were continued to be done by his sons, and by his
house after them. But when the Roman
king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conve-
niently situated, in a magnificent manner: and
because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it
by the name of Antonia. And as he found these
vestments lying there, he had them there
in the same place, as believing that while he had them
in his custody, the people would make no inno-
vations against them. The like to what Herod
did was done by his son Archelaus, who was
made king after him in the Roman province,
when they entered on the government, took pos-
session of these vestments of the high priest,
and had them reposited in a stone chamber, under
the eyes of the priests, and of the people that
served the temple, the captain of the city set up
there every day; and seven days before a festi-
vial they were delivered to them by the captain
of the guard, when the high priest had puri-
fied himself, and made them up again in the
same chamber where they had been
laid up before, and this the very next day after
the feast was over. This was the practice at
the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day;
but Vitellius put them out of his power, as in the
days of our forefathers, and or-
dered the captain of the guard not to trouble
himself to inquire where they were laid, or when
they were to be used; and this he did as an act
of kindness, to oblige the
Syrians, and accused Pilate of the
one that were killed, for that they
Tirathbas in order to revolt from
but to escape the violence of Pilate.
was a friend of his, to the
affairs of Judea, and ordered
of Rome, to answer before the em-
encumbrances of the Jews. So Pilate,
years in Judea, made
, and this in obedience to the orders
ishment of these 4000 Jews into Sardis,
5:5 Osiomius in Tiber. sect. 36. But as for
the latter part of that verse it is not so,
that Jews could be soldiers, it is contra-
smuch of the history before us, and contrary
instances of their fighting, and proving ex-
war; and indeed many of the best
under heathen kings themselves, did so,
the ballads known in the Syrian and
festivals, and let them live accord-
laws, as Alexander the Great and the
ying did. It is true, they could not always
rribes, and at the same time excused many
or sometimes absolutely refused to fight,
have been the case here, as to the major
name. Passover, and the feast of Pacy-
and as much
man, and so much
year and himself beyond Jordan, nor
of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but
before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead.
3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up
to Jerusalem: it was at the time of that festival
which is called the Passover. Vitellius was
magnificently received, and released the inhabi-
tants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the
fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them
leaves to have the care of the high priest's vest-
ments, with all their ornaments, and to have
them under the custody of the priests in the tem-
ple, which power they used to have formerly,
although at this time they were laid up in the
tower of Antonia, the citadel so called, and that
and on the occasion following: There was one in the
(high) priests, named Hyrcanus, and as there
were many of that name, he was the first of them;
this man built a tower near the temple, and when
he had so done, he generally dwelt in it, and had
these vestments for himself, for he had no
relish for them, and he had them there
reposited when he went down into the city,
and took his ordinary garments; the same things
were continued to be done by his sons, and by his
house after them. But when the Roman
king, he rebuilt this tower, which was very conve-
niently situated, in a magnificent manner: and
because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it
by the name of Antonia. And as he found these
vestments lying there, he had them there
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vations against them. The like to what Herod
did was done by his son Archelaus, who was
made king after him in the Roman province,
when they entered on the government, took pos-
session of these vestments of the high priest,
and had them reposited in a stone chamber, under
the eyes of the priests, and of the people that
served the temple, the captain of the city set up
there every day; and seven days before a festi-
vial they were delivered to them by the captain
of the guard, when the high priest had puri-
fied himself, and made them up again in the
same chamber where they had been
laid up before, and this the very next day after
the feast was over. This was the practice at
the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day;
but Vitellius put them out of his power, as in the
days of our forefathers, and or-
dered the captain of the guard not to trouble
himself to inquire where they were laid, or when
they were to be used; and this he did as an act
of kindness, to oblige the
Syrians, and accused Pilate of the
one that were killed, for that they
Tirathbas in order to revolt from
but to escape the violence of Pilate.
was a friend of his, to the
affairs of Judea, and ordered
of Rome, to answer before the em-
encumbrances of the Jews. So Pilate,
years in Judea, made
, and this in obedience to the orders
particularly to Mount Gerizim, and since those Samari-
tans have a tradition among them related here by Dr. Ha-
ileon, from Ralson, who was a
the Samaritan learning, that in the days of Uzzi or Ozazi the high
priest, 1 Chron. vi. 6, the ark and other sacred vessels
were, by God's command, laid up or hidde in Mount Ge-
rizim, it is highly probable that this was the founda-
tion of the present Samaritans went upon in the solution
here described, and that we should read here Zeruia, in
stead of Mavetres, in the text of our MSS. in the

This mention of the high priest's sacred garments re-
served seven days before a festival, and purified in those
days against a festival, as being polluted, by being
in the custody of heathen, in Israelet, it well
with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Ralson here observe.
Now is there any question but the three festivals here men-
tioned, were the Passover, and the feast of Tabernac-
lunes; and the last, so called, by way of distinction, so
Act. xxvii. 9, was the great day of expiation.
should proceed further, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Artabanus was seized of the Scythians, and the country of Persia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them; the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many of his followers and his armies. Tiberius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus was afterwards laid against him, he was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect; when he had estimated the number of those that were willing to come with him, as also those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterwards raised a great army out of the Dahae and Sace, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made before he came to Rome. Artabanus sent a friendly invitation; upon this invitation, he received the proposal kindly, and Artabanus and Tiberius went to Ephratares, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came across it with their guards, and received them, and made an oath on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent in the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also sent a troop of horsemen, sent his son Darius, as a hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was Eleazar, who, for his tallness, was called a giant. Artabanus also sent to Babylon, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch] being desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the presents they had left behind him, and sent to Tiberius to inform him of. But when Tiberius's letters were sent, and Caesar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Tiberius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which was after Caes's had taken the province of Armenia.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis, and of the nation of the Batsamene also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresover he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint: he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished more severely than those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julius; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself before he came into the great pomp of his principality Tiberius took, for he left sons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria, but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in his tetrarchy.

CHAP. V.

Herod, the tetrarch, makes war with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; as also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; how Tiberius went up to Jerusalem, together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Posteriorit of Herod.

§ 1. About this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following: Herod, the tetrarch, had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod, who was his brother-in-law, and came near to marry his cousin, and he that this Herod was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife, who was the daughter of Herodias, the brother of the former Herod; the daughter of Agrippa the Great; this latter Herodias used to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome; but when he had done there the affair, he returned to Macheras, who was subject to this Herod, and his wife, having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macheras, and she would carry her to his dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her therewith, as thinking his wife had not perceived anything. Now, she had sent a great and others to Macheras, who was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabis, under the conduct of the several, she carried her father to her other successively, and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some

tips and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch, and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father, all which Graecus ob- serves on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Gra- cius, and others of the learned, that Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had mar- ried, and that in her first husband's lifetime, and when her first husband was by poison; for there was a posterial and incestuous marriage, John the Baptist justly reproved Her- od the tetrarch, and for which reproof Salome, the daugh- ter of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded.

* This calculation from all Josephus's Greek copies is exactly right; for since Herod died about September, in the 4th year before the Christian era, and Tiberius be- gan, as is well known, Aug. 19. A. 14. it is evident that the 37th year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the 39th of Tiberius near the end of A. D. 23. (the very year of our Breviary's death also; or, however, in the beginning of the next year, A. D. 34.) This Philip the tetrarch was therefore then in the 30th or 31st year of the posterity of Herod, for his love of his peace, and his love of his

* An excellent example this.

† This Herod seems to have had the additional name of Philip, as Antipas was named Herod-Antipas, and as An

Aretas the son of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded.
of making this war which he had before. It was also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, he said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossi-
ble that this army or the empire should be
triumphant; for that one of the rulers would die, e-
ther he that gave orders for the war, or he that was
marching at the other's desire, in order to be
subservient to his will, or else he against whom
the army was prepared. So Vitellius truly retired
to Antioch; but Agrrippa, the son of Aristobulus,
went up to Rome, a year before the death of
Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with
the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do.
I have now a mind to describe Herod and his
family, how it fared with them, partly because it is
suitable to this history to speak of that mat-
ter, and partly because this thing is a demonstra-
tion of the interposition of Providence, how a
multitude of children is of no advantage, no more
than any other strength that mankind set their
hearts upon, besides those acts of piety which are
done towards God; for it happened, that,
within the revolution of a hundred years, the
posterity of Herod, who were a great man in
number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroy-
ed." One may well apply this for the instruction
of mankind, and learn hence how unhappy they
were; it will also show us the history of Agrrippa,
who, as he was a person of actual and appro-
ation, so was he from a private man, beyond all
the expectation of those that knew him, advanced
to great power and authority. I have said
something of them formerly, but I shall now also
speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Ma-
riamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the
one was Salamispo, who was married to Phasis-
elus, her first cousin, who was himself the son
of Phasaelus, Herod's brother. Herod took his
father making the match; the other was Cypros, who was herself
married also to her first cousin Antipater, the son
of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five
children by Salamispo, Antipater, Herod, and
Alexandria; and two daughters, Alexandra and
Cypres; which last, Agrrippa, the son of Aristo-
bulus, married, and Timaus of Cyprus married
Alexandra; he was a man of note, but had by
her no children. Agrrippa himself had two
sons, and three daughters, which last were
named Bernice, Marriamne, and Drusilla; but
the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drues,
of whom, Drues died before he came to the years
of puberty; but their father, Agrrippa, was brought
up with his other brothers, the son and Aristobulus,
for these were also the sons of Herod the
Great, by Bernice; but Bernice was the daughter
of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's
sister. Aristobulus left these children, whom he
was slain by his father, together with his brother
Alexander, as we have already related. But
when they were arrived at years of puberty, this
Herod, the brother of Agrrippa, married
Marriamne, the daughter of the daughter of Herod the king, and of Joseph,
the son of Joseph, who was brother to Herod the
king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus; but
Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrrippa, mar-
nied Jotape, the daughter of Jonathan, the
king of Emesa; they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these
hitherto were the children of the male line. But
Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod
[Philip,] the son of the son of Jorab, who was
born of Marriamne, the daughter of Simeon the
high priest, who had a daughter, Salome; after
whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound
the laws of her country, and divorced herself
for being guilty of incest; and in the next section informed, was not
assumed for the gross incests they were
in marrying their own nephews and

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and had thoughts of killing himself, but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Philemon, to whom Herod the tetrarch was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinwoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband Philemon, the son of Herod the king, to help him in these his troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tibersias for his habitation, and appointed him some of the public revenues to make him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they have at a feast of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money. He first made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they have at a feast of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Titus Caesar; and, upon his being accused as a freed-man, he was bound: how also he was set at Liberty by Caesar, after Tiberius's Death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip.

§ 1. A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor's son, and continued in friendship with Antonius, the wife of Drusus the great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous, and in all rows of men he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduction, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Cesar's freed-men, in order to gain their assistance, so much that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tibersius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief thereby be revived.

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not whereunto to pay his creditors; and some many in his service were so many in his service so as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malathia, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself, but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Philemon, to whom Herod the tetrarch was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her, as a kinwoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband Philemon, the son of Herod the king, to help him in these his troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tibersias for his habitation, and appointed him some of the public revenues to make him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they have at a feast of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money. He first made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for, as once they have at a feast of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money, so he was rewarded by such a sum of money.

* Spanholm also informs us of a coin still extant of this Agrippa, daughter of the king of Commagene.
† Spanholm observes, that we have here an instance of

the Attic quantity of use money, which was the eight part of the original sum, or 12 to 1 per cent. For such is the proportion of 5,000 to 80,000.
and sailed to Alexandria, where he demanded the alabarch" to lend him 200,000; but he said he would not lend it to would not refuse it to Cyprea, as greatly desired at her affection to him; and the instance of her virtue; so she unspared expenses and sent him five talents at Alexandria, and repaid the rest of the sum at Di-[Puteoli:] and this he did out of the as in that Agrippa would seek spous, when Cyprea set her husband free, and dis- sue to go on with his navigation to Italy, and her children departed for Judea.

now Agrippa came to Puteoli, and was permitted by the Cæsars to visit Caprea, and told him, that he was in order to wait on him, and to pay t; and desired that he would give him over to Caprea: so Tiberius made, but wrote to him in an obliging way, exerts, and withal told him, he was safe return, and desired him to come; and when he was come, he did not treat him as kindly as he had promised last: for, the day after his entry from Herodius Capito, to inform Agrippa he had borrowed three hundred drachmas, and not paid it at the time; but, when it was demanded of him, yea, for two years, he would not be able to pay the government, and put it out of his power money of him. When Cæsar had read he was much troubled at it, and gave Agrippa should be excluded from his in Cæsars anger, Antioch, the mother of Germani- Claudio, who was afterward Cæsars lend him those three hundred thousand, that he might be deprived; of friendship; so, out of regard to the niece his mother, (for these two were very familiar with one another,) and to his and Claudio's education to lent him the money; and, upon this debt, there was nothing to hin's friendship to him. After this, Cæsar recommended to him his grand- mother, that he should always acco- mpanied her in all times of regard; and reception by Antioch, he betook his respects to Caius, who was was, and in very high reputation, he not to send such a message to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, further distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to conduct, that they are suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a further attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself, for, although he were emperor twenty-two years, he sat all but two in the Senate, and some of his friends, that men in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, "because im- mediate death to those that must be condemned to die, would be an alleviation of their present, the rest of his subjects to know that the emperor had already described such a favour; but I do it, that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery.

5. On this account it was that Eutychus, could not obtain a hearing, and was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tiberius came from Caprea to Tusculumum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Agrippa then de-
be happy, and I happy also." Now, Tibérius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and breathing a grudge within at Agrippa, as his order had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but had disobeyed his command, and transferred all his regard to Caesar; and so he said to Macro, "Be not distress'd, my son, by this advice; nor be of such a nature as I am; but if you have any suit to be sought, or any cause to be heard, then send me word, and I will go to the court, and fight your cause for you." With these words he left Macro, not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bade him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came not to him, and was as quiet as before, and he said. But, when Caesar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain," said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound;" and he immediately called for him, and said, "I am bound!" He said, "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson] whom he had educated; but all so pusillanimous, for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meals, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony of body, in the meantime, and therefore he saw one of Cais's slaves, whose name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and his thirst was thus a little appeased; and in the meantime, he said, "So much service of thine will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom from Cais, who hast not been wanting to minister to me, now I am in the same state as when I was in my former state and dignity." Now did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterward Agrippa was come to the king's dominion, he desired a much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antony, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg his favour, took the following opportunity: As Tiberius lay once at his case upon his sedan, and was carried about, his grandson, and Agrippa, were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined; to which he replied, "O Antony! the gods are my witnesses, I am not to have induced you that I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him, what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty? Upon which he said, "O my lord! this Cais, and Agrippa with him, have misled me; I am in this place, I sat at their feet, and among other discourses that passed, Agrippa said to Cais, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitations of the earth; in this point, his grandson, would be no hindrance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would

* This high commendation of Antony for marrying but once, given here, and supposed elsewhere, Antq. B. viii. chap. xii. sect. 4, and this notwithstanding the strongest objections, shows how honourable single marriages were held in the Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, and of the apostles, and takes away much of that surprise which the modern Protestants have at these laws of the equity of the church. And of marriages in both the sexes, even the wives of one husband only, are taken into the church list; and as bishops, priests, or deacons, are allowed to marry but once, as the first wife of the clergyman may die, or be any way sooner. See Luke vi. 35; 1 Tim. v. 11, 19; Tit. 2, 19; 1 Tim. i. 6; Consil. Apost. B. iii. sect. 1; B. vi. sect. 21; C. Rom. viii.; Grot. in Luke v. 35; and Kirpina ad Eugani. Commun. p. 54, and Consil. ad Eugani. In Eugani. B. vii. sect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this law, against second marriages of the clergy, had been once at least executed in his time; and heavily complains elsewhere that the breach thereof had not been always prevented by the Catholic religion. He says, speaking of the ill reputation of marrying twice, says, that no such person could be chosen into the clergy in his days; which opinion is the same with Augustine, whom he states. And speaking of the same general thing, he is clear and full to the same purpose, and says, that he had obtained over the whole Catholic church in his days, what the previous interpreter supposed of the same.
nur will thou believe me, when I foresee will it clear of this mischief; not now, but now; and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know, therefore, appeal to my own country gods, as well the gods of this place, who have awarded thee to me through their grace, and whose protection shall not be neither be said for fear of bribery, nor out of an endeavour to be cheerful without cause; for such pre-worship, when they come to fail, make the grief of them whoil lose both the gracefulness and the might of the sacred persons, who are encouraged by the citizens, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him; and upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in counterfeith sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death, as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his conversation with men, that it turned them round as to their rulers, the people, and the state; and, among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had brought the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal, which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave his son. And depending upon what God should foretell concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination; so he made this to be the occasion, that the government should be left to the choice of the soldiery when he should come to him the first day after. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his design; for, while Tiberius was thus considering matters, and as soon as it was all day, he bade Eudus to call in that child which should be there ready. But when he went out, and sent Eudus before the rest, he found Tiberius was not yet come, but stood waiting for his breakfast; for Eudus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Eudus, "Thy father calleth thee," and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caesar, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would, was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented his mistake, and began to establish what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by his fall, but his own safety also, because his preservation would not be sufficient to make him more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be borne, that a kinman should live with them, and so his relation would not be able to protect him: but he would be feared and hated by him who had the supreme authority, and partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, but in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of his empire also. Now Tiberius was by nature given to astrology, and the consideration of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true more than those whose profession it was to do it, when he saw Gaiba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that "there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to the Laws of the state, than to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much

his own grandson, and Caesar his brother's son.

see Joseph's copy, which calls Gemellus his brother's son.
grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresees, and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divi-nation beforehand, while it was in his power to have of that meat, gripped the knowledge of futurity; whereas, he was now tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortunes of such as were dearest to him, and must die under the hand of a tyrant. Not although any one of them was ordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly, and against his own inclination: "O child! al-thou art now more dear to me than I was then art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put unto thy hand, the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to be king; for then I shall be happier; let it be so, yet let it not be, lest these be a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for to be alone, under the weight of such vast affairs, is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law whereby they give light to cause to act without unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took Caius as his prince, and Tiberius as his son; for he was only under the other; and Tiberius had the office of Tiberius; as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he lived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years, five months, and three days; now Caius was the fourth emperor. But Tiberius was as good a prince as he was a tyrant, and as he was so dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true, for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, had they known what grief they were afraid of if they despised their joy, when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Roman. He was easy, indolent, and inefficient, in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offenses; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumor about his death, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure, and were afraid if they despised such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if his hopes proved ill-grounded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freed-man, as soon as he heard of Tiberius deceased, hastened to the Forum Agrippa, the news, and finding him without he bath, gave him a nod, and said, in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion is dead!" who understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay, (said he,) but all sorts of thanks and hap-

*p This name of a lion is often given to tyrants, especially by Tacitus, Appian, and probably his freed-man Marsyas, in affect, was a king, and Pros. Civ. x. 13.; 3 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. Dep. vii. 2-69. Oephe. syl. 1, 2.
Caius at Baiae, which is itself a little city of Cappadocia, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor in magnificence; that has been the spring of the general state of those, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and besides, they minister to men a luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod, wherein he accused him, that he had not been in concert with Sejanus against Tiberius' government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he alleged, that he had armaments in his camp, and in his armament. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true: and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being too notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolve. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod back his tetrarchy, and commanded, with all rigor of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present, and told her, that it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband. But she made this reply; 'Thou, indeed, O emperor! actest after a magnificent manner, but I never thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband, hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes.' Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the words of Caius; for Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation, that he gave the one good-will of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But, in process of time, he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

### CHAP. VIII.

**Concerning the Embassage of the Jews to Caius, and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria, to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statue.**

§ 1. There was now a tumult arising at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now, one of these ambassadors to Alexandria to Caius were on each part no more than three in number, for the Jews and for the Gentiles, which are but six in all; whereas Philo, who was the principal ambassador from the Jews, was an orator of Alexandria, and orator not of that true God; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are more numerous. Now, as the Jewish ambassadors to Caius were not at this time lodgers; and the orator-nesses here mentioned were done in order to present their eagerness into that fidelity; Josephus has contrived so as to introduce a witness, that he seems that account of Philo, which that he ever did does not appear.
from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Caesar; for that while all who were subject to the Emblems, the Emblems in the temple to Caesar, and in other regards, universally received him as they received the gods, these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of those severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish embassy, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Theophilus, the philosopher, not only was not bent toward philosophizing, was ready to betake himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bade him begone: he was also in such a rage, that it openly appeared he was about to do, but in reality Philo had the better of it against the Emblems.

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should thus be despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government to Vespasian, and gave him, as an especial favour, the great body of troops; and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly, Petronius sent out the army, and made haste to obey Caesar’s epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there waited, intending to see the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his prudence, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not yield his command. But there came many ten thousand of the Jews to Petronius, to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their fathers; but if he did, they would remain entirely resolved to bring this state, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done. Petronius, however, instead of taking notice of their letters, and of our forefathers’ determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue. But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed we were my own emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Caesar hath sent to me, I am under the necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me the punishment of death." The Jews replied, “Since, therefore, thou art so disposed, O Petronius! that thou wilt not dispose Caius’s epistle, neither will we transgress the commands of our law; and as we depend upon the excellence of the laws, and of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them, in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that if we have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when, out of regard to him, we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him, that he would by no means force them to do it, being ready at this time, if they did for forty days to consider upon it, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season of the year required them to sow it 1. Thus they continued with him in the resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa’s brother, and Helcias the high priest sent a present of corn to Caius, and then went to Caius with him, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, that “since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any altercation and thereby drive them to despair; but would purpose to give them time to consider whether they would not make no repugnance to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground: that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were tres hac die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed: and how, upon the lands continuing uncultivated, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius would be more disposed if he could not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation; that if he continued inexorable in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about himself.” Then did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius, partly on account of the pressing instances, gave the Jews leave to withdraw, and ordered the statue to be removed. The Jews, however, would hardly have been different from him.

* This Alexander, the nabob, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is supposed by Bishop Pearson, in Act. Apost. p. 41, 42, to be the same with that Alexander which is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kind of the high priests. Acts iv. 6.
† What Josephus here, and sect. 6, relates as done by the Jews, before next time, is in Philo, not for the time upon the dedication of the statue, but two years before, as has been shown in another place. This is another indication that Josephus, when he wrote this account, had not seen Philo’s letter, or that he had not read it.
down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation, for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky or any rain; may be, therefore, they had been subject to a great drought, and made deserts of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch, that even when Petronius went away from them, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily sar- rised, and perished when he found that Petronius took care of the Jews, and gave very plain signs of his appearance, and this to such a degree, that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among the other reasons, which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distressed, whom if he should say, (for without them they were not) to his own destruction, and of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had shown himself so favourable to them by giving them signs of his power, such as he had promised afore time, and by a miracle, that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tbieries, who came, many ten thousands in number: he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his design to them; but kept his power most secretly on them, and told them, that his wrath would, without delay, be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately; and that it was fit for him, who had obtained such great advantages, to contradict him in any thing; yet, said he, I do not think it just to have such a regard to my safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number; whose safety I give to you, that this is due to your law, which as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it. For my part, since the authority of God, will be so hardy as to suffer your tem- ple to fall into contempt by the means of the im- perial authority. I will, therefore, send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as far as I am able; that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest desires you have proposed to yourselves, and may God be your assistant, for his authority is beyond all the constrivance and power of men; and I will assert it, and maintain it, with a true understanding of those ancient laws, and may not be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all, and give my life, that so the emperor may not rest upon my body or my soul, than to see so many of you perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupa- tions, and I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends.

6. When Petronius had said this, and had diss- solved the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have a good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent

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Josephus here uses the solemn New Testament words, 
"whence", and of course, the presence and appearance, for "when he had appeared, or was manifest", by reading rath in a time of distress, immediate or upon the resolution he had taken to preserve the temple unperturbed at the hazard of his own life, without any more miraculous appearance at all in that case; which this behaviour of Caius to Agrippa is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's mother, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 8—11.
The page contains a portion of historical text discussing the actions of Agrippa and Petronius, and the relationship between them. The text is a part of a larger narrative, possibly from historical or biographical literature, discussing events involving the Jews and Roman authority in ancient times.

The document continues with a detailed account of the events, mentioning Agrippa's decision to take the lead in a military venture, which is opposed by Petronius. The text also references the death of Agrippa and the consequences of his actions, leading to a narrative about the Jews' pursuit of justice and the impact on their community.

### CHAP. IX.

What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, an occasion of the miseries of the city.

§ 1. A very sad and calamitous now befell the Jews that dwelt in Babylon. This city, which was the capital of the Medes, is situated on the river Euphrates, about 500 stadia from the sea, and is the most prosperous and flourishing city in the East. It was built by Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, in the time of Darius the Great, and was called Babylon by the Persians. It was a great mart for all the commerce of the East, and was the residence of the king of Persia.

In this city, which was the capital of the Medes, is situated on the river Euphrates, about 500 stadia from the sea, and is the most prosperous and flourishing city in the East. It was built by Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, in the time of Darius the Great, and was called Babylon by the Persians. It was a great mart for all the commerce of the East, and was the residence of the king of Persia.

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so much tribut brave them as might be sufficient for their maintenance, proposing also that they should be forsaken and that as they were cut off from the, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill all the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposal, and sent their wives to be the, and sent them as many sheep as were required of them, whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they matched suddenly, and did them a mischief, immediately, they put off his clothes, and chose to pay them respect, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, until the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself. He himself of Babylonians understand this, and had a mind to put a stop to them before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and he was determined to attack them, thinking to attack them, and destroy them before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and made the Sabbath holy to himself, as Sabbath is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work, he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he would take them and carry them away prisoners. He therefore drew his army forward gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sir, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as are fighting on their backs; I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what he sees." But when he sent to Abadaghas, and those enemies that were doing war upon him, they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fall of doing further mischief to him.

4. When the kingdom had these intentions, he sent away Anius, and Anius prevailed on his brother [to come to the king] when he had related to him the king's good-will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly, they made haste to go over to Ariabanus, and said that they were come, with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done, and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such a man as one might think less dangerous than others. He also said to his friends, how, upon a comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body; and when, as they were drinking together, he once asked Asineus to Abadaghas, and said that he would do him the service of all the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abadaghas had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith, especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou then and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer treated by you, who has made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to your courageous behaviour than to the benefit of you, and hath sent me to give you his right hand, and security, and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road, and he wants to have you address your prayers to your friends to be delivered and not guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you. Yet did Ariabanus put off his cloths, and did not send his brother Anius with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Ariabanus saw Anius coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Anius had not come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and stayed by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurance he gave them, nor gave them his right hand.

This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will believe you, who once they have given up their right hand, nor will they pay due regard to their fidelity, when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Ariabanus had done this, he sent away Anius and swore to him, that he would not multiply himself, and he had sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid lest, whom he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonian and Persia, would arise against him. He knew from his enemies, who were doing war upon him when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fall of doing further mischief to him.

* Ev erywhere is here, and in very many other places of Josephus, immediately at hand, and is to be so expressed, 2 Thess. ii. 2, when some falsely pretended that St. Paul wrote this, and refer to the 2 Thess. ii. 2, with its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.

† See the preceding note
him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privilege." Hereupon the king called the Asinæus some presents to him, "to carry for thee. O thou young man! to return home, and not provoke the indignation of the generals of my army in this place any farther, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approba-
tion, and at thy peril, and in a manner as the Babylons do in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischief. I have kept my faith inviolate to thee, and that is still in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy person and life, I could not do otherwise. It is therefore I should be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asinæus some presents, he sent him away immediately; who, when he was come home, had heard the news and became great in a little time, and managed things both large and small, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Partian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid to him by the Babylonians had grown upon him, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there; nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended on him, and he was daily nourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprung up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had divided among themselves the spoil of all those whom they had gained so great a power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Partian, who came as ambassador of a city of the same parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was ad-
mired above all other women for her beauty; Anileus, the brother of Asinæus, either heard of the affair or saw it himself, and he saw how he saw; he saw his brother also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy; partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman best by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not insinuate himself for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was mar-
rried to this her lover. However, this woman did not leave her own house, and carry with her those who accompanied her, except her husband and some few retainers, who were her country gods, common to her hus-
band and to herself; now it is the custom of that country for all to have the idols they wor-
ship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they are removed; and it is agreeable to which custom of theirs she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she be-
came an object of such a protection, she wished that they in her accustomation were to be associated with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first that he should do so, but the king, by a most munificent order, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that trans-
gressed the accurate appointments of their sacri-
fices and religious ceremonies; that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in so many pleas-
ures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high

anthworthly which, by God's blessing, he had ar-
ived at. But, when they prevailed not at all upon him, he, with the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying out of regard to the laws, imprecated a punishment upon his murderer, Anileus, and upon Asinæus also, that he, when the young man was a like end from their enemies; upon the two first as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defence of their laws. Now when they also heard of the worship of the king, by whom the Partes were at once thought the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a great number of them came to Asinæus, and loudly complained of Anileus, and told him that "it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed should prove itself and take hold of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their own laws; and that the worship which this woman paid (to her gods) was too much for them. Anileus was now, therefore, shippened." Now Asinæus was sensible of his brother's offence, that it had been already the cause of great mischief, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the good will he had to keep near a relation, and by giving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he sent an ambassador to those cities who were about him, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproves: for as the woman perceived what a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infuséd poison into Asinæus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now se-

6. So Anileus took the government upon him self alone, and led his army against the villages of the Samites. At that time there was a man of Parthis, and had married king Arta-
bansus's daughter, he also plundered them, and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, that the king had promised to send to Parthis, as a mark of what should be done about her.
a host, he took his supper at a place and marched by night, with an intent he had received an account of what they should do; so he fell upon the fourth watch of the night, and then he slew while they were asleep, and he put to flight, and took Mithridates I and his family, the Parthians, is esteemed the greatest possible. And when he had brought them with such a resolution, and his forces with him to Mithridates, he soon his own mind to the thought, he settle on the Parthians, yet if they preserved his life, it could be remembered by him to the

of these that gave it him, but that if he stood to death, the king would not be himself, and his men might have been exposed to the dangers of their youth.

By this thought, and this speech of the council, he persuaded them to act a word, and say that they had agreed to the king, and he revenge himself on those that had injured him too care about the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the chief city of parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, by the Greeks, and by the Syrians, though not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and lived there five years, without any misfortunes. But on the sixth year, a pestilence came upon those at Babylon, which occasioned occasional deaths of men's habitations out of that city; and because they came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them on that account, which I am going to relate immediately.

Now the way in which the people of Seleucia, who were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discords, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians. When, therefore, the Jews came thither and dwelt among them, there was a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, and by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready to fight upon any occasion. Now, when the Greeks had the worst in this sedition, and saw that they had but one chance of recovering their former authority, and that was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, they every one disclosed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their enemies; they would be at peace and friendship with them. Accordingly, they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal men of both nations, they soon became of one body, and so, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be their common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly, they fell upon them, and slow about fifty thousand of them; nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded them, in order to let them fly away.
Those retired to Ctesiphon, a Grecian city, and situate near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are reposited, but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, became all the Syrians that lived in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews: so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neard and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of those cities; besides which those in habitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

BOOK XIX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF—FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON, TO PADOUS, THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.

CHAP. I.

How Caius was slain by Chereas.

§ 1. Now this Caius did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs, so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most of what he did, in that it threatened him with what he deemed not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; but he pulled and haul'd its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by birth from those times, and ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ingominiuous manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain, and their wealth plunder'd; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on being honoured to be paid him by his subjects, than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all temples, and he used to call that place the brow of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city of Diceraiches, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the Tanagrus, from one pontscale to another, which was the length of thirty furlongs, as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteem'd it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought within, that it be him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues, should not be damaged. And in delivering himself, he would bring himself to him, saying, that "the best things ought to be set nowhere but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place." He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the dignities brought from those temples, and put together with the houses lay at when he travelled all over Italy; whence he did not scruple to give a command, that the statue of Jupiter Olympus, so called because he was honoured at the Olympic games, and on the crests, which were of Phidias the Athenian, should be brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects told Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that the workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. It was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking of such a work, and did not make any move for his apology for not having done what his epistle required of him; and that when he was in danger of perishing, he was saved by Caius being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Yet it was so that the dread of this king, the fear of which was so great, that when he had a daughter born, he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knee of the statue, and said, "that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that she had two fathers, but that which of these fathers was the greatest, he left undetermined;" and yet mankind bore with him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsoever they pleased; for all such complaints were tolerable, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion, for such that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness to lay an accusation against Claudius himself, and Caius was not ashamed to be accused of being present at the trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with false accusations, and had obtained the greatest insults of slaves against their masters, who, indeed, in a great measure raised them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and others for men to save themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off, before they should fall into such great miseries; while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been removed. And I confess I have reason to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness is never end, nor bring'ing them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

"In this and the three next chapters, we have, I think, a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such ancient facts whatsoever elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny, and the measure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a horridous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula, as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks, sect. 2, by way of a great intimacy he had with Agrippa the elder, whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius; from which Agrippa justified himself as being fully informed of this history."

"Caligula regnas by the Romans."
there were three several conspiracies, in order to take off Caius, and each of the three was conducted by excellent persons. Regulus, born at Corduba, in Spain, got his first wish, and was desirous to take off either by them, or by himself. Another service was laid by them, under the name of Ceres Cassius, the tribune of the American band; Minucianus Annius was also factitious, and had rather killed his master, than assist to oppose his tyranny. Now the severities of these men's hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had intimation and hatred against all injustice, for he considered that his murder would be contrary to his counsels, so he unquieted them to many of his friends, and part of the citizens, who seemed to him persons of activity to consider the citizens, that Caius had slain, because he was afraid of himself, since he witnessed to the slaughter of all such as would disturb the peace. Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches under from Caius, as though he were a man of his own, but he did it, by well and every day from his friendship with him, and Caius paid him. These men proposed to attempt all the rest that were conscious who had the injuries that were offered and those that received them, and the mutual assistance of one another, that they might themselves escape killed by the removal of Caius; that person should gain their point, and that it be a happy thing; but it thereby made, and they to themselves to so many excellent persons only wished to be partakers with them in design, for the delivery of the city and government, even at the hazard of their own safety in the midst of the city, all, both out of a desire of getting him their greatest name, and also by reason of his presence with less danger, because he was a tribune, and could therefore such a safe man at this time came on the horse-races in games, the view of which games was desired by the people of Rome, for any with great selectivity into the hippo- race, in great multitudes, for what they need of; who usually did not think fit to in their requests, but readily and gratified them. Accordingly they most immediately of the time and money, and received their tributes, and abated somewhat of the of the taxes imposed upon them; but not bear their petition; and, when their increased, he sent them his orders, and gave order that they should hold on those that made the clamours, but any more ado, bring them out, and to death. These were Caius's command; they who were to him under an occasion; and the number of those who were occasion was very great. Now the this, and bore it so far, that they left a great; because they saw with their own eyes that he suffered, into the possession of their money, brought immediate n them. These things made Cere succeeded in his plot, in order to this barbarity of Caius against men several, as he was feasting; yet did be repaid by some considerations; not that doubt on him about killing him, but at a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purposes.

5. Ceres was had by the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing with so much of him. But Caius had sent him to require the tributes, and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Caesar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and he found himself unable to sustain the taxes, and the fine, and the contempt of his master, upon any further exactions, than performed Caesar's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upon occasion of his civil business, went being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only afford him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him the word, not the nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as being initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes been exposed to many things, he was not made a slave, but in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; and he was, by a very small object in a womanish behaviour to Caius. But when Caius received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by this means; instant that he was in a great, the tribunes made him the subject of their drollery for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watchwords when he was about to take the watchword from Caesar, and accounts that he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompeius, a senator, and one who had been in use of Quintillus, for whom a woman she was, much beloved by many of those that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pompeius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible thing to attend an accusation that incurred the life of her lover, which was also a lie. Pompeius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius was irritated at this reproach upon him, and com- mandet Caius, without any delay, to torture Quintillus, as he used to employ Caius in such bloody matters, and those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more barba- rously, in order to avoid that imputation of Pompeius, and his hatred upon him, but against Quintillus, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the foot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, and not be afraid of the consequence of her torture. For she would have brought him with most the nicety. Caius tortured this woman after a cruel manner: unwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, without being in the least moved at what she had endured in presence of so many witnesses, in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius being somewhat affected with the sight of Quin- tillus, who had her body miserably dismembered by the pains she had undergone, freed both her and Pompeius of the crime laid to their charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and comfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered; and for her glorious patience under such unsufferable torments.
6. This matter sorely grieved Chereus, as having been the cause, as far as he could, or the instrument of, those miseries to which so many were exposed, to the complexion of Caesar himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papius, (of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papius was a tribune,) "To be sure, Cle- ment, the empire has fallen into your keeping; the emperor; for as to those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been slain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such a degree, that he held himself awkward in speaking the language of the emperor in express words, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Chereus took courage, and spoke to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, and discouraged the dangers that were before him, and discouraged the city and the government then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words, that Caius is the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, in the opinion of such are it is to us to keep peace and hold communion, O Clem- ent, and this Papius, and before us thou thy- self, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, and upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands of Caius, but it is the result of a more even course of events; in our power to put an end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his subjects, we are his guard in mischief, and his executioners instead of his friends, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear the weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who hath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and every punishment that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we do, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kinsman for us, but because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because when abundance more have been killed, (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do all, not out of regard to justice, but to his own gratification,) he and his executioners shall also be exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free our- selves from danger."

7. The next readiness commended Chereus's intentions; but bade him "hold his tongue; for in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was, and they should be brought to punishment: but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which then arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance: that, as for himself, his personal appearance shall also be exposed to his cruelty;' whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free our- selves from danger."

8. But as all was agreeable to Senecius, was had himself, equally with Chereus, the same de- sign, but had been silent for want of a person to join him; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Chereus, that so much might be made useful; and, after this, went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions as them- selves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends. He informed him of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to set a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general: and these men were afraid of one man, the more so, as they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their ha- bit against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although he only desired to speak to them. And Minucianus, and on that account were not averse to mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Chereus had met to- gether, and saluted one another, (for the and the name of the man was a padlock,) and it was a matter of the utmost concern to Minucianus to know the first, and asked Chereus, what was the watchword that he had received that day from Caius? for the affront which was offered Chereus, in giving the watchword, was famous over the city. But the business was so secret to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such con- dence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou (said he) give me the watchword of Liberty. And now, another nor am I so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and par- ticularly to expose the names and the business, as we have conferred together. I have indeed last one sword got on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee. I will go first; and should he assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there a necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword was to be sufficient. I am not satisfied with this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undertake; for I am not at leisure to consider the dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I trou- bled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt and upon our crooked laws, and at the destruction which hange over all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayest esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, and may think I am both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us.

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Chereus delivered himself, he gladly embrac'd him, and encouraged him in his bold and intrepid conduct, and added, that as he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Chereus entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the
to encourage him, which bade him at he was about, and take the opportu- provide for: and that Chorea ... from all suspicion that he should be then assaulted by any body; and also, that the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to despatch Caesai, even without a sword: thus was Caesai, even without a sword: thus was 

whether somebody, that was con- that he was about, gave a signal for sanguinary anger at his fellow-conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to possess, and that they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; yet did they perceive that the meanest of the actions of men, that en- him to go boldly in his design, is 

The plot was now communicated to ny, and they were all in their armour; be to dissolve he would have longer patience, last, upon any disappointment they might repent with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspir- and should render the courage of those that were to attack them, and on the 

Callistus also, who was a freed-man and was the only man that had arrived at the height of power under him; such deed, as was in a manner equal to of the murderer, and he was not in- him of, and by the great riches of, for he took bribes most plente- committed injuries without bounds, were extravagant in the use of his pow- power, nor upon him as he came, but he had it upon him that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it. would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Chorea consented to this delay, and when the shows were expected, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolutions, and, as three days of the regular times for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Chorea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: 

so much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, as doing to go through such a virtuous design as we are to make away in; but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated; for Caesai will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do not we see how they have profaned our friends of their liberty, and give Caesai leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite repress what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, she said farther, "If my brave comrade! why do we make such delays? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caesai is about to go to see; for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after a pompous manner, triumph- ing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, to disturb the peace of the city, and to make us insufferable to him, to kill him? As for my- self, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enter- prise this very day, and bear cheerfully what soever shall be the consequence of the attempt.

Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cesar, who first proposed the commonwealth within a monarchy; for these shows were in honour of Au- gustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.
nor let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer: for, to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable than that, while I am a free man, you should kill me, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action.”

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all excited with the utmost alacrity. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delayed among his friends. For which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and free men were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Caesar, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that Caius, one of the patricians, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Aspernas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to custom, very grave and grave in his manner of speaking; and he foretold that all those that were present were to be disturbed. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down upon that part of the orchestra that was near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fasted together, as it used to be every year, in the manner following: it had two doors, the one door let to the open air, the other for going in, or going out of the cloutiers, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there was an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery, to give them to the correspondents of the victors, to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea with the other tribunes were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was occupied, one Vatinius, a senator and commander of the pretorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, “Whether he had heard any thing of the news or not?” but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that “he had heard no news.” “Know then,” said Vatinius, “that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day.” But Cluvius replied, “O brave comrade! bold Caius, brave Caius, lest some other of thy friends has thy fate.” And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rarity, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence where with the spectators seized upon them; and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there: for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was promised to the people, he was brought in a play called Cynirnas, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrha, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cynirnas. It was last of all the others that were slain on the same day when Pausianias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was king of Macedon, slew him as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he would tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down again; but he knew that he must return and sit down again, and then Caius did not delay anything more to go out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Aspernas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea’s associates placed themselves in, order, as the time would permit them, and the fates were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already late. But Caius, as he was walking with Cherea, upon Caius’s tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not do without much bloodshed, both of the senators, and of those that were present. And indeed he was present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the hands of the conspirators. And when they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as dextrous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him, while they set about Caius’s slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vatinius, his sister’s hus- band, as also Vatinius of Aspernas, they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius; Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the door behind him, by which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before; Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, came into the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boy, who came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in those mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the Pyrrhic way, and to prepare themselves. So Cherea met him, and asked him for the watchword; upon Caius’s giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not slain by the stroke, but as he was mistaken through there to be those that say, it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me as the fable, for there are many in such actions do not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself in his spite against Caius, rather than in immediately procuring safety to him, or to his confederates from the dangers they were in:

* Suetonius says, Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day: Josephus about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.
BOOK XIX.—CHAP. I.

because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already all the means to that end. But, of course, he had regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as for the afflication himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius. Accordingly, as soon as ever he was noted by him, and no certainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose all opportunity that lay before him; but every body was afraid of him as he had been, and had made matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that the blow gave him, for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the side, and the bone of the breast from proceeding farther, 

Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he, nor did he call out for any of his friends; whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disorder ed, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinius, who was already prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knees, whereupon the guard have said aloud and with a loud voice, and from the noise that he made in his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors, and was very fair to them all, but they paid no regard to him; for he did not know that he was of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of soldiers, and died by the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did, but he had been told what they were, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and, being not satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him: so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape what a noise which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty and those that were not guilty, and this equally also. And thus were these three persons slain.

16. But when they knew that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it: even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were also those who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius, nor could believe it, though they were true enemies to his. But I thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannically, with much oppression, of the best of his citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honour and advantages to themselves; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shows, and the throngings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh meat among them, which things in pretense were designed for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to depise
and do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instances of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had seen their masters and friends executed as such, with Asprenus upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely affected, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and also of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, industry were almost impos- sible at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. When it, however, be considered that they unju- stly hated Caius, could yet noway enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him, nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of such a happy issue. 

18. There was at this time one Euanistus Ar- runtius, a public crier in the market, and there- fore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to show the expense of building and afterward. This man put himself into the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his friend not being in danger, there was no sense of pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friend in the world; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, and how he had taken great care of them in the offi- nance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bid- ding them put up their swords, and telling them and that it was done, and yet it was, plainly, which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for, while they had heard that Caius had stood any breach in him, they abstained at least of any sort of violence; and, such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from it. That it was, and now was, not without difficulty, to that rage, which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Miss- cianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spoke to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clemens, he let Miss- cianus to his house, and said that if there were any sedition raised, they knew noth- thing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare him, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes, as belon- ged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these peo- ple appeal to God, and deprive their inhumanity with the shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent dan- ger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This broke the fury of the sol- diers, and made them repent of what they mind- ed to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instances of cruelty. And so it appeared to even these savages, when they had seen their masters and friends executed as such, with Asprenus upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely affected, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and also of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, industry were almost impossible at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. When it, however, be considered that they unjustly hated Caius, could yet noway enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him, nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of such a happy issue.

20. The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to inform- ers were sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's goods.
my; insomuch that although in common these conspirators were those that slew it, that in reality, he lies now dead as by his own self."

by this time the people in the theatre en from their seats, and those that were id in the houses; that there was this cause was this, that the spectators were too getting away. There was also one Al-

physician, who hurried away as if to e that were wounded, and under that he need this was last that was not, but at that things were necessary for the healing wounded persons, but in reality, to get 

er of the present dangers they were in,

pilates, during this interval, had met, people also assembled together in the ed form, and were both employed in after the murderers of Caius. The it very zealously, but all the senate in e only; for there was present Valerius es that had been consul; this man went a, as they were in disorder, and very at they could not discover who they murdered the emperor; he was then also those that were in the temple.

He replied, "I wish I had been the be consuls" also published an edict

by accused Caius, and gave order to en together, and to the soldiers, and to give people to be seen in any of the expressed they lay under; led the soldiers, if they lay quiet as to do, and would not go abroad to do unjustly, that they would bestow re than; for there was reason to fear s might suffer harm by their wild and de behaviour, if they should once be to spoil the citizens, or plunder.

And now the whole multitude of ns a course of virtue it is not of insts from whose loins we are derived, were exercis ed in. As for ourselves, our business is, during this space of time, to live virtuously, than nothing can be more to our advantage; which is more, in order to attain the liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard it by the relation of others, but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known by example, and I learned thereby what mischiefs tyrannies have done to commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of battery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise men, but by the humours of those that govern. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have driven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have been destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles; because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse with; and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government as Caius, who hath been slain to-day, hath brought more terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon the other, bycondemning still greater crimes upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injurious-
and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates and their wives; but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families and their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship; for as they are conscious of the advantages which others have, who have forsaken the lateness of them or murder them out of the world. Since, then, we are now got ten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another, (which form of government being the best by the grand concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,) you ought every one of you in particular to make provision for his own, and in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them; because they have now no longer What miseries, who, whether of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrolled power to take off those that freely declare their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late times as the forfeiture of concord, as contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves; and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, feared the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought, then, in the first place, to decry the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Charesius Cassius; for our one man, with the assistance of the gods, hath by his counsel, and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties, but ought to decry him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with so great a courage. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, was New Caesar [Cesar] for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil war in our city, but this man, together with his slayer of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny.

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present. And now one Tribellius Maximus, a very brave soldier, took off the tyrant's ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caini engraven upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take. This hand was broken inrmediately. But, as it was now far in the night, Chares demanded of the consul the watchword, which gave him this word—Liberty. These facts were the subjects of admiration to them selves, and almost incredible; for it was a hundred years since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watchword returned to the senate's side, which were four regiments, who had been gathered together by sentines to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, when Chares had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, and Chares was in very great esteem with them.

4. And now Chares was very uneasy that Caini's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family and the posterity of his friends, whose names we must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caini, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caini's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of a man, who had been put to death by a man, and might appear to have been a partaker with those that might appear to have been in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as, to this using such severity against such a woman as was the mother of their own ill nature, than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill nature it was that the city was in such a desperate condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things: nay, they ascribed all that Caini had done to her as the cause of it, and said she had given a portion to Caini, which had made him obnoxious to her, and to the consuls; for, before the city was destroyed. So that at least it was concluded that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved: and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was supposed to have obtained her consent, as he was disposed to do the same thing, and to get himself into the ground, and desist from all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself be smeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and dwelling the great affliction she suffered herself, ye daughter, by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caini, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers, taken to be true even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of the people. Now some said that the words were intended to make him more to despise his mad behaviour and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them.

* In this oration of Sentius Saterarius, we may see the great value Virtues men put upon public liberty, and the end good of a virtuous life, which, while it was, tyrannized over by such emperors as Caini. See Josephus's ownmost short but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter: "So difficult," says he, "it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control."
He was also able, off hand and readily, to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and painstaking; for as he was the grandson of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was; this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because the pitch of his character had a sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first rank of his own citizens. But the nature of his learning did not counterbalance the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority; so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man, who have the absolute power of wounding; please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their serious application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot which by excursions they raised against him, and wherewith he perished.

CHAP. III.

How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his House, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassage to him.

§ 1. Now Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the murder of the madman, he wrote great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place, though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any suspicion. But when the time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called Petilus, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation, had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such a fate; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murder. It was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public: all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of the Senate had been improved carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whether a few steps led him, and whether he was retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was,
because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, who, this a Germanicus," come on, let us choose him for our emperor!" But when Claudius saw that they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caligula, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus suppose that the crowd took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, Sir, these idle thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the republic, have committed to you, with the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors. So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was the motion; and so he was set at what was told him.

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus a great number of the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked to the queen's countenance, as supposing that he was content to be taken away from them for that he had not been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddled with public affairs all his life-long, and one that had met with no contested dangers under the reign of Caius; and some, I think, was of opinon that the consequences should take cognizance of these matters; and, as still more and more of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius could hardly go on, his body was then so crowded, and those who had him ran away and saved themselves, as despairing of his lord's preservation. But when they were come into the large court of the palace (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabited first of all the parts of the city of Rome,) and had just reached the public treasury, many more soldiery came upon him, as glad to see Claudius's face, and his blood, and the Emperor, on account of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the conduct of those, not only of the leading men of the senate, but and what great errors they had been guilty of, when the senate had the government formerly: they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in, if the government should come to a single person, and that such a one should possess it as they had no hand in advancing, and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good-will, and would re- man who the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

3. These were the consourses the soldiery had one with another by themselves, and they communed this, that as soon as they could get to him. Now, those that inquired about this matter, willingly embraced the invitation that was made to them to join with the rest: so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as never before. The soldiers, seeing him, one chairman still succeeding another, that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were anxious about them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and would not, if they had the same refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them, and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war among the people of Rome. But, when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiery, they sent to him these of their body which had the best character for their virtue, and which might influence the rest, and were sought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government: that he who was a single person, one either already, or hereafter to be, a member of their body, ought to yield to the government: that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped by the death of those who had not to hate the heavy burdens of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself, wilfully treat his country after a mad and insen- sible manner; that if he would comply with them, and the senate, he might continue to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours deered to him that a free people could bestow, and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of com monwealth, in which he both is a ruler and a subject: but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caesar's death, they would not permit him to go on, that a great part of the army was got together for them, with the consent of many of the senators, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of: that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune, and that the gods would never assist an injured number, but that they undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country."

4. Now the ambassadors, Veranius and Brecc, beheld of them tributes of the people, made this speech to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would not throw the city into war and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers was of the leading men of the senate, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that "if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the popula- nate; that he would prosper better and be hap- pier, if he came to it, not by the injustice, but by the good will of those that would bestow it upon him."

CHAP. IV.

What things King Agrippa did for Claudius, and how Claudius, when he had taken the Government, commanded the Murderers of Caesar to be slain.

§ 1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; for he saw that he could not run out of his fright: so he was encouraged to claim the government partly by theboldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of King Agrippa, who exhorted him not to rest a de- kin to slip out of his hands, when it came to him to its own accord. Now, this King Agrippa,

that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of Neron- as was bestowed upon Drusus, and his posterity also. In Claud. ch. 1.
in Caisa, did what became one that
much honoured by him; for he em-
ployed his body after he was dead, and laid
it, and covered it as well as he could,
out to the guards, and told them that
if anyone said that they
were for physics, since he was very
dead. But when he had learned that
was carried away violently by the sol-
iers through the crowd to him, and
that he was in disorder and reorder
the government to the senators, be
him, and desired him to keep the
; but when he had said this to Clau-
ried home. And, upon the senate's
the soldiers that were on the side,
"designing that the
senate would choose them an emperor, and not
bring the government into ruin by setting up
a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared
themselves to be for the giving the government
to a man, or at least to a part
ry collected together for them.
ld raise a larger one by giving the
erty." Agrippa made answer, "O
you go on; I will immediately tell you
because they tend to your preser-
notice, then, that the army which
Claudius hath been long exercised
in skirmishing with the
multitude of raw men, and those
en unexpectedly made free from
negovable; we must then fight
that are skilful in war, with men
so much as how to draw their
at my opinion, that we should
ons to Claudius, to persuade him
government, and I am ready to
ambassadors." Agrippa, the senate
him, and he was sent among
ately informed Claudius of the
site was in, and gave instructions
in a somewhat commanding
ning; and accordingly, Claudius said to the
at "he did not wonder the senate
have an emperor over them, be-
ae honied by the barbarity
formerly been at liberty; and in abso-
that they should taste of an-
ment under him, and moderate
should only be their ruler in
f or their own city coin and
since he had passed through
ous scenes of life before their
o good for them not to distrust
ambassadors, upon their hearing
of the green-band faction of Cetrus;
army which was there gathered;
took oaths that they would per-
ty to him; upon which he gave
y man five thousand drachms
promised to give the same to the
wheresoever they were.
consuls called the senate to
drachmata to be distributed to each
drachmata, equal to 50,000 sesterces,
was much too large, and directly con-
. x. who makes them in all but 139
 gather into the temple of Jupiter the Com-
 er, while it was still night; but some of those
senators concealed themselves in the city, being
uncertain what to do, upon the hearing of this
summons, and some of them went out of the
city to their own farms, as if they were going
the public affairs were declining, and despairing of
liberty; nay, these supposed it much better for
them to be slaves without danger to themselves,
and to live a lazy and inactive life, than, by claim-
ing the dignity of their forefathers, to run the
hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred,
and no more, were gotten together; and as they
were in consultation about the present posture of
affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the sol-
iers that were on the side, desiring that the
senate would choose them an emperor, and not
bring the government into ruin by setting up
a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared
themselves to be for the giving the government
to a man, or at least to a part
should consult the government to a fault." Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any bond of fidelity, and the two consulps differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell to regarding and pondering upon the matter, and feared what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see his own brother turned upon them. He also abused Ceres for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, the senators and the people had given their lives. But Ceres said, he had no manner of doubt upon him killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intention of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate: but every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius, and the other consul Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the senates, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereas they had driven from them their kings, and were now assisting him, and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by his side. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Pomponius went away wounded, and they were all in an uproar. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senates together into the palace, and was married thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Ceres and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the foremost and most solemn manner, with great pomp and show, and Felio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary adiet, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get him up a dais, and desired them to express their enmity about Ceres. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to the discomfort of such as did it. But Ceres came to him. So Ceres was led to his execution, and

4. This piercing cold, how complained of by Lupa, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign; it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and most probably a few days after Jan. 9th, and a few days before the Roman Pontifical.

† It is both here and elsewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the villani were punished, but yet highly desired to die, when those murderers were under oath, or other like the obligations of fidelity to them, were usually revenged, and the murderers were cut off themselves, and then in a most pernicious manner, not at all resembling in the proses' case, by those very persons who were not sorry for such murders, but got kingdoms by them. The example of this murder of the villani, and other preces histories, and seems generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that such murderers of tyrants do usually on such ill principles as these two cases, and they are not able to satisfy the innocent with the guilty, which was the case here, chap. i. sect. 14 and chap. ii. sect. 4, as justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to have been the case of John also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaughter he had a commission from God, without

Lupa, and many other Romans with him now, it is reported that Ceres bore his calamity courageously, and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupa, who fell into tears; for when Ceres came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to cut their punishment, whether he was to have the office was what he was used to i or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he used to say in jest, that he would not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done.]

6. Under that saying, the alius, and at least solemnities were near at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire, in honour of Ceres, and besought him to be merciful to the wronged and wronged, and raise his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Ceres came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but made him a legate to reprove his former-commas, he had no mind to join the army, yet did he think that he ought to be to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow-confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.

CHAP. V.

How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions; and how he published an Edict in half of the Jews.

§ 1. Now, when Claudius had taken care of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which Lupa had laid his hands upon, an edict and therein confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it, of all that country over which Herod, who was married to a daughter of Abias, named Bernus, reigned in Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abia, of Lycaonia, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made an edict in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome; he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagene: he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the king, who had been his old friend, and steward to his

* any such commission, any justice or commission, he killed Athab's great men, and acquiesced in, and prince forty-two of the kindred of Athabas, 2 Ksps 11-14. See Hos. 4. 4. I do not mean here to condemn the life execution of vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their tyranny; who at any rate, and sometimes, in this in the insurrection, so he still had a deep commission, or a divine impulse, waxes were their commissions, for what they did, Judg. 11: 15, 19, 20; Judg. 13: 20; 1 Tim. 6: 14; 1 Tim. 5: 8, in Antiocch. Rec. p. 212. See also p. 252. § Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, ch. iii. 1. Reply Lysias was some time before, that he kept the kingdom which he is further confirmed by Ptolemy, the great geographer, which Lysemanh here observes, when he calls the city of Lysias a kingdom; which city was asserted of, and saith to be Lysias, who was at Jerusalem, and at Jerusalem, 4, and Chris. the years 30 and 32. I esteem this possibility to have belonged to the land of Canaan originally, to have been the burying-place of Abai, and suffered in so

pains, but has been imprisoned by
as [Marcus] married Bernice, the
Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexan-
dead, who had married her when
aged. Agrippa gave her in marriage
Caius, and reduced to very
by the people of Alexandria, reco-
and immediately took up their arms to
and Claudius sent an order idly, that they should not
at an edict, at the request of king
and Herod, both to Alexandria and
those contents were as follows: "Ti-
um Cesar Augustus Germanicus,
and tribune of the people of
Romans. I think it also very just that no Oe-
citizens should be deprived of such rights and
privileges, since they were preserved to them
under the great Augustus. It will, therefore, be
fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world
under us, to keep their own customs, without
being hindered so to do. And I do charge them
also to use this my kindness to them with mode-
rates and not to show a contempt of the super-
stitious observances of other nations, but to keep
their own laws only. And I will that this decree
of mine be engraved on tables by the magis-
trates of the cities and colonies, and municipal
places, both those within Italy, and those with-
out it, both kings and governors, by the means
of the ambassadors, command an edition be
published in the public for full thirty days, in such a place,"
whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

CHAPTER VI

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusa-
lem, when he was returned back into Judea; and
what it was that Petronius wrote to the inhabi-
tants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Claudius Cesar, by these decrees of
his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the
habitable earth, made known what opinion he
had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away
to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a
more illustrious dignity than before, and went as
letters to the presidents and procurators of the
provinces, that they should treat him very kindly.
Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely
he would, now he returned in so much greater
prosperity than he had before. He also came to
Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that be
longed to him, and omitted nothing wherewith
the law required; on which account he ordained
that many of the Nazarites should have their heads
shorn. And for the golden chain which he had been
given him by Caius, of equal weight with that
iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been
bound, he hung it up within the limits of the
temple, over the treasury, that it might be a me-
memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a
testimony of his change for the better; that it
might be a demonstration how the greatest pros-
perity may have a fall, and that God sometimes
raises up what is fallen down; for that chain,
thus dedicated, afforded a dower to all the
that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain,
for a small cause, but recovered his former dig-
ity again; and a little while afterward got out
of his bonds, and was made a more il-
lustrious king than he was before. Whence men
may understand that all that partake of human
nature, how great soever they are, may fall;
and that those that fall may gain their former
illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all
the duties of the divine worship, he removed
Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high
priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on
Simon the son of Boanerges. And Simon went to
Canatha, whose daughter king Herod married,
as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had
the [high] priesthood with his brethren, and with
his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon,
the son of Onias, whose fathers had it formerly
under the government of the Macedonians, as
I have related in a former book.

his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, ch.
iv. sect. 9, than his daughter of James, the brother of John,
and his imprisonment of Peter, or his vainglorious be-
behaviour before he died, both in Acts xii. 1, 3, and here,
ch. iv. sect. 1, will justify or the character he was
probably taken from his son, Agrippa, just.
This treasury chamber seems to have been the very
same in which our St. James, who was Jew, offered their charity money for the repairs or other uses

so as to come and dwell among the Ro-
mans here tells us, from the great Selden,
tones represented at the bottom of their
identity only, U. P. R. L. P. Unda
Legi Process, "Whence it may plainly
and two, as the people of Cæsarea and Se
sect. 4, and esp. in sect. 1, and indeed thus
50.
should consult the government to a feat." Yet were they not moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join him in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the word went among the army, without any hope to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fall to reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinius, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that he had done, he was left in his executors. He added, that this office was what he was used to for whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword, which he had used against Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lepus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows leveled at his neck, because he did not count part of Caius, and he sought to have done it. 6. Now, a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were near at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several gods, and put portions into the fire, is honour to the dead, with a solemn fast; Claudius sent for them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinius, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him the command of the army; yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail of performing his obligations to his fellow-confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.  

CHAP. V.  
How Claudioius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions; and how he published an Edict in half the Jews.  
§ 1. Now, when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he had to fear, he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed the kingdom to Agrippa, which Caius had given him, and therein commanded the king high also. He made an addition to it, and that his grandfather, that is, Judas and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila, of Lycaonia, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them on the most noble and mighty of them, those who had made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oath in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome; he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Pamphylia: he also to Alexander Lysimachus, the saleburch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and staved to his any such commission, any justice or communication, he killed Abah's great men, and acquiescentes, and pious, and forty-two of the kindred of Absalom, 2 Kings i. 11. and for his. 1. 4. I do not mean here to touch or the like executors of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy; but, if they appear still to have had no such delusion as intimated to say the innocent, had they still a real com mission, or a divine impulse, was then assured, and that he was to be the successor of Antiochus. See the history of this in Rev. 1, 5. 4, and 9. 20. and so on.  

LXX.  
† Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 1. that Lyssanas was some time before inseth of Abah, or the like executors of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy; but, if they appear still to have had no such delusion as intimated to say the innocent, had they still a real com mission, or a divine impulse, was then assured, and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila, of Lycaonia, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them on the most noble and mighty of them, those who had made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oath in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome; he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Pamphylia: he also to Alexander Lysimachus, the saleburch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and staved to his any such commission, any justice or communication, he killed Abah's great men, and acquiescentes, and pious, and forty-two of the kindred of Absalom, 2 Kings i. 11. and for his. 1. 4. I do not mean here to touch or the like executors of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy; but, if they appear still to have had no such delusion as intimated to say the innocent, had they still a real com mission, or a divine impulse, was then assured, and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila, of Lycaonia, and all that lay at mount Libanus, he bestowed them on the most noble and mighty of them, those who had made a league with Agrippa, confirmed by oath in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome; he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Pamphylia: he also to Alexander Lysimachus, the saleburch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and staved to his any such commission, any justice or communication, he killed Abah's great men, and acquiescentes, and pious, and forty-two of the kindred of Absalom, 2 Kings i. 11. and for his. 1. 4. I do not mean here to touch or the like executors of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants, who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy; but, if they appear still to have had no such delusion as intimated to say the innocent, had they still a real com mission, or a divine impulse, was then assured, and
another, Antony, but has been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Demisoe, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married her when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother, Herod, and begged for him of Caius the same favor, which he had received from his brother Caius. And when Caius is about to allow this, Herod sends a message to Agrippa, and says to him: 'I will also allow thee this gift of the Romans. I think it also very just that no Greek city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will, therefore, be to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs, without being hindered in any manner. And I do not think it also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraved on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy, and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public view, and to be written on tablets, wherein it may plainly be read from the ground.'

CHAP. VI.

What things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back unto Judea; and what sort of things Petronius wrote to the habitants of Doris, in behalf of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a dignity of royalty, and gave him power to write letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in so much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that he was bidden to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shaven, and resumed the Jewish order, given him by Caius, of equal weight with that from the Pharisees, whereby his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain, which the Jews did thus dedicate to God, and which Agrippa would have kept up, he destroyed, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain, for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterward got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious prince. And now Simon may understand that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And Agrippa had also gotten his affairs in order, and the people of Judea, that he might reign over all Judea; and Agrippa came to the temple, and did offer sacrifice and present the gifts offered by the sacrifices, and made a feast, in behalf of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.
3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had shewed him; for he released them from the tax upon horses, every one of whom paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requisite the tender affections of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, who was a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a year, the young king of Doris proceeded, referring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked the Jews to plan their total destruction of the law of their country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor did he less resent what was done than the Jews, who, for their part, refuted him, and to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris in an angry strain:—"Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, the great grandson of the great Augustus, orders as follows: Since some of you had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was published for permitting the Jews to offer sacrifices in their own temple, and not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in the synagogue, by removing Caesar’s statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural courage that every one should have the power over the place belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Caesar; to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperor’s edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore order, that Proculus Vitellius, the centurion, bring those men, contrary to the edict of Caesar, and have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal reputation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, that it was not done with their consent, but by the will of one in the multitude, that they might give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it, and take care that no handle be thence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to hunt after who encourage such doings. I therefore charge you, that that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretence of sacrifices, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, although that may be well known to all, yet did Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews sought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus had restored them. Therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."
People of Berytus; for he erected a theatre for them, superior to many others of that sort, both in size and splendour; but he bath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think, that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many laborious and miserable years, upon their deliberation, and how many laments and how many tears—how many labours I have undergone for him, whereby I procured him deliverance and respect; as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds and a dark prison. I shall never forget the ill will that was against me, and how I was to depart out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clourest he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that when he was from his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were abiding to the new city [Bezeaths], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them very strong, and higher in some places, and higher in some places, and higher in some places, that he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Caesar of what Appius had done. And when they had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Appius to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed; as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

Sampson, his son, was king of Damascus, and Appius Caesar was king of the Lesser Armenia, and Polemo, who was king of Pontus, as also Herod his brother, who was king of Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obsequious entertainment, in which he showed in his goodness of mind, and to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings paid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither on business; and he gave that respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven far-long. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement to so many potentates to be for the interest of the Roman Empire. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without further delay. This was very ill taken by Appius, who hated him entirely. And now he took the high priesthood away from Mathias, and made Elinuus, the son of Canthus, high priest in his stead.

3. Now, when Appius had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cæsuraea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival all the nobility had met together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into their presence in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another, (though not for his good,) that "he was a god!" and they added, "be thou merciful to us; for although we...

A strange number of condemned criminals to be under sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems, than 1400.
have hitherto revered them only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an eagle standing on a cornice, with its beak open and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also took him, so that, being carried on his bed in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I whom ye call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just pronounced over me; and I, who am to die by your cause, am not to be buried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence alloteth, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he had said this, his pain became very violent. Accordingly, he was carried into the palace, and the rumour went abroad everywhere, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in this content, and as the sun shone upon them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the six and twentieth year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar, three of them were over Philip's tetarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it, and he reigned, besides those, thirty-three years under Herod the Great. In which time he reigned over the foregoing-mentioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cæsarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, so that he placed there twelve millions of drachmas. Yea, he did not borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his income, and his generosity was boundless." 3. But before the multitude were free. He was the first to accede of Agrippa's being expired, Herod the king of Cæsarea, and Helcias the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristob, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silias, who had been their enemy, as it had been done by the king's own command.

We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Cæsarius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of the said history of St. Luke begin Eccles. B. II. ch. x. sect. 6 with Βαβαίον—Βαβαίον, τινα, ι. e. ου εζητει—ον—ον—οις ὄρνοις, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only have the explanatory word δύσηλον or αγέλερ, as if he meant it only for a name and not for a moral. Yet it would seem a most strange thing in Josephus, who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of his Josephus also, without any suspicion of perjury. Now, not to alleg how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and his successors' copies of the fourth century were just like the present, as this clause has no record in the said copies, the first of the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. "This [bird] (says Eusebius) Agrippa presently perceived to be the messenger of ill tidings; and the reason why he gave the name of Βαβαίον is, because it was otherwise not known to him," which can only belong to that bird the ewel, which, as it had formerly borede his happy deliverance from imprisonment, and in the sight of all, it is likely he then forced to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death in five days time. If the improper word Βαβαίον or Βαβαίον be changed for Josephus's proper word δύσηλον or αγέλερ, and the adjoining words, "οις ὄρνοις" and Βαβαίον, τινα, it is not to be doubted that the Greek text will really represent that in Josephus. Had this interpolation been in some heathen author, that was in good sense with our modern critics, they would have readily allowed it to be honest and true. But here it is an ancient Christian writer, not so well refined by many of these critics, nothing will serve but the ill-grounded repugnance to be broken of. Let us see the note on Acts, B. II. ch. xi. sect. 4. This sum of 12,000,000 drachmas, which is equal to 3,000,000 shekels, i. e. at St. 16d. a shekel, equal to £2,029,000 sterling, was Agrippa's gift to his family in the land of Cæsarea, as a part of his grandfather Herod's income; he having abused the tax upon houses as an impost on them. See the note on Acts, B. II. ch. xi. sect. 3, and was not so tyrannical as the same author seems to have represented. I blame the author of our English Bible not for this, but for the extravagance of all his expense. But A. D. 35, which here, not improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians, by the means of Simeon the king's chamberlains, mentioned earlier, A. D. 30. The latter part of this, the world so complex, as to omit nothing that other historians take notice of, unless the same be taken out of the other and accommodated to it. See the note on Acts, B. II. ch. xi. sect. 4. A large sum this! but not, it seems, sufficient for his extravagant expenses. If this be true, which is not, improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians, by the means of Simeon the king's chamberlains, mentioned earlier, A. D. 30.
of soldiers that were at Caesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Ptolemais, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. But these orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews. After this, and after the seed of that war which began under Florus, whence it was, that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as well as we shall relate hereafter."

This history is now wanting.

**BOOK XX.**

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS—FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR, TO FLORUS.

CHAP. I.

_A Position of the Philadelphians against the Jews; and also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest._

1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Caesar, sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had been in friendship with him; lest, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews of Agrippa, and those of the Philadelphians, about their borders, at a village called Misa, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians.

When Fadus was informed of this procedure, it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done this thing, he would have taken against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterwards had done them this same name was Hasmilius, and he banished the other two, Asram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch-robbber, was, after some time, brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time, Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus.

He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the command of the emperor, and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestments, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the emperor, and be under his care. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus, (which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the city might rebel, and the Jews to rebel,) that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Caesar, to petition him that they may have the holy vestments under their own power, and that, in the next place, when Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behaviour.] And when they had agreed so to do, and had given the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly.

But when, upon coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, (for he dwelt with Claudius Caesar, as we said before,) he besought Caesar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Heretofore Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favor, who had been bestowed on them upon this entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designated consul the fourth time, and emperor the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my kinsman, my countryman, and my friend, who was sent to me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest manner, not to banish the holy vestments, holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. I shall have also the advantage of the reconciliation with Ceasarius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theodio, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of Euphrasius. I desired, at the fourth of the kalends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus were consuls."

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was their excellency's friend, and the Roman authority and the people of Rome petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasures, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for their son Alexander as high priest; and they were also given them their sons as pledges for their peaceable behaviour. And when they had agreed so to do, and had given the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came, (for he dwelt with Claudius Caesar, as we said before,) he besought Caesar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request;" and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this favor, who had been bestowed on them upon this entreaty. And besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Caesar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designated consul the fourth time, and emperor the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my kinsman, my countryman, and my friend, who was sent to me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest manner, not to banish the holy vestments, holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod, and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good-will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. I shall have also the advantage of the reconciliation with Ceasarius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are, Cornelius the son of Cero, Trypho the son of Theodio, Dorotheus the son of Nathaniel, and John the son of Euphrasius. I desired, at the fourth of the kalends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus were consuls."

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tional. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war. Accordingly, Herod removed the last high priest, called Canthera, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

CHAP. II.

How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn, when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem.

§ 1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the eldest son of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon her wife's belly, and fell asleep, and then committed her to another, he bid him to awake immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him Izates. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other women. He indeed placed all his affections on this his only begotten son Izates, which was the origin of that envy, while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father would be for Izates before all them. Now although their father was very sensible of their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved: and as he loved Izates so much, he sent Izates to Abbanerig, the king of Charsax-Spasini, and his great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed him to one of his relations, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was Samach: he also bestowed a country upon him, and bestowed large revenues and passive of bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison him, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty with the reasonable breadth of land that he had, he sent some of them and their children to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Atrabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him and all his brethren and relations, and that he had sent him on him the country called Carce; it was a soil that bare aumon in great plenty: there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is treated that Noah escaped the deluge, and where there still shown to have all the desirous to see them. Accordingly, Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all her relations, and summoned all the king's son, and for those that had the armies committed to their command: and when they were come, she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous of giving to his son the kingdom, in the good government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon hearing of what they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said that "they confirmed the king's determination and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had before the rest of them declared, that all the brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So, since these men had not prevailed with her when they advised her to slay them, they exhort her at least to keep her sons with her, that she should not be over which arise from their hatred and envy to him." Helena replied to this, that "she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself, and to Izates; but desired that they would however the king's pleasure was, that she should not be able to decide the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now, during the time Izates abode at Charax-Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananian, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship the king's god, and, by these means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion: he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was to come to his father to come, and in Adiabene; it also happened that Helena, about the same time, was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there received large revenues and passive of bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or imprison him, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty with the reasonable breadth of land that he had, he sent some of them and their children to Rome, to Claudius Caesar, and sent the others to Atrabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

* This is a copy error in the original text. The correct text should be: "There was a great famine at Jerusalem."
give her leave to go thither: upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparations for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city of Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem, for it was said that a famine did oppress them at that time, and many were desiring for want of what was necessary to procure food, and Helens sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and of which she procured a large cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left an excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this king and queen conferr'd upon our city of Jerusalem, shall be further related hereafter.

CHAP. III.

How Artabanus, the King of Parthia, out of Fear of the secret Coniviances of his Subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Government; how he wasSummarize the main points in the text:

- Artabanus, the king of Parthia, went to Izates due to fear of internal threats.
- Izates reinstated Artabanus in his government and protected him from harm.
- Artabanus later made peace with Ctesiphon to avoid conflict.
- The king of Ctesiphon also reinstated Artabanus after the disputes were resolved.

These points highlight the political maneuvers and alliances between the kings of Parthia and Ctesiphon during the time period described.
time perished by a plot made against him, and
Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who com-
mittted two of his provinces to two of his bro-
thers by the same father; that of the Medes to
Alexander, the older, Pacorus, and Armenia to the younger,
Tiridates.

CHAPTER IV.
How Isatæs was betrayed by his own Subject, and
sought against by the Arabsians; and how Isa-
te, by the Providence of God, was delivered out
of their Hands.

§ 1. Now when the king's brother, Membanæ, and
his other kindred, saw how Isatæs, by his
actions, had become so great and strong that all men, they also had a desire to leave the reli-
gion of their country, and to embrace the customs
of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered
by Isatæs's subjects. Whereupon the pra-
by of God into their king's hands, yet it would not
be certain in anger at them: but had an intimation,
when they should find a proper opportunity, to
inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly,
y wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and
begged him to get their help, and they should
make an expedition against their king; and they
farther promised him, that on the first onset they
would desert their king, because they were de-
rous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he
had shown against them, and also because they
hated themselves, by oaths, to be faithful to each other,
and desired that he would make haste in this
design. The king of Arabia complied with their
requests, and brought a great army into the field,
and began against Isatæs, when Isatæs: as he now
heard of the first onset, and because they came to
a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a
panic terror upon them, all deserted Isatæs, as
they agreed to do, and turning their backs upon their master, ran away. He also, seeing their king, and drove him into a forest
called Arsamus, and following on the siege vige-
rantly, he took that fort. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which he
then returned to Aidæs, and not only needed not to take Abia alive; because, when he heard himself
encumbered on every side, he slew himself.

§ 2. But although the grandees of Aidæs had
failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up
by God into their king's hands, yet it would not
then even be quiet, but wrote again to Volo-
gases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired
that he would kill Isatæs, and set over them some
other potentate, who should be of a Parthian fami-
y, and not known as a foreigner, but who should be able to
abolish the laws of their forefathers, and
embracing foreign customs. When the king of
Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon
Isatæs; and as he had just pretence for this war,
he sent to him, and retaliated upon him, he began
to renounce those privileges that had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to
make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Isa-
te was under no small trouble of mind, as think-
that Isatæs would immediately set against Isatæs.
Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein;
for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's inten-
tion, and how he had determined to make war
with Isatæs, slew him, and brought his king,
dean to his brother Getarres. He also in no long

* This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with
the eyes of the eyes erect, is known to have been of old pa-
salogic to (grand) kings, from Xenophon and others, so is
XX.—CHAP. V.

And when he had thus put things in order as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, for he marched in great haste, and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media; Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there were letters sent to him to follow up the king of Parthia, who told him, "how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Egypt, and enumerated that king's subjects; he also threatened him, that he should be punished, as a person unjustifiable to his hands; and said, that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the messenger delivered this his message, Izates replied, that he knew, and that his power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also, that God was much more powerful than all men. And when he had returned this answer, he betook himself to make supplication to the God that was before him, and put aspers upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. Then he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain composed myself to live, and to die before you, and to make supplication to you, let your majesty restore me to my kingdom, and let us live together, that together we may glorify your name." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself, with tears in his eyes, weeping, and lying upon his face, and praying earnestly for three days and three nights. And very happily it came to pass, that on the third day, Vologeses received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahae and Saca, desiring him, now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and sent his brother, so that he [was forced to] retire back, without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatened of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

And while these things were passing with Izates, he died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed him in the government, thereby requisitioning him, because, he was himself absent after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great heaviness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she sent to him his brother, and, to the Parthians came into Adiabene, and sent long ontive letters to Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids, or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, in the city of Jerusalem, in which place they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilean: as also what Calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.

§ 1. Now it came to pass, that when Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician, whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and to follow him to the wilderness, and said them that he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words. However, Fadus did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but sent a troop of horsemen out against them: who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many of them alive, and made Aethus, the son of Nebudus, his successor, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus' government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus, and was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person among all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more eminent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the religion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt, at a very great expense, and distributed it to those that were in want, as I have before related also in the case of the Jews of Galilee were now slain; I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrus came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as the fourth in order. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now Herod, king of Chalced, removed Joseph, the son of Camysus, from the high priesthood, and made Aethus, the son of Nebudus, his successor. And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, brother of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the reign of Cumanus, and died at Chalcis, and left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he had by his first wife, with Bernicanus and Hyrcanus, both whom he had by Bernice, his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cesar bestowed his dominions on Agrippa junior.

3. Now, while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, there happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews perished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was done. When that feast which is called the Passover was at hand, at which time our custom is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from all parts to that feast. Cumanus the procurator was afraid lest some of innovation should then be made by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their arms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovations, which any such should begin; and this was no more than what which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valentinus's notes upon that on the last. They are cited by him in the first chapter of his book, which has been already noted, chap. ii. sect. 6. Reland guesses that that now called Abaelus's pillar may be one of them.

This accords with what we have heard by Fadus the procurator about A. D. 45, or 46, could not be that Theudas who arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenas; or about A. D. 47. Acts x. 39. In the uncertain, an earlier Theudas was the note on B. xii. ch. 2. sect. 5.
the former procurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a certain soldier led down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the multitude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, that this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; and, some of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at such reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such seditions as they had gotten up at this time and such festivals. But when he could not induce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave order that the whole army should take the field, and come; so it was, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but when the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were aghast at them, and ran away hastily: but as the passages out were shut, and the laws of Moses though in one of the enemies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great number were pressed to death in these narrow passages; nor indeed was the number fewer than twenty thousand. Damaged they were, in this tumult, and wounded they were, and in the sight of a festival, they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot their prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; so great an affliction did the impious obscenity of a single soldier bring upon them.

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell them also; for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when the soldiers came down, and, as it were, chased them back to the road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Stephana, a servant of Caesar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all that he had with him. Which thing was done by Cumanus, not immediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighboring villages, and to bring the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now, as this devastation was making, one of the sect was heard to say, that the law was not the law, and the word was not the word, of that people; and they went about in one of those villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them to pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much seeriss. Which thing when the Jews saw, they were astonished with great fear, and the sight of this was not long; for that sect was, with great force, from that city, and all the sect was. And now the sins of their forefathers must be afflicted after this manner. Accordingly, Cumanus, out of fear lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also, took care that the laws of the Jews should be heeded, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled a second time.

CHAP. VI.

How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an End to their Differences.

§ 1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews, on the occasion following: It was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the holy city at the festivals, to take their journey through the country of the Samaritans; and at that time there lay, in the town of Gines, which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certain persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many of them. But, when the principal men of the Galileans were informed of what had been done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those that were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing in the matter. The Jews, on the other hand, still proceeded with their revenge, and persuaded the multitude of the Jews to take themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty, saying, that slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that, what was more, the direct injury it was perpetually intolerable. And when their principal men endeavored to pacify them, and promised to endeavor to persuade Cumanus to avenge those that were killed, they would not return to live in twos and threes. These persuasions, and entreaties of the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robber, who had many years made his abode in the mountains, with which assistance they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus perceived that this was the case, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, and armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them prisoners, and also killed those eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard to the respect that was paid them, and the families they were of, as soon as they saw what a height things were gone, put upon sackcloth, and with humble means besought the seditions, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion of their country, the configuration of their temple, and the destruction of themselves and children, which would be the consequences of what they were doing, and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own habits. And when the Jews perceived that they prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

2. To an act of violence also the government of Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said within, that they were not sensible of their wrongs, as they were at the contempt thereby shown to the Romans; while, if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not prejudice to make such devastation, as if they had met the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain the vengeance they desired. This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. For the Jews affirmed, that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting, and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that had received the weapons of their enemies. When Ummidius heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and pose, as Dr. Huds. rightly observes. See Luke xxvii. 11; John iv. 4. See also Josephus in his own Life, sect. 23, where that journey is determined to three days.

3. On the other hand, the Jews said, that the prophetical prophecies of his gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries these three, which they themselves have here above they affixed was the judgement of the Galileans, and seditions; the utter subversion of their country, the configuration of their temple, and the slavery of those who, as their wives, and children. See also Lk. xvi. 1-13.
should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So those men went away without success. Yet it was not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria, where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of it. Upon this he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he came to a certain village called Lydias, which was not long before a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal, and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was Dorcus, and some other innovations which he had been minded to do, having the multitudes to a revolt from the Romans, whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death; but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Annas the commander of the temple, in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the governor of the city, to hear him, lest he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations, in some such manner, lest the city be made unstable, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to the capital of the province. The Samaritans, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrel that they had had with the Jews. Celer, for he was not a freed-man, and his friends, were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews, and had earnestly entreated Agrippias, the emperor’s wife, to persuade her husband to hear the case, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those who were punished who were really the authors of that quarrel. Whereupon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the cause, and found that the Samaritans had been the ring-leaders; both of them and the Jews, and the Jews, on the other side, that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. He also gave order, that Celer the tribune should be carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight of all the people, and then should be slain.

* This Simon, a friend of Felix, a Jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a magician, and had been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon the magician, in the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9, &c. as some have supposed. The writer of the Acts was not properly a Jew, but a Samaritan, of the town of Gitta, in the country of Samaria, as the Apologists, vii. 7, the Recognitions of Clement, ii. 6, and Josephus, Antiq., xx. 2, 3, and the Sibyl, De Apoll, i. 54, inform us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the first Gentile heresies, as the Transitus and Blue Book, and other books of the same, the pseudocriticism, and the wickedness of them all would strongly incline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, as Josephus states in Antiq., vi. 2, 5, about the Jews and the Jews in their wars, the besotted procurator of Judæa; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9, supposed her to be a heathen, and the grand daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St. Iuves and Josephus. Now Tacitus lived somewhat too remote, both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewish writers, in an age of so many wars, and events, of their own days, and concerning a sister of Agrippa junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus may say true when he informs us that this Drusilla had in all the same name as Suetonius in Claudius, sect. 28, assures us,) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra, and finding the name of Christ to be more in evidence, she turned again to her former heathen, whose name she did not know.

This eruption of Vesuvius was one of the greatest and most memorable among those that have come in history, for all the other eruptions, as on Mount Etna, in 1669, and Acte 344, of this Simon mentioned by Josephus persuaded to leave her former husband, Antius, king of Armenia, by a procuring friend, and to marry a Latin, the besotted procurator of Judæa; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9, supposed this is now wanting.
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matrimony, and the Jewish religion: and, at the same time, Mariamne put away Archelaus, and was married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then already Solomon's father in law. She was requested, she had been by him Agrippina. But of all those particulars we shall hereafter treat more exactly."

CHAP. VIII.

After what manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero, the Son of Agrippa, and the Conspicuous, as also when barbarous things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors that arose while Felix and Festus were Procurators of Judea.

§ 1. Now Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, 1 and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife Agrippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar. Her husband was Domitius Aenobarbus, one of the most Illustrious persons that was in the city of Rome; after whose death, and her long continuance in widowhood, Claudius took her to wife; she brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the same name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina, out of jealousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia. His first wife was Agrippina, whom he had by Felina his first wife. He also married Octavia to Nero; for that was the name that Caesar gave him afterward, upon adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's estate, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon the principality beforehand for her own son [Nero] 2 upon which the report went, that she and her young sons would give themselves to the vices of libertinism. Accordingly, she sent Burrhus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such also of the freemen as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into the camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the government, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned, that the multitude should not perceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterwards; for he was already possessed of all dominion over himself, but by bringing it so about by her contrivances that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many others in his punishings, under the pretence that they were plotted against him.

3. But I omit any further discourse about these affairs, for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of whom have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others, out of hatred to him, and the great ill-which they bore him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned: nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of his story as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have nowise conceal them, or what only of long time after them. But as to those that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall bring in what only of late has been given to us by this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the things that have been right well; for we therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Enessa, Secus, his brother, succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of Lesser Armenia. Caesar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee, Tiberias, and Tarichea, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually; for the com- mitments of those that were robbers, and impostors, who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch and put to death many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also sought Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a great number of robbers; but he fled by treachery; for he gave him assurance that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an enmity to Eleazar, because he was the friend of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan, in order to kill him; and he went to him and accused him of being a great deal of time in traffic for so doing. Doras complained of the proposal, and contrived matters so, that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: Certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and, by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan, and as this murder was never avenged, the robbers went up with the reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jew and of every Christian reader. And, since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high priests, it may not be amiss, with regard to insert this Jonathan among them, and to treat of his particular catalogue of the last twenty-eight high priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Annas, who was made by Herod the Great. See Antq. B. vi. ch. ii. sec. 4, and the notae there.

1. Annasus.
2. Aristobulus.
3. Jesus, the son of Phasae.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
6. Zeorax, the son of Boethus.
7. Simon, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sie.
9. [Anna, or] Annas, the son of Beth.
10. Israel, the son of Phasae.
the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account raising the Syrian troops to attack them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Jewish troops were either of Cæsaræ or Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and several were also killed. And as for the temple, they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, and because He reproved them, for as for the temple, He no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for Him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purify it, and brought upon us, our wives and children, slavery, and death. But there were they, and all that were with them, in the wilderness, and pretended that they would execute the wonders and signs that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishment of their sin, being killed and burned; and, then punished them. Moreover, they then came out of Egypt; about this time, to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him, and he would return and rebuild it, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said further, that he would show them from thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and again, he promised that he would bring them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with his men, and he was called Strato's Tower, and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two thousand alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the sight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said, that they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and destroyed them, and made them run out a stop to the disturbance for a time. But

As for Ananus and Josephus Calaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalog, they are no names of those Annaes and Calaphas, so often mentioned in the four gospels; and that Ananias, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was that high priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause, Acts xxvii. 6.

† Of this Egyptian impostor, and the number of his followers in Josephus, see Antiquities, xliii. 3.

‡ The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high priests should so oppress their brethren, without the presence of the emperor. See the like procrisity, ch. ix. sect. 3. Such fatal crimes are connivance and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.
of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled. 10. Upon Festus's coming into Judæa, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, when all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, not much different in length from the Persian sabres, and spoke with a crooked, and, like the Romans sicae [or sickles,] as they were called: and from these weapons these robbers got their denomination, and with those weapons they slew a great many; for they mingled themselves among the townsmen at their festivals, then they would come up in crowds from all parts of the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their waggons, and plundered them, and set them on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from their enemies, and was upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple: whereas, when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or laws, that what was done in the temple should be known by all, either by their waggons, or by the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west, which wall, when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the一大堆西 upon the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At this they were doing both Nero and Festus, and their patroons, Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again; but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassy about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live, if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Isaiah the high priest, and Helcia, the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them, in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested those favours of Nero, and who gave order to the ten ambassadors to go to their home; but retained Helcia and Isaiah as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, who was called Cabi, the son of Simon, formerly high priest.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Albinus, under whose Procuratorship James was slain; as also what Edicing were built by Agrippa.

§ 1. And now Cesar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judæa, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called Ananus. Now the report goes, that this elder Ananus proved a most fortunate man: for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of high priest, had been killed in battle, and he had worn the dignity formerly, a long time, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold innovator, and very industrious, both in his own office and also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders above the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed: when, therefore, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority.] Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the Sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the son of Ananus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or some of his companions.] And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but when they were bitten of the people, he thought it not to be justified; nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without him. When Albinus heard him, he was angry with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which king Agrippa set the son of Ananus to the high priesthood for the third time, and the council of the Sanhedrim continued it so long as he would rule but three months, and made James the son of Damneus high priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and endeavoured to take care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest Ananus, he increased in

* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and goodness in his government towards the Jews, during the five first years of his reign, so famous in antiquity; we have perhaps another in Joseph's own Life, sect. 31: and a third, though of a very different nature, here, in sect. 9, just before. However, both the generous acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Poppea, a religious lady, and one of the proselytes privately Jewish proselytæ, and so were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodness.

1 Of this condemnation of James the Just, and its cause, as also that he did not die till long afterward, see Prio. Christ. Revolved, vol. iii. ch. 43—46. The sanhedrim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator: nor could therefore Ananus and his sanhedrim do more here, since they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting the Just to death.

2 This Ananus was not the son of Nebuchad, as I take it, but he who was called Ananus, or Ananias the elder, for and that name was very common, and who had been high priest for a long time, and, besides Caipheus his son-in-law, had five of his own sons high priests after him, which was unusual; those of numbers 11, 14, 15, 16, 24, 24, 24, each year. We therefore note it only over what Josephus here says of this Ananus or Ananias, that he was high priest a long time before his children were so; he was the son of Ananus, and first for high priesthood, in the catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quibell. 
5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was determined to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death at one time. He knew that some of those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now, as many of the Levites, which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a saabedrhm, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests; for they said, that this would not be a work of evil, but the time that one might think, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the saabedrhm, granted the singers of hymns to have this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn new hymns as they had taught him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which, whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now that work of building the temple was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by this work, and while they were unwilling to keep them by the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of (their being carried away by) the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the temple, in order to expend those treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits (in length), and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height above the ground; besides, this was the work of the king Solomon, first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar, and was indeed the most proper person to finish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about their work, but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus of his kingdom of the high priesthood, and gave it to Mathias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

CHAP. X.

An Enumeration of the High Priests.

§ 1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history, to give an account of our high priests; how they began, who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them were deposed and stopped.

and continued till Ihsaum, the 10th in number, for about thirty years, which long duration of his high priesthood, joined to the succession of his son-in-law, and five children of his, was considered the last time that was left the family of men. And from that it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered, and that many grew worse and worse among us.
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Then there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, obtained to God as a high priest, and that, after his death, his sons succeeded him immediately: and that this dignity had been continued down from them all to the tribe of Levi. Whence it is custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood, but the number and the dignity of priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanastes, who was made high priest during the war by the audacious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen others were priests in the lesser, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judæa, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of the rest of the family of Onias; they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now, the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, and the first of the Temple was erected while king Solomon reigned, was six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled over Babylon, made an expedition against that city, and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josedek, the high priest; and the number of the high priests was four hundred sixty-six years six months and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent them their successors while they were alive. Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time, Jesus, the son of Josedek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned hither, and he being in the four fiftieth year of Onias, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Epipator, were under a democratic government for four hundred and fourteen years; and then the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, obtained the high priesthood, which later Antiochus the son of Onias, who reigned thirty-two years, made small of, and slew him at Berea, and driving away the son [of Onias the third], put Jasonus into the place of the high priest; one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but his posterity who were in all twelve, till the second priest whom we account, Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philomter, and Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to give him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we are not spoken of it frequently already. Now, when Jasonus had reigned the high priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest; but then the posterity of the sons of Ammon was put in the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And he had been slain by the treachery of Trypho, as we have related somewhere. Simon his brother took the high priest-

### CHAPTER XI.

Concerning Florus the Procurator, who necessitated the Jews to take up Arms against the Romans. The Conclusion.

§ 1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with
abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city of Clazomenae, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra, (by whose friendship with Poppae, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,) who was noway different from him in respect of his dress and the splendid shows which he kept up, violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his acts, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any guilt, or sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds put to the violence of many who were in the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more securely when they might also live among foreigners, [in their own country.] And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms again in the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed by a few, and by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what I have already said, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish war.

3. And now I shall, therefore, make an end here of any Antiquities; and after the conclusion of these events, I began to write that account of the war; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as far as the fifty-third year of the Roman Empire; but the town of Egypt as in Syria and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years: I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and those that followed their deaths, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history.

And I am no mean of my own life, as I have completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, find he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accurately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understood the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue, that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so makes no comparison with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of free men, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give to the two terms of learning a foreign man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my family, and of the actions of my own life, while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities; which I have omitted in the several passages of this book, in order to come to an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.
THE WARS OF THE JEWS; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

PREFACE.

§ 1. Whereas the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those, not only that have been in our times, but, in a manner, of those that ever were heard of; both of the enterprises, and of the actions that were employed against cities, or nations against nations; while some men who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down afterward, and have taken their author’s thoughts upon light and uncertainty; and when those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of humour or flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes exonerations, but nowhere the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself, for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, written by Philo and Josephus, and to gather those together; for it is necessary that we should know the truth, and should not make the country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians; I, Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at the siege done afterward, I am the author of this work.

2. Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were in great disorder. Those Jews also were for innovations, then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the east were then exceedingly troubled, while Rome hoped for good, and they were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation who were beyond Euphrates, would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also were in motion, and the Celts were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to arm at the royal power; and the soldiery affected change out of the necessity of living more, and thought it therefore an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of the affairs of the East and to read either stories or fictions, while the Parthians and the Babylonians, and the remoter Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war began, what error it was brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

3. It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts histories, wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound. For they have not a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews; as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders; whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved did not appear so signal. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country.

4. However, I will not go to the other extreme out of opposition to those men who extol the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will proceed simply in such a manner as will be the more acceptable to the public. Let all shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe, and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country.

1 Who those Upper Barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself will inform us, sect. 2, v. the Parthians and Babylonians, and remoter Arabians to the Jews among them;) besides the Jews beyond Euphrates, and the Adiabeni or Assyrians. Whence we also learn, that those Parthians, the Babylonians, the remoter Arabians (or at least the Jews among them,) as also the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni or Assyrians understood Josephus’s Hebrew, or rather Chaldaic books of the Jewish War, before they were put into the Greek language.

2 Of the incursions of the barbarous, murderers, were to be the greatest that had been since the beginning of the world, our Berber had done it, and after the death of Zeno, 19, Luc. $v. 53, 54; and that they proved to be such accordingly, Josephus is here a most accurate witness.
new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done; although they are in accord with them in abstractions, as they are different in their notions of causes.

For of old, every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promptings more vivid; wherefore it must have reproached to write without a history when there could be no cause by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one country to that of another, is really worthy of praise and commendation.

Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own; accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history,] though I be a foreigner: and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But, for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide open, and their tongues loos'd presently, for gain and lawsuits, but quite muzzled up what is worth repeating, and least of all [he] to speak truth and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to weaker people, and to such [as] are not acquainted with the actions of princes.

Yet I think this history such facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the Antiquities of the Jews, who were [originally,] and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what countries they travelled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and, on other accounts also, superfluous; how writers of these affairs, and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war, which happened in my own time, I will go over by brief notice, how Titus, and all the Roman army, were afflicted by the famine, and at length were taken.

The Rabbins make ten degrees of them, as Roland there informs us.

The Jews' affairs were become very bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him, what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers, and how, upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions amongst themselves.

10. Moreover, that small company was sent out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together, and in what state the city was, by the means of the seditious, at his coming; what attacks he made upon them, and how near they came up of the three walls that encompassed the city, and of their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple, and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven purifications of purity; and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priests, and of the high priests; and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple, without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of any things.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as also how Titus, with sparing foreigners, and how often Titus, out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall also distinguish the suffering of the people, and their misfortunes, how they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishments inflicted on the captives: as also how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Cesar, and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple, were snatch'd out of the fire; and the destruction also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking of the city, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the temple, how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country; and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumphs.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books; as having left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations.] And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIQUUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT

CHAP. I.

How the City of Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged (by Antiochus Epiphanes). As also concerning the Actions of the Maccabees, Matthias, and Judas; and concerning the Death of Judas.

§ 1. At the same time that Antiochus, who is called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dissension would nowhere be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to bleed them into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them, and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias, the high priest, fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomeus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple; concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and moved with the resentment that he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed them. As the many garrisoned of the from him, he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas, his eldest son.

3. Now Judas, being appointed to govern, exerted that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat thence; and when he was warned by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off thereto; so he ejected them out of the Upper City, and drove the soldiers into the Lower, which part of the city was called the Citadel. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred instructions, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and fourscore elephants, and marched through Jordan into Phoenician parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called Bethzacharias, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, and received Eleazar on the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, through the enemies' troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the elephant, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man, and among the others that were about him, one of those that had been officers to Alexander the Great had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omens, for the battle they had been was but the prelude to the battle that would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when this man, and his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and stayed there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left behind him a whom he had offended, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter quarters in Syria.

6. Now, after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called Adamas; and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a number of the officers of the king last himself also. Not was it many days

* I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus about the Egyptian temple of Osiris of which largest temple the priests are made by his commentators. Onias, it seems, hoped to have it made very like that at Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; and so he appears to have really done as he had thought to do. Of the temple, see Antiq. B. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 1, 3; and Of the Wars, B. viii. ch. x. sect. 3.
afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

CHAP. II.
Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

§ 1. When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, and had borne great censure in other respects, with relation to his own people, and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus the son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wife, as he was going to Ptolemy to Antiochus; for four persons in his company, and put them in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jannis, which were cities in the neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and delivered Jerusalem, and freed Hyrcanus, who was a hostage for an auxiliary to Antiochus, against Trypho, whom he besiegéd in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes; yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had slain one by one of the men he had placed over the people; and the king made another long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simon; yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter: he also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them, and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire of the Seleucids.

3. This Simon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons in prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also called Hyrcanus. He was informed of their coming beforehand; he made much haste to get to the city, as having a very great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate; but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted Hyrcanus; and he was in the streets that were about Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now, when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to consult Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the head of his army. Being disdained, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and heat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that unless he would go away immediately, he would throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commissariat and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither did the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she had suffered to spare the wretch, since it was to her better to die by the hands of Ptolemy than to live long, provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this; when he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw she was not moved, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the siege was delayed by this means, the year of rest came upon, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called Cotyias, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and freed Hyrcanus, who opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took theue there about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Therefore he went to the last of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against the Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that they would find them empty of good troops. So he took Medeba and Samaes, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizim and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Cutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; and he took also many other cities of Iudaea, with Adoreon and Marissa.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and named it after himself, Antiochus over the siege; who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called Cyzicus, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Ariobonus and Antigonus; and indeed he was purposed to go as far as Sceythopolis by the brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and sent the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants.

And, as this, with all their subsequent undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Sceythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel. 8. But the historians say that many of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country, and many there were who got together, and would not be at rest till they broke out into open war, in which war they were
beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons by him; he was a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, his high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward; insomuch, that he foresaw and foretold that his two eldest sons would not continue masters of the kingdom; and it was highly desirable to preserve our narration, to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

CHAP. III.

How Aristobulus was the first that put a Diadem about his Head, and after he had put his Mother and Brother to Death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a Year.

§ 1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem upon his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came out of this country, when they would be set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now, of his brethren, he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal; but for the rest, he bound them, and put them into prison, from that place where he had set them free, for his contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governor of public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought the ambassador had been sent thither to the envy of their relations; however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened, in the dress of an ambassador, as Aristobulus saw him and was conscious that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this, when he was adorned in the finest manner possible, and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now, at this very time it was, that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such an impression was made by such a sight of men, and that accordingly he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

3. Now Aristobulus, by degrees, and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations; and accordingly he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents: so he placed the guards of the palace in the very fairest of the towers, for he lay sick in a place called formerly the Citadel, though afterward its name was changed to Antonia; and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came thither, he should let him alone; but if he came to him in his bedchamber, he should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly con-

trived the matter with those that plotted his ruin, for she persuaded those that were sent, to conceal the king's message; but to tell Antigonus how his brother had heard he had got a very fair place in the palace; and that, as he was going along that dark night, passing by, he was called Strato's Tower, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good-will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essenes, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now, this was no way less as an additional testimony the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance, (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,) "O stranger!" said he; "it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and am somewhat condemned to die, he which was for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hours of walking from this place, but yet four hours of this day are over already, which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled." And, when the old man had said this, he was deserted in his mind, and was brought down. But, in a few days, news came that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called Strato's Tower, by the same name with that of Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew weak, and he was now so constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels were torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those who had been his companions in the time of death, and he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? and they told him, that the blood was not spilled by so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so, at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told him, whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, "So much the more I am not to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou thus torment me? and how long shall I myself spew my blood drop by drop? let them take it all at once, and let their gloom no longer be disappointed by the few portions of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.
CHAPTER IV.

What Actions were done by Alexander Janneus, who reigned Twenty-seven Years.

§ 1. And now the king’s wife loosed the king’s brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both older in age, and more moderate in his behavior than any of the rest; who, being in the same to the government, slew one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself; but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, who had taken the city Asochis. He indeed slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this battle was past, Alexander, although he obtained the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though the wars of conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander’s condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs, but supposed that Alexander would be a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country and went his way.

3. But when he had made slaves of the city, the rest of the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun, and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, who had been assembled by him; as, to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the people, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Ama- theus; as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodrus, king of the Arabians, who laid an ambusc for him near a city called Anthia, he did not think it necessary to bring out his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitudes of camels. And, when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, who had been irritated by his speech, against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them, and in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he never yielded a step to him in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did not consume his own kingdom; till at length he fell off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a com- promise with the Syrians upon taking Antipatris. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And, when he asked them why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them? they said, by killing himself; for that it would be all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragiud things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called Eucerus, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their request, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliares about Shechem.

Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries that were on foot. He did not only Almighty God to assist him to the number of ten thousand; while the adversary party had three thousand horsemen, and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the Jews, for the sake of the revenge they had vowed to despoil each other’s soldiers, and make them revolting Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander’s mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to have him. But, since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander incited the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him, though the wars of conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander’s condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs, but supposed that Alexander would be a match for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run to him, he left the country and went his way.

5. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay down their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Beemesselis; and when he had surrounded the city he had his throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that he took, and, with the help of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judees, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander’s death: so at last, though not till late and with great difficulty, he, by such sentences, procured a quiet kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

6. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called Dionysius, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the son of the late Seleucus. He was as it were afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians: so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked Antiochus to be a man ambitious of power, desirous of stopping himself, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, though a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the face front, in the utmost danger to rally his troops, they all gave ground, and the

* Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucids, although there remained still a shadow of another king of that family, Antiochus the Antiochenus, or Casummones.
to Alexandria. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and must al-
ways upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increas'd the army the one hundred 
scour'd a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only powerful at home, but 
terrible also to foreign potentates, while she go-
vern'd other people, and the Pharisæes govern-

3. Accordingly they themselves slew Diogenes, 
a person of figure, and one that had been a friend 
to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted 
the king with his advice, for crucifying the 
people of Osmorica before his escape; and when 
the Samarian, when he had built a triple wall about 
the garrison, he took the place by force. He 
also demolished Golam, and Seleucia, and what 
was called the Wall of Antipatras; beside which, 
he took the strong fortress of Gama makes, 
and stripped Demetrius, who was governor there-
in, of what he had, on account of the many 
crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into 
Judæa, after he had been three whole years in 
this expedition. And now he was kindly receiv-
ed of the nation, because of the good success he 
had. So, when he was at rest from war, he fell 
down into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a 
fever, and supported it by exercising himself again in military affairs, he should get 
ridden with this distemper, but, by making such ex-
peditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his 
body to undergo greater hardships than it was 
used to, he brought himself to an end. He 
died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after 
he had reigned seven and twenty years.

CHAP. V.
Alexandra reigns nine Years, during which time 
the Pharisæes were the real Rulers of the Nation.

§ 1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alex-
andra his wife, and depended upon it that the 
Jews would afford her readily every thing she 
ought, because she had been very averse to such cruelty 
as he had treated them with, and had opposed 
his violation of their laws, and had thereby got 
the good-will of the people. Nor was he mis-
taken as to his expectations; for this woman 
kept the dominion, by the opinion that the peo-
ple had of her piety; for she chiefly studied the 
ancient customs of her country, and cast those 
scornful expressions of the government that offended against their holy laws. And when two sons by 
Alexander, she made Hycranus the elder high 
priest, on account of his age, as also on account 
of his inactive temper, which noway disposed 
her to the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private per-
son, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisæes joined themselves to 
her, to assist her in the government. These are 
a certain sect of the Jews that appear more re-
ligious than others, and seem to interpret the 
laws more accurately. Now, Alexandra heart-
ened them to an extraordinary degree, as 
being herself a woman of great piety towards 
God. But those Pharisaic and insinuated persons 
themselves into her favour by little and little, and 
became themselves the real administrators of 
the public affairs: they banished and reduced 
whom they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] 
[beheld], and, to obey her, they had the 
joyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged

* Matt. xvi. 19; xxvii. 18.
† Here we have the oldest and most authentic Jewish ex-
position of binding and loosing, for punishing or absolving 
murderers, as here, 'as a man shall war with an ish'; as some were made Jews and Christians variously 
interpret, as well as the synagogues, as a model to others. And 
[here] was carried through the city, as the Antiquities inform us, yet does he nowhere intimate that it now took the queen herself, so that both the narra-
tion of Strabo and Josephus may still be true notwithstanding. 
‡ Strabo, B. xvi. p. 740, relates, that this Science Cleo-
based by Tigranes, not in Ptolemæus, as here, 
but after she had left Syria in Seleucia, and Thry by ancient 
and ad 84, that he had kept her awhile in
the hostages that might be for his preservation (which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children); but they came to an agreement, before the people should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and there they beheld a scene of great splendour and riches, while the people stood round about them; they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the Areopagus.

2. Now, those other people who were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his unexpected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. By way of revenge he determined to put an end to the house of Aristobulus, and one of the principal of that nation on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging; he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Areataz, the king of Arabia, and to lay his claim to the crown. He also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus, as to his morals, and gave great commendations to Hyrcanus, and the like to him, showing him how becoming it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as were injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dignity which was befitting to him. By this manner of argument, he made an effect upon his Grace; and thus he did the thing he intended, by carrying with him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was driven out of Jerusalem: he also had been taken at first by force if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and reasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Antipater, the king of the Idumeans, and came against Tigran; so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he went in the army restor'd to his kingdom. As soon as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause which was, when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans, and of Pompey, unless they would raise the siege. So they sent, and when he came to Antioch, he sent his brother, which was a vast number of palm-trees, besides the balsam-tree, from which sprouts they cut with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then he made his way to the next morning to Jerusalem; but Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication. He from the 3000 talents that were in the Jewish temple, when he took it little occupied, the Romans were Antig. B. ii. ch. iv. sect. 4, 5, and hardly permit us to desert the Greek copies, all which agree that he did not take them. 6 Of the famous palm-trees and balsams about Jericho and Esdraelon, the moderns make a great wonder, but which he did not by himself, as he would have done others from Aristobulus, sect. 6; although his remarkable abilities.
also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the furore that was against Pompey. Yet will not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city, who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

CHAP. VII.

How Pompey had the City of Jerusalem delivered up to him, but took the Temple [by force.] How he went into the Holy of Holies; and also, what were his other Exports to Judea.

1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city, he looked about where he might attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them; and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple, which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall about it so as might prevent the temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2. Now, as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people when they saw the Romans advance, and to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread people were in occasion these last to be a very numerous party, with for last words they did not oppose the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his greatest friends, into the senate with an army, and distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation; he then disposed all things that were right to the effect of attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entrenchment of the city itself was filled with the materials for that purpose. And indeed it was a hard thing to fill up that valley, by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible to repel them from one side of the temple; and so the Romans succeeded in their endeavour, but had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on Sabbath-days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Jerusalem to put to use. The more than his men in the temple, and drove them away; but the towers on the side of the city made very great resistance, and were indeed extraordinary both in their largeness and magnificence.

4. Now here it was, that on the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instance, but also at this, especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and the like ceremonies, were still performed to God with the utmost consta- nee. Nor indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their divine service, that were appointed for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even with great difficulty overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the temple was Pompey, and upon several occasions he was nearly upon the altar, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence. But now it came to pass, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with strong and violent attacks, they were not afraid of them, and so, by the help of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much, in the calamities they were thus under, as that their holy place, which had been handed down by the fathers from their remotest ancestors, was to be exposed to the strangers; for Pompey*, and those that were about him, went into the temple itself, whether it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and see what was reposed therein, the warders with its lamps, the table of shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the censors, all made entirely of gold, as also, a great quantity of spices hamp- ed together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor the vessels, but gave they to the people who were there to be ministered to, and ordered the commanders of the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as was common, from those that were high priest, and Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, that was in the city, of the high priesthood, and put him in the temple. Moreover also, he permitted the high priest to have his seat, and to take a public fast, and put him in the temple of the Jerusalem. Moreover also, he declared the temple to be the temple of the high priest, and that no other”.

* Thus, says Tacitus, Cn. Pompeius first of all subdued the Jews, and went into their temple, by right of conquest, Hist. B. v. ch. 1.; nor did he touch any of its riches, as has been observed on the parallel place of the Antiquities, B. xiv. ch. 4. sect. 4; out of Cicero himself.

† The coin of this Gudara still extant, with date from this era, is a certain evidence of this rebuilding by Pompey, as Stephanus here assures us.
CHAP. VIII.

Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, makes an Expedition against Hyrcanus: but being overcome by Gabinius, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Alexander is released from his Captivity, and returned to the Charge of Judaea, having made a Treaty with the Romans, and been adopted by Gabinius.

§ 1. In the mean time, Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was defeated by the Jews, who had strengthened their possessions, and were now in a position to oppose the Romans. He was, however, vigorous enough to carry on the war, and to make himself master of the country. He marched through the desert, and crossed the Euphrates, where he was joined by his troops, and entered into the town of Alexandria, which he had previously taken.

2. But as for Alexander, he sent his army to the east, and marched towards Rome, where he remained for some time, and then returned to his own country, where he was received with great honor and respect. He was made a citizen of the city, and was given a large sum of money to build a temple in his name, and to found a city in his honor. He was also given the title of "King of Kings," and was made the protector of the Jews, and the defender of the faith.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed him with his whole army, and marched towards Rome, where he was met by Alexander, and they were joined in battle. The result was that Alexander was defeated, and was forced to flee for his life.

4. But when Gabinius was conquered by the Romans, he returned to Alexandria, where he was made a citizen, and was given a large sum of money to build a temple in his name, and to found a city in his honor. He was also given the title of "King of Kings," and was made the protector of the Jews, and the defender of the faith.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these matters, he returned to Alexandria, where he was made a citizen, and was given a large sum of money to build a temple in his name, and to found a city in his honor. He was also given the title of "King of Kings," and was made the protector of the Jews, and the defender of the faith.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new confederacies. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old; and when he had taken Alexandria in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him, the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchal government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.
knight had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but last a while; accordingly, he fortified that strong hold, though it was done after a poor manner. But, the Romans falling upon him, he resisted, even beyond his abilities, for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antipater his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again. Wherefore the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back to the Jews, because Gabinius informed them by letters, that he had promised Aristobulus’s mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now, as Gabinius was marching to the westward, the Parthians, he hindered Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcaeus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater Parthia to send them many presents, but, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pæhusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius’s absence, the other part of Syria was in the hands of Alexander, and, as Aristobulus brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid, (for he was come behind very far from Egypt, and afraid of coming back quickly by these tumults,) and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight; but, as he saw the young king, and that the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed and fled. Now Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans. As for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthia, they sent them away privately, but, and out it among the soldiers that they had run away.

8. In the meantime, Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to have himself and his army supported. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself, and his army with him; which afflicting thing is not a proper time to speak [more largely].

9. But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Tarichea, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pithoalus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus, and it was Antipater who had used him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabsians, whose name was Cypros, and had four sons born to him by her, Phaseaeles and Herod, who was afterward king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroraces; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. Now, as he made himself friends among the men of power every where, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them with; so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch, that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and instructed his children with him. So, when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter we shall speak somewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey’s Friends, as to his son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a Friendship with Caesar, after Pompey’s Death; he also performs great Actions in that War, wherein he assisted Mithridates.

§ 1. Now, upon the flight of Pompey, and on the other side of the government of Syria, it happened to the Parthians, he hindered Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcaeus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater Parthia to send them many presents, but, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pæhusium, to let them pass. But now, upon Gabinius’s absence, the other part of Syria was in the hands of Alexander, and, as Aristobulus brought the Jews to revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country; hereupon Gabinius was afraid, (for he was come behind very far from Egypt, and afraid of coming back quickly by these tumults,) and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight; but, as he saw the young king, and that the battle was fought near Mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed and fled. Now Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans. As for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthia, they sent them away privately, but, and out it among the soldiers that they had run away.

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§ 2. Now Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischief he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy the son of Gabinius, of the same family, and Philea, daughter of Chasius, and Aristobulus, Lysa- nus, took his brethren to him, by sending him a present Philippos for them to Ascalon, who took Antigus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus’s wife, and brought them to his father; and Philippos, and the two sisters, the young daughters, he married her, and was afterward slain by his father, on her account; for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was Aristocles; So God took the greater care of his brother and sister.

§ 3. Now, after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. And, since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he had against Egnatius, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabsians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him, at the head of his army; and then, after offering an alliance and engagement of war to him, and the Parthians between them, with the rich presents that were to be given to them, he urged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jabllicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came into his forces, and began to yield readily; insomuch that he ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the which the attack of which place, Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city, with the men that were about him.

§ 4. Now Ptolemy was taken. But still, as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Oisias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called the Jews’ Camp: now, as he was engaged in the battle with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him: for he had beaten those that opposed him and he led the left wing. After several success he fell upon those that opposed Mithridat.
unless, and slew a great many of them, and purged the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than four score of his own men; as Mithridates lost, during the pursuit that was made after him, about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an irreproachable witness to Caesar, of the great actions of Antipater.

6. Whereupon Caesar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by Syria, in which he returned with hope and hopes of reward. In all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior, and had many wounds, almost all over his body, and many demonstrations of his valour. And, while Caesar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and raised himself to king, and bestowed upon him the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was that he also confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

CHAP. X.

Caesar makes Antipater Procurator of Judea, and makes Antipater appeal to Phasaelus, to be Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod Governor of Galilee; who, in some time, was called to answer for himself before the Sanhedrim, where he was acquitted. Sex. Caesar is treacherously killed both by Antipater and by Hyrcanus, and is succeeded by Marcus.

§ 1. About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Rome, and he, finding Antipater in a remarkable manner, the occasion of Antipater's further advancement; for, whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with his brother, and the extreme distress of Scipio's barbority towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was in such a situation; besides those things, he came before Caesar, to be made a king, and to have Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted in a great many instances unjustly and extravagantly with regard to their nation, and that as to his assistance, that he had uttered against Antipater's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had inheritance from his father to be food of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse him; before this he was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Phasaelus.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that "as to his good-will to Caesar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing to him as Antipater's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had inheritance from his father to be food of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse him; before this he was not done out of good-will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Phasaelus."

3. When Caesar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave, moreover, to rebuild those walls of his country that had been thrown down: when the inhabitants of Caesarea sent orders to have engraved in the capit- tolo, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice, and of the virtue of Antipater.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Caesar out of danger, he returned to Rome, and the first thing he did, was to rebuild that wall of his own country, [Jerusalem,] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein, where he passed both night and day, and persuaded every one, and told them, that, "in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness; but that, in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and Hyrcanus, to be a king, instead of a king; and both the Romans and Caesar to be their enemies, instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government, whom they had made their governor." At the same time he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son, Phasaelus, governor of Damascus, and the next to him that he sent his next son, Herod, who was very young, with equal authority into Galilee.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. He took from the area of Demea, of which Sosthenes had been the governor, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighbouring parts of Syria with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, in such that such hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed from the rovers. So, at last, he became acquainted with Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the appointment to the province of Je- rusalem, by his own management of the city af- fairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yield- ed him were equal to the honours due to an ab- solute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such a prosperity. Phasaelus had the province of Je- rusalem, by his own management of the city af- fairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yield- ed him were equal to the honours due to an ab- solute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus. But when he found it impossible to escape envy in such a prosperity. Phasaelus had the province of Je- rusalem, by his own management of the city af- fairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yield- ed him were equal to the honours due to an ab- solute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus. But when he found it impossible to escape envy in such a prosperity. Phasaelus had the province of Je- rusalem, by his own management of the city af- fairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yield- ed him were equal to the honours due to an ab- solute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus. But when he found it impossible to escape envy in such a prosperity. Phasaelus had the province of Je- rusalem, by his own management of the city af- fairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yield- ed him were equal to the honours due to an ab- solute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good-will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.
management of Antipater and his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king, without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest? for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were openly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority; that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth, or by his letter, and that he put no man in opposition to the law of the Jews who, therefore, in case he be not a king, but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed, till he has been condemned in judgment. He took this as a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous slaughter of Sextus Cesar, 1 by Cicilial Bassus, which he perverted out of his good-will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his former number of the rest of Cesar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for the murder of Cesar; Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of his being at a distance from him, and on account of that Caesar who was still alive, both of whom were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length, Marcus came from Italy as successor to Sextus.

CHAP. XI.

Herod is made Procurator of all Syria; Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater by poison; whereas the Tribunes of the Soldiers are prevailed with to kill him.

§1. There was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Cesar by Cassius and Brutus, 2 and the latter held the government, and had been so for three years and seven months. Upon this murder there were very great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party which was at hand, and were constrained to do this by themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were in Apamia, and took upon himself the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. Herod, the governor of Galilee, brought in seven hundred talents; whereas Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to do it as quickly, and among them he selected one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him, and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves; so he placed the most of the remainder of the tribute among his generals, and others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute, but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities of Galilee, into Cassius. So much, by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had not to be entirely confident of success in a cause where he is to fight against his king, but supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any other than as he had hearkened to evil counsellors, and this no farther than by bringing him into difficulty, in order to take advantage of the rest of his enemies and to prevail upon these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.
saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and circumstances of his son, that he sent his brother, Abda, to bring him to Antipater, who lived in the country beyond Jordan, in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs; but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence; for he threatened to charge them with having slain his guards of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was instrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to their father. Thus was he prevented again by Antipater, who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus on account of his attempts for innovation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus, on one side, against the younger Caesar (Augustus) and Antony, on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him a procurator of all Syria, and gave him an arm, and foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea: but it so happened, that the power and hopes of his son became the cause of his passions, and he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects remarkable for the magnanimity of his actions; one that recovered the government to Hircanus, and preserved it in his hands.

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude was ready to have him for it, demanded the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a great figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who indeed came upon his army presently, in order to revenge his father's death; but upon hearing the advice of his brother, Phasaelus, not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he came to him in a secret way, by stealth; that he cleared him of the suspicion; he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace: after which he sent his troops to Judea, having his armed men with him; hereupon Hircanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of Judea, and set them up in their own government; but Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and came in by night. Upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him bespeak his aid; but he arrived at Tyre, he resolved, although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him; however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in his letters to Cassius, who, on other accounts, also hated Malichus; Cassius sent him word, that if he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about. Then Hircanus, upon the taking of Lacedaemon by Cassius, the men of power were got together from all quarters, with presents and crowns on their hands. Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected, he thought it his duty to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy in the west, he might persuade that he should easily depose Hircanus, and get the crown for himself.

3. But false tales at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw all, and prepared to come and invite both Hircanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him, to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality to give notice beforehand, about the plot that was laid against him; accordingly they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands upon the seashore, where they encoun-

Phasaelus is too hard for Felix; Herod also overcomes Antigonus in Battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus, but Antonius acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.

§ 1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix associated himself with the Jews, and all the people were of one mind against him, and he might avenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and as he was going to his brother's house, he took a hint of this design, and mean time, Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hircanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for looking over Malichus's brother, as he had prevented himself of three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away, and thereby procured good-will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant. Marcus had indeed obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who set tyrants over all Syria; and out of hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, and principally on the occasion of the death of his brother, whom he made his assistant by money, and had him so cordially on his side when he made his descent; but it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, drove away Antigonus, and returned to have proceeded from his true use for public liberty, but from a desire to be a tyrant himself.
Jerusalem beloved by every body, for the glorious action he had done; for, those who did not before favour him, did join themselves to him. Because of his march into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called Doris, of whom he begot Antipater; so did he marry Marisanne, the daughter of Alexander, of the family of the grand daughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

4. But when Caesar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Caesar was gone to Italy, so as to bring with him the army that had joined Judas in the city of Jerusalem, which sent ambassadors to Antony, into Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod, that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more upon him than Alexander, did neither have nor was ready to answer this accusation, and, having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper as not to hear the others speak against him, and the Jews did then part at this time.

5. However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony, who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery; these and they went to him that was besieged there, and both in dignity and eloquence, foremost, and accused the brethren. But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus, and Phasaelus, and Herod, in connection with their friends, Antony had heard both sides, and asked Hyrcanus which party was the fittest to govern, who replied, that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer, for he had been formerly treated in a hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judaea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judaea. And when the ambassadors, and indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace, on which occasion a still greater terror was thrown upon the people.

6. Now, ten thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem; upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to prepare boats, and he could catch them, and to send those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the seashore, and earnestly desired of those that took a boat that they might not be thrown upon themselves, nor war upon their native country, by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded many of those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him; yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also.

CHAP. XIII.

§ 1 Now two years afterward, when Barzabara, a governor among the Parthians, and e Antiochus fled from Herod.

† This large and abundant wood or woodland belonging to Carmel, called Aapoté by the Septuagint, is mentioned in the Old Testament, 3 Kings xiv. 32, and Isaiah x. 18, and is said by some authorities to be Akbar and Speakin, but others remark very pertinaciously.

Pacorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lycaon had already succeeded, upon his father Ptolemy the sons of Ptolemy went over to him, for the purpose of being at hand, and he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by those that had not Phasaelus, of the Gadarean seacoast, while he ordered Barzabara to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus. Although of Phasaelus, and he received him: so he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cupbearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus], and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to be a desolator between them; and the Antipatrids, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance.

2. Now, as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an invasion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called Drymus, (the wood-land,) to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them, and they drove them away from the city. But after they were far as Jerusalem, and as their numbers increased, they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, and drove them in, in the distance, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoinning as a guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and beat most of them; while Herod, in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambuscades, and slaughters with great cruelty.

3. Now, when that festival which we call Pentecost was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, were full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and showed themselves good for anything also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod, with a few, guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north side of the temple, and the people killed the plotter, but not expose himself to the snare of them, and put them all to flight, and some of them he shut up within the city, and others within in the outward rampart. In the mean time, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a desolator between them; and the Parthians was prevailed upon to admit the Parthians into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in a hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality came to kill the plotter, and not expose himself to the snare that he had laid for him, because the barbarians are naturally pernicious. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; and the same day, called the Parthians, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.
the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of regular battle. Now, in the place where Herod had treated them, he made a great multitude of them present, and afterward, as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and, when they were come to one of the maritime cities called Eclippus, they perceived that a plot was laid for them there. The Parthians, who were in their flight, many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called Thresha of Idumea, his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers; because Naxas would make no great multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them assurances for their safety; but he kept safe to the fortress with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege, but he made haste himself to Petra of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they beheld themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those of the king's palace; and spared nothing but Hyrcanus' money, which was not above three hundred talents. They lighted on other men's money also, but not so much as they hoped for; for Herod, having a long while had a suspicion of the part the Parthians had taken in the city, and seeing what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also. But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with pillage, burning and demolishing the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaeus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the high priesthood again, for the high priests that officiated were to be completely and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaeus by reason of his courage, for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he pressed and that with such force that he did not leave out any stroke; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of the rest. There is also another report about his end, viz. that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported, that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon, "I now die with comfort, since I have left behind one alive, that will avenge me of mine enemies.''

11. This was the death of Phasaeus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

CHAP. XIV.

When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to Rome, where Antemy and Come join their Interest to make him King of the Jews.

§ 1. Now Herod did the more seasonably pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get

1. Theophaestus here, in the copy. 44.
money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus; for he reasoned thus with himself, that if the Arabian king was too forward to be induced to send a halm, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would however borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed; accordingly he led his brother’s son along with the halm, which was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians to get them accepted; however, false rumors ran about so quickly as was usual when Phasaelus was dead, that Herod’s brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they knew that he was not to be suffered to Antipater, and not to be obliged to make requital to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the imprudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were without hope of ever seeing the halm which Herod had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whereby he had been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in which he was not without those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him as he was going to Rhinocurara, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances could bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back: Herod had prevented those messengers by a quick dispatch. For he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendor, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen’s solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and other places, and got out of the greatest danger of the ship’s lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappius; and, although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the halm, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family, and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for his assistance.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved to commis- sion of the change that had been made in Herod’s affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how he had been bounded by Herod, but more especially on account of Herod’s own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The context also that he had with him was another incitement, that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans; and as for Caesar, Herod found him better provided with men of affairs, and as he remembered very fresh from his wars he had gone home together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good will he had shown him; besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, where in Messalas, and after him Atratius, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good-will to the Romans. At this same time they demonstrated that Antony was in the right, because he soon quarreled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at last they declared that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them, to furniture an audience, and in the meantime, one of the magistrates went before them in order to offer sacrifices, and to lay the decree in the capitol: Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

CHAP. XV.

Antigonus besieges those that were in Masada, whom Herod frees from Confinement, when he comes back from Rome, and presently marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by Brides.

§ 1. Now during this time Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all else necessary, except water. He could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet, so he besought their captains to let him go by them; accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city he was received by Cleopatra with great splendor, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen’s solicitations, and being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome. But as he was in peril about Pamphylia, and other places, and got out of the greatest danger of the ship’s lading, he, with difficulty, got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappius; and, although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three-decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium, and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the halm, and laid before him the calamities of himself and his family, and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for his assistance.

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BOOK I.—CHAP. XVI.

1. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais; and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners, and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom he called "Dellenas," a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom]. Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the messengers of Antony, as was Silo in Judea contrary to the brises that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along, and all Galilee, with few exceptions, submitted to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprises, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his progress, and his relations again that were the most city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem, no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a promise of a new conquest, and the prospects of horses coming from Jerusalem; and when the Jews pursued him and pressed upon him [in his retreat], Herod made an excursion upon them with a small body of his, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo himself, who was forced to retire from the city.

2. After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada, to free his relations. Now as he was marching, many came in to him; some induced by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already. He then made proclamation to all in order to repay the benefits the had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side, was the hopes from him, who should be established in his kingdom, so that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily came to them, and when they were in Masada, as well as the fortress Reesas, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

3. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked them from every quarter. He therefore made proclamation to be made at the wall, that he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant obli-
tions to them, through he had been the most obstinate against him. Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus had horses, and they followed him, but when they came at the walls; accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

4. It was observed that it was Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their pay, in order to buy themselves food, and to demand that he would lead them into the city; for the winter quarters; and this caused all the others about the gates to be led away by the means of Antigonus' army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers, and begged of them not to leave him who was sent to deal either with him, and that out of the love he had for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which treaty, he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, as he cut off all Silo's pretenses; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria, (which city had joined it itself to him,) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and all other necessaries. But when Herod heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed, and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was Herod not idle, but took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans, and five Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary swords,OME of whom were men of shrewdness, and a few horsemen, and came to Jericho; and when he came he found the city deserted, but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the city, so that the Romans did not miss them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back and sent the soldiers to the other parts, which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, viz. in Judea, [or Idumaea] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod takes Sephoris, and subdues the Robbers who were in the Caves; he after that avenges himself upon Macheras, as upon an Enemy of his, and goes to Antioch as he was besieging Samoaca.

§ 1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumaea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen and four hundred horsemen; and this he did by sending his nephew, brother Joseph, to collect these, which were made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations who had been in Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached Sephoris, in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty, the guards, that should have kept it, flying some against the weather, and others came he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hastened away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen and two hundred horsemen, to the village Arbela, and came himself forty days afterward with the rest of his forces. Yet were

* This Dellenas is famous, or rather infamous, in the history of Mark Antony, as Spasektes and Aldrich here note, from the coins of Ptolema and Dio.

† This Sephoris, the metropolis of Galilee, as often mentioned by Josephus, has coins still remaining. XEIIOGEAIION, as Spasektes here informs us.
there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria: he led also with him three thousand armed footmen, and a hundred horsemen, against Antigonus. Now here, those that used to raise tumults in Galilee, having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, the general of his forces, and slew him: they also laid the same city before siege, and did not suffer it to be besieged, he also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

6. By this time the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by Antony’s command, sent a thousand horsemen and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Macheras, who was their general, by letters, to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod’s violence, and about the injuries he did to the kingdom; and promised to give him money for such his assistance, and that he would not withdraw his forces, but betray his trust, for he did not countenance him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money [than the other offered.] So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a secret enemy, and took care of those that had been therein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him, as one that was resolute from his resolutions of going. Macheras was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmas to Herod; and, as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Macheras as his enemy; but he restrained his indignations, and refused to demand any satisfaction from his administration. But Macheras was made sensible of his offences, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod gave him back his old commission from his resolutions of going to Antony, but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater irritate, as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; in which Macheras acknowledged his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom; and now king Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata.

CHAP. XVII.

The Death of Joseph, [Herod’s Brother,] which had been signified to Herod in Dreams. How Herod was preserved twice, after a wonderful Manner. He cuts oft the Head of Pappus, who was the Murderer of his Brother, and known from his coins, as Speacher has assured us. Deo Aderich also confirms what Josephus here notes, that Herod had taken the city by Antony, and from Phœnix and Dio.
that Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return. But they both had acted as the one assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched with his changeable cohorts, which Macheras sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in the strength of his numbers, he changed his head-quarters, and his branch of the army which was at first under the command of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him, and after he had beaten them, he always turned his forces against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out; he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them. He also laid waste many places in the country, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded with soldiers for their defence; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and ploughed out those that were within; upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps, and as for those that fled out of the runs, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands, and cut them down by the thousand. In short, the number of those that perished by these various misfortunes was so great that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together, saw that those in the front were受害, they beat their retreat and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory, Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter [coming on.] This was the impetuous war of Herod, and the entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when at the evening Herod had already dismission them to rest themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier, to bathe himself, and had but one servant to attend him, and he was consequently unobservably escaped, he had the reputation of being very dear to God; for that evening there feasted with him many of the principal men, and after that feast was over, all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. As he judged this to be a common sign of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he, in the morning, set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with them in front. They were not so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded and killed a number. One of the characters in Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage, but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with a number of men, whose fortune it was to oppose Macheras; but Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and sent the heads of the men to him in triumph, that his head-quarters were at the village called Cena.

6. Now a great multitude of Jews resort to him every day, both out of Jericho, and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of the desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified at their number, but fought with them; and in the affairs of Galilee, were met in such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there destroyed them; and there was a great change made also in Idumea, where Macheras was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called Gatha. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samaria, and before he had set Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt; but Sosius sent two legions before him to Judea to assist Herod, and followed himself.
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men, and as for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

3. But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras by way of punishment for their shame, and they also sent a solemn message that saw Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome; so he pitched his camp before the city, for he thought that it might be the siege, and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks to hold the left of the horsemen of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this, by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemy in great contempt already.

9. When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army; Sosius also had a large army with horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along to Phenicia; and when the whole army was gotten together, which were eleven thousand horsemen and footmen, besides the Syrian auxiliaries, which was no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependance was upon the decree of the senate, by which he had always been held in honor; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Herod and Sosius took Jerusalem by force; and what Death Antigonus came to. Also, concerning Cleopatra's amorous Temper.

§ 1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weaker part of them, gave it out, that, as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious of all, and that he would die fighting; but as to the more bold and hardy men, they got together in bodies, and fell to robbing others after various manners, and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because those that were left either for horsemen or footmen; yet some of the warlike men who were used to fight regularly, were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall, and therefore were always inventing one engine or another to be a hinderance to the engines of the enemy, nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

2. Now, as for the robberies which were common, they contrived that ambushes should be so laid, that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, be provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the romans' skill in the art of war; although they were bold to the utmost degree. Now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death, but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of the army, and under the earth, and both they could batter down one wall, they built them another in its stead; and, to sum up all at once,

* That is, a woman, not a man.
* This death of Antigonus is confirmed by Pintarch and Strabo; the latter of whom is cited for it by Josephus himself.
New, Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell to slaying those now related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians, and made away with them, and told him to the priest, that she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; and, she extended her avareious humour to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly labour'd to have Herod and Marcus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Now as to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part: for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he there led from all the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country: nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where she grows the balsam-tree, and bestowed them upon: as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony in his expedition against the Parthians, as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea: and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also, and fetched her a pair of the spring of the river Eleutherus, that might please her: and she was pleased with all the present he gave her; and, indeed, he gave her his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

CHAP. XIX.

How Antony, at the Persuasion of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians; how, after several Battles, he at length got the Victory. As also concerning a great Earthquake.

§ 1. Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. He also sent an ambassador to Rome, to inform Caesar of the taking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she laid a plot against the kings of Judea and Arabia, she prevailed with Antony to come over to her; and, indeed, he was a little in love with her, so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if, he were worsted, of Judea, and that she might destroy one of those kings by herself.

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them, and put a stop to them; that and although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat, the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanathas, a city of Ceniosyria, in vast multitude, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp; yet did not the multitude comply with those orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet, there were no less disposed for Herod in this battle, as the received under the command of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanathas the men of that country against him, for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numbers, for all the stony places, that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them; but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had the fight begun so suddenly, Athenodoro had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod; however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the high height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time, the fame of this great earthquake was spread abroad, and raised courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulously height, as is constently the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown; upon this supposal, therefore, that they should get a large number of the inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those ambassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were afflicted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom Herod yet got together, and endeavoured to encourage them to defend themselves, by the following speech which he made to them:

4. "The place of this calamity is, in the first place, to make me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the effects of the calamity, is injurious to yourself, and dishonourable to yourselves. If I, myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bate for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's mistakes, and that has no measure, is a very ticklish thing: for there is no certainty among men, either in their bad or good fortunes; but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another; and this you may readily see from examples among ourselves, for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that those who think themselves sure of beating
WARS OF THE JEWS.

They were indeed superior to the Jews in number, but inferior as to their acclivity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

Now the Jews, they had not a great number salt; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, and the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death, by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these around, and besieged them, and while they were ready to be taken by their misfortune, could never depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things, whom he has in his power, nor take captive, and that at many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimte creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is a sign of another calamity; for such affection of the elements, whether to the good, or to the evil, of mankind, or of nature, nor does it import any thing farther to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves, without foreboding any other calamity. And indeed what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to the earthquake has done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is the hand of those that have another murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of mankind, and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God, in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his anger, nor take invincible right hand; and we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant breakers. Let every one therefore go on and fight, with much skill, for his wife, children, and for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours; those dead ambassadors will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, and should go before into language, for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible, unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."

5. When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice, he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia, near the enemy, and about a fortification that he had before made them. He then shot at them with arrows at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; for some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification; but the king sent some, who immediately beat them out of the fortification, while he himself went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle array every day, and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, for they were in a terrible fright, and they cast stones, the others were not able to make a word for fear; so Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and footmen were mixed together.

* This speech of Herod is set down twice by Josephus, here and Antiq. B. v. ch. v. sect. 3, to the very same purpose, but by no means in the same words; whence it ap-
BOOK I—CHAP. XXI.

3. Caesar replied to him thus: "Nay, thou hast not only been in safety, but shalt be a king; and that more firmly than thou wast before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the favour and thy friendship with the Emperor, and also the Macedonian to be constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony had done with thee and I will forgive thee; but I will not be bound by these means we have gained thee by her kindness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Dedius hath written to me that thou art in the assistance against Antigonus; and I do therefore assure thee, that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by decree; I shall also endeavor to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of friends on this side.

5. When Caesar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again on his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged him of a part of the kingdom of the Macedonian, and a part of the Persian empire, and of a certain part of that which now belongs to the satrapies, and of a part of the Hellespont. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who had become a supplicant to him, and the king, with his family and his friends, and the rest of the people on that side. And he complained of the many and very great offenses the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of; and by that means he rejected his petition. After this, Caesar went from Egypt with the army which was necessary there with royal and rich entertainments; and then he set his army on the march, and distributed about the rest of the march, and to fast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, and he also gave them water, and kept them from fear of thirst; nor were there any necessary wanting to that army. It was therefore the opinion both of Caesar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents which were bestowed on him, and the Macedonians especially. When Caesar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him, not only the same number of cities; for which the city of Cleopatra had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long, and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had afforded it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, there built a very large temple. And he also had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city Sebaste, from Seba, or Saba, or Sabaean, and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

2. And when Caesar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marbles, builded by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called Samaria, where is a very large building in the midst, and a very high temple, and at its sides, masons, or at its bottoms, a dark cave opens itself: within which there is a very broad staircase, that descends abruptly to a vast depth; it contains a mighty
quantity of water which is immovable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the sea beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to span it. And now the fountains of Jordan rise at the roots of this cavity outwards; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan: but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history.

4. But the king erected other cities there at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former place, such as were better and more useful than the former for travellers, and named them from the names of his friends. To say all at once, there was not any place of his own which he held; upon his own account, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Caesar’s honour, and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out like a plentiful mark of his esteem into his provinces, and built many cities which he called Cesarées.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside that was much decayed, (its name was Strato’s Tower,) but that the place, the happiness of its inhabitants, was capable of great improvements from its liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated the vanity of the case with this, that all the seashore between Dorus and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, inasmuch that every one that sailed from Phœnicia for Egypt was compelled to make the stay of the season in these wind streams that threatened them; which wind, if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat, the sea is in a great ferment for a long way; so that when he removed a part, he left the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyramus [at Athens;] and in the other retirements of the water he built other deep stations for the ships.

6. Now, although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquerèd by the force of the wind, and yet, in the works which was such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation; for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom was deep, and part of which was fifty fathom in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was fixed up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extent above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide, one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Proccmatas, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that was of one thickness of a hundred fathom. On the four sides he had four towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called Drususium, from Drusus, who was sonin-law to Cesar.

7. There were also a great number of arbores, where the mariners slept; and all the place before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a quarry or landing-place) to those that came on shore; but the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great columns, supported by pillars, where those Cesarées that were put upon the fort, were supported by a solid tower, but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side. And when a gust of wind did come upon them, they seemed to be in the likeness of two great elephants joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against them, when you came upon a station, there was a temple for Cesar, which was excellent both in beauty and largeness: and therein was a Colossus of Cesar, not less than that of Jupiter Cæsas, which it was said was made of bronze, but others of Rome was equal to that of Jesus at Argos. So he dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there, but the honour of the building he ascribed to Cesar; and named it Cesarées accordingly.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called these, from him, the games in his honour. When he had thus himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred ninety-second Olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place were called Cesarées. Moreover, he also rebuilt Athènes, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it Agrippium. Moreover, he had so great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraven upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father; even that city which he built in the island that was in the sea, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it Antipatris. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his own wise and valiant general. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaeus, whose structure, largeness, and magnificence, we shall describe hereafter. He also built several buildings in the cities of his kingdom, and named them from his father Herodium; and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman’s breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it. On the mountain that was very high was a round tower all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with the most costly palaces round about, insomuch, that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outward walls, and pavements, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble, for the hill plus, the Roman historians attest to as things that frequent in the provinces of that empire, as Deon Abriber and some.
was roused moderately high, and entirely facilitated. He also built other palaces about the rest of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also; inasmuch, the accounts given by Diodorus are too low, and the whole scene might appear to be a city, but, by the boundaries it had, a palace only.

11. And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built places for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblos, as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Byblos and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built. aqueducts for the supply of water, and disposed of those who lived by the seaside; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people: soy, not a few cities there were whoso had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to such as wished it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships, and this he did in the name of his wife. Moreover, the temple of Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lyceans and Samniacs? or of his granting to the Corinthians, according to everybody's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Myca, full of donations that Herod presented them with? And that, he said, he would still continue to send them. Having arrived at Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all the others before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness, when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length.

12. It is true, a man may say, these were favors peculiar to those particular places, on account he bestowed his benefits; but then what favors had the rest? For there was a political treatise not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when he perceived that they were come to nothing for want of assembly, he invited them all to the games of Phanesidas, of Bassae, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should appear great in frequence and luxury, and that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of his debts, and what he gave them, and what he did, and what he received of them, and what he had in his own possession unspared by his friends. And when he saw that Greece was in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome he consented to be present at, but he settled upon these revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch, that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of his debts, and what he gave them, and what he did, and what he received of them, and what he had in his own possession unspared by his friends. And when he saw that Greece was in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome he consented to be present at, but he settled upon these revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch, that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and his body was like his soul. His body generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in riding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts; that country breed also bears, and the greatest part of it is repleteness; and he had it to hunt after greater things than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities, than did their owners themselves.

14. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mother, after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affection for her; yet had the women

CHAP. XXII.

The Murder of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the High Priests; as also of Mariamme, the Queen.

§ 1. HOWEVER, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great successes, by raising him up domestic troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his family, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; on whose account disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly after his return from Rome. For first of all he exiled his elder sons, then the son of Aristobulus, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew his wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Partuia, and married her, and had he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcanus had been carried captive to Bactaranes, when he overran Syria; but those of his own country beyond Euphrates were very jealous of his exaltation, because he was a man of great magnificence had they had for his condition; and had he complied with their desires, when they exorted him not to go over the river to Herod he had not persisted; but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his temptation; for as he relied upon him, and was over fond of his own country, he came back to it. Herod's provocation was this, not that Hyrcanus made any attempt to gain the kingdom, but that he was littler courted than the others, and therefore Herod.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them were daughters, and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated at Rome, and there died. The eldest he treated with the most royal blood, on account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he was king. But then what was stronger than all this, was the love he bore to Mariamne, and which lasted to the last day to a great degree, and so far conformed with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles on account of her he loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love to her. She had both the brother of Aristobulus, the son of Doris, who had spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a child, for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he slew him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobulus had put on the other vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, the multitude, in great crowds, fell into tears; whereupon the child was sent by night to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool till he died. Such a warrior as could not be withstood: many
great indignation at her, and raised a calumny against her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to move Herod to anger. They were indeed well acceded to by many in the opinion of the times; and many believed, in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent her picture into Egypt to Antony, and that her fact was so extravagant, as to have thus showed her guilt in Egypt; that she would be loth to let a man then in his prime drink with a woman to which she had been once so dear, and that man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him in disorder; and that especially, because his love to her was very great, and he was jealous, and be suspected himself with that, that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysea the king was taken off, as also Malichus the Arabian: for his fear did not extend to the disavowal of his marriage, but to the danger of his life.

4. When therefore he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him, and bore him good-will on account of their kindness; and he also gave him a secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he would slay Joseph. But Joseph, without any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to Antony, and that he would not, in fact, to think of being separated from her, even by death itself, discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come back, and as they talked together, he confirmed his love to her by many other means, and assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had for her. "Yes," (says she) thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me.

5. When he heard that this grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that inquisition of his, unless he had debauched her. He then ordered him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon Herod was made to despair of her; and rage and passion made him command both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And of this he was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living.

CHAP. XXIII.

Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married daughter of Archeus, king of Cappadocia, was the only child that was born in Herod's house, and was borne to him on account of his former hatred in her mind. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness, and certain of them spoke now more plainly to the king that there were treachers in his house, who were disposed to the next attack in those things that was son-in-law to Archeus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Cæsar; and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these suspicions, he brought Antipater, whom he had by Doria, in favour again, as a defence to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prevent him before them. But these sons were not able to bear the change in their affairs, for which the cause was that was born of a mother of no family, the capability of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whenever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it. As and these sons did day after day implore in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, inattering his father, and in outraceing many sorts of calumnies against his brethren, while he took care that the name of the house was not left without the name of the house, and other proper persons to raise other stories against them, till at length he entirely cut his brother off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will. And he was set with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Cæsar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of words made use of against him by his brethren, were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters materially to such a pass, that the king had thought of putting his sons to death.

6. So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and he was brought back with a set of poisoning him before Cæsar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation, but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any accusation against him. And though the conscience of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him; and when he had demonstrated the insincerity of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he was given to himself; but when the different ways of disposing of them were under. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried with him, but by his eloquence; for he was a skilful man in making speeches. And it was at that, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Cæsar to that pass, as to reject the accusation, no to reconcile their father to them. But the reasons of their reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

1 That this island Eleusus, afterward called Solaces, near Cilicia, had in it the royal palace of this Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Strabo (lib. xi. p. 592. 3. 4. 5.) says, that it was the island of the sun, which is now Socota; both whose testimonies are particularly cited here by Dr. Hume. See the same place. Antiq. B. vi. ch. 2. sect. 7.
and made this reconciliation among me; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreated you to do what I knew was contrary to common practice among brethren. I give you royal garments, and royal honours; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord once more, with another, and with Caesar, and have saluted every one of his sons after an obilging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of whom gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who made a change of affaire, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Notices of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyros's Account. Herod pardons Pheroras whom he suspected, and Euphrone, whom he knew to make mistrust among them. Herod's Eunuchs are tortured, and Alexander is bound.

§ 1. But now the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved, and the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, as was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disputed nature, he would not fail to be solicitous, how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby conciliated the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were (as he perceived) who promoted them further, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was repeated to him, and the stories and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he might, and might not, be the reception of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were more partial towards him in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by batteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal either what he did, or what he said. And by this means he conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised: for my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxury of living as seems meant off when they are young; but I have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall not be played on, for I shall not receive them; but when I come, they shall see how I receive them. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he proves a good man, he shall receive a reward from me; that if he proves vicious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown; I shall not do to them what I have done to my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the baseness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts. In the next place reflect upon Caesar, who battle

BOOK 1

Pius in the most obliging manner, and gave the thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome, that they should be as solicitous to Alexander at his trial. So he received Flavius Josephus, and gave him a great sum of money, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of whom gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who made a change of affaire, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

§ 1. But now the quarrel that was between them, still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved, and the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater, as was Antipater very angry at his brethren, that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disputed nature, he would not fail to be solicitous, how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby conciliated the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were (as he perceived) who promoted them further, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance, to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was repeated to him, and the stories and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he might, and might not, be the reception of truth; and if, among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were more partial towards him in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by batteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal either what he did, or what he said. And by this means he conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised: for my age is not so great, that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxury of living as seems meant off when they are young; but I have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall not be played on, for I shall not receive them; but when I come, they shall see how I receive them. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he proves a good man, he shall receive a reward from me; that if he proves vicious, his ill-intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown; I shall not do to them what I have done to my sons' side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the baseness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved, even among wild beasts. In the next place reflect upon Caesar, who battle
and, as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase to that of begetter. The partiers also involuntarily conformed to the same conduct, some of their own accord, and others by the king's injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren, and all his children, for Antipater was all: and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all; she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a stepmother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did therefore already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren,] he having given them the charge, and had conferred on to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offences, if the queen should amuse him; and what he would come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication, and said withal, that he might itself ought to shut his ears against complaints, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them. He had thus soon pacified him, as being his father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, was a formidable person, both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his chidren. He had also a hundred talents of his own besides the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents: but Pheroras refused to consummate this marriage, and made her a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but sometime he sent against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as he was not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at Gaphyra's reproaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained, that as he had married a woman of a low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown, he would make them weep with their maid; and make them laugh of theirs. The country schoolmasters; and broke this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told it to the queen, who was highly incensed, since it was against her own son-in-law. There was also another calumny that ran abroad, and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that some of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for Antipater, that this polygamy was not directly, but by the king's command, was so, as well, as that when he had made presents of any of Mariamne's garb to his later wives, these threatened, that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe them in no better than those of his. These calumny that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication, and said withal, that he might itself ought to shut his ears against complaints, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them. He had thus soon pacified him, as being his father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, was a formidable person, both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his chidren. He had also a hundred talents of his own besides the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents: but Pheroras refused to consummate this marriage, and made her a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but sometime he sent against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as he was not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called near to him, and partly threatened them a little, as a king; but for the main, he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren, and told them that he would pardon their former offences, if the queen should amuse him; and what he would come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false, and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication, and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against complaints, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them. He had thus soon pacified him, as being his father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, was a formidable person, both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his chidren. He had also a hundred talents of his own besides the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents: but Pheroras refused to consummate this marriage, and made her a maid-servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but sometime he sent against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as he was not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.

5. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before of the murder of his brother, which Herod was alive, if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and then came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceedingly proud of his brethren, was brought to believe whomever he accused, and not to fear of it also; and which he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras own friends; none of which did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made many attempts to take her whom he loved, and ran away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instruments in the plot, and he would have taken him; but Herod learned of his plot. Nor did Salome escape all calumnies upon herself, for her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had made an agreement to marry Syleus, the price
BOOK I.—CHAP. XXV.

CHAP. XXV.

Archelaus procures Reconciliation between Alexander, Pherroras, and Herod.

§ 1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent], he resolved to make his peace with him, and to persuade his severe sovereign to give him his pardon. The king also pardoned Archelaus himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7. But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and all of it rested upon him, when he took those eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into his bed every night. Now Alexander had prevailed with the king to make large gifts, to let him use them after an obsequious manner: which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the leaders by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them, that "they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but they ought to fix their attention on him, who was to be his successor in the kingdom whether he would or not. I will give you, my father, who is old and helpless, two sons on my own head, and make my friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place: that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately; and that the captains of the guards, and the officers, did secretly come to him."

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected [of treason], he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings, for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in every way the most exposed against enemies and hatred against others; and many there were that cursed the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrelled, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted without inquiry. He also burnt in the fire: he who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life and the destruction he had made was such that he exceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spoke harshly; but for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got him into a false accusation, for which he raised all sorts of calumny against him: and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand; so he accused him to be seized upon immediately and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture] but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against Alexander's majesty but some things which afforded to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, were accused against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly away. This was done in a manner so cruel and so drear, that it appeared to them as if the king was aware of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily persuaded by the king, that thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

§ 2. And as to Pherroras, he was not more severe on his son, but he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared within that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in a plot with him, and that Herod and Archelaus, that Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came to change Judaea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law, and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was accused of him, he cried out, "Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see the head of him who had contrived to murder his son? I will find him! and will pieces with my own hands! I will do the same to thee, that man, who hath such a fine husband: for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy pusillanimity, and the officers, did secretly come to him."

3. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he was in danger to be accused of these books which Alexander had composed to be read by him, and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he had been ready to employ, and came on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pherroras; and when he saw that the king believed him [to be in earnest] he said, "We must consider whether the young man be not the only one of us, who is deceived by wicked wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young man; for I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being prince; and, besides, I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuade him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men; for by such persons, not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also, and by them sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned."

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander; but was more angry at Pherroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pherroras, who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could not be trusted to, and seeing he had no honourable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus,
Arachneus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some emeralds, and a conchine which was called Panneycyse. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends, making their digests. In like manner, he sent the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Arachneus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Eurycles' calumniated the Sons of Mardemon about the Apology of Evrytus of Cun for them had no effect.

§ 1. Now a little afterward there came into Judæa a man that was much superior to Arche-

laus' stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was Eurycles. He was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not sustain his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, and thus gained the confidence of the body of the people, where every member of it is ever swelled by the body's weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure.

5. Upon Archeaus's saying this, and much more, Herod was quite pleased with it. Ar-

cheaus's reply was, that he had brought it home to his own indignation against Alexander, and said, he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought him to that pass, that contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archeaus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him; but Ar-

cheaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And while he was saying so, Herod would take it for a great favour done to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, as while she attended upon his wife, she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair, because such young men's attainments are not half so well mollified, when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Archeaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled him to Herod also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Cæsar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. This period was put to Archeaus's stra-

gem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feasts-

ings and agreeable entertainments. And when
and went to Alexium, and carried these good news to him. He also added a faction of his own, as if his brothers had been a plot against his father, and accused them with their drawn swords. For this intelligence he received a great sum of money; and on that account he commanded Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing the matter to a conclusion. To this Alexander he gave the government of a castle, to desire him to receive him, and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons, and what other assistance he could, upon that occasion. Alexander was pleased with this letter, and sent a message to Diophantus. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody: for till now they had been at liberty. He also called that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his savour and benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and said what he had heard. He was often got to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Caesar, that he had inflicted Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Eut Ratius of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came, so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men: yet did this testimony avail nothing for clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to hearken to what was said against them; and he was of a nature most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, by Caesar's Direction, accuses his Sons Berytus. They are sent to the Roman Court, but are condemned; and in a little Time they are sent to Sebaste, and strangled there.

§ 1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like danger with them; and she, perceiving that he was not disposed to bring her into the like danger, and told her, that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if, when she formerly endeavoured the safety of her own family, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to her, who was the king's enemy; and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men when they were in great danger before. Salome, the king's sister-in-law, came, and informed him of what admonition she had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one son under from the court. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Caesar immediately, as also his friend Olympic with him, who carried the information in writing along with them. Now, as soon as they had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's
letters to Caesar, Caesar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father, of condemning his sons: so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said he himself should do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him, in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province: and if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should in that case moderate their punishment.

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Ilium, where Caesar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Caesar’s letters had appointed, who were Saturnius, and Pobianus, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king’s kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroeras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, that he might not be Alexander’s robber-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was done very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied; and if with that they had been tufted out, Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of, but they were in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his father; who, when he had described the part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urged it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but he insisted before the assessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injuries, and ten thousand like or like of enemies against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobody contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been condemned himself; now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he asked every one’s sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturnius, and was this, that he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was not fit for him, who had three sons of his own to give present for the destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others were also who followed their example; but Volumnius began to vote on the more melancholy side, and said, Instead of that case as condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the act of this tragedy; yet did not he suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children; however, he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cæsarea; and deliberated with himself what sort of death the king would suffer. Alexander 4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king, whose name was Tero, who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander, and whom he particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner dis- tracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at first he cried out aloud, as he went about, “That justice was trampled under foot; that truth was perverted, and nature confounded; and that the life of men was full of iniquity,” and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spared not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and by this means art a monster, when thou hearest to most wicked wratchets, against those that ought to be closest to thee; since those hast frequently no solace that Pheroeras and Salome should be put to death, and yet believest them against his sons; while those, by cutting off the excommunication of thine own sons, leave all wholly to Antipas, and yet hast the power, and may truly say thyself to have been a good king, and may be thoroughly in their own power. How- ever, consider whether this death of Antipas’s brethren, will not make him hated by the soldiers for there is nobody but commiserates the young men, and of the captains a great many show their indignation at it openly.” Upon his saying this, he named those that had such indignation; but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself, and his son, to be seized upon immediately. As they were about to do this, a certain one of whose name was Trypho. This man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accused himself, and said, “This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut thy throat with my razor when I trimmed these, and promised that Alexander should give me large presents for so doing.” When Herod heard this, he ex- amined Tero, with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accusation, he ordered Trypho to be put to death, and that Tero should be racked more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to dis- cover the whole to the king, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured] with this barbarous law. And so he was hanged. Alexander, at the persuasion of Alexander, had no intention to kill him.” Now some said this was forged, in order to free his father from his tor- ments, and some said it was true.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Antipas is killed of all Men; and how the King causes the Sons of those that had been slain to his Kindred; but that Antipas made him change them for other Women. Of Herod’s Marriages and Children.

§ 1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipas from the nation, though he had now an in- disputable title to the succession; because they all imagined that was the person who committed all the calumnies against his brothers. Howe- ever, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, the king’s sister; by Alexander; and by Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulas, his son, with Herodias and Mariamme, his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome’s daughter: as for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portions, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Salome’s daughter, to Antipater’s uncle by his mother, and it was Antipater, who, in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match: he also got into Pheroeras’s favour, and into the favour of Caesar’s friends by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome: Saturni- ans also, and his father Artaban, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave, the more he was hated, as not
taking these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it so fell out, that the receivers bore him no more good will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, after the report of the day, he more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentence for killing their fathers, by his commissoration of those that sprang from them.

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and with his eyes full of tears said thus to them: 'It is a thing to be lamented, that these orphans, the children of their fathers, which are recommended to me by that natural commissoration which their orphan condition requires; however, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunat father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I therefore be- troth thy daughter, Pherorin, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that they may take Pherorin for their own, and also betroth thy son Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus, to thou therefore a father to that orphan: and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was Alexander, and lastly we think that he believes me of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God, that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of their kingdom, and of my own, and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers.'

3. While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands together; after which, if Antipater, and Pherorin, embraced affectionately, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime, and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king] and Pherorin a tetrarch to supply him; and therefore more than himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bore to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had passed away; how much by his well doing he had saved the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going subtly about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion; so he ventured to go to the king, and beg of him before his face, not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, and that he might not have the name of a king, while the power was in others. He therefore besought the king to be allowed the liberty of keeping the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather Archelaus and Pherorin for his curators, and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages.

Now the king had nine wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod [Philip] of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; Antipas also and Archelaus were by Malthace, the Basmarn, as was his daughter, Olympias, which his brother Joseph's son had married; by Cleopatra, of Jerusalem, he had Herod and Philip, and by Pallas, Phasaelus: he had besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these [intended] marriages.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he wished to see him hungry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer, and bid him begone. Yet was he afterward prevailed upon cunningly by his slanders, and changed the marriages; he married Aristobulus's daughter to him, and he betrothed Pherorin to his son. Antipater also betroth thy son Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus· be thou therefore a father to that orphan: and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was Alexander, and lastly we think that he believes me of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God, that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of their kingdom, and of my own, and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them than he looked upon their fathers.'

6. Now one may learn, in this instance, how very much this flattering Antipater could do, even what Salome, in the like circumstances, could not do; for when she, who was his sister, had, by the means of Julius Caesar, desired leave to be married to Syllicus, the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project; he also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alcimus, a friend of his, and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexus's son, and the other to Antipater uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Pherorin, and the other to his brother's son, Phasaelus.

CHAP. XXIX.

Antipater becomes intolerable. He is sent to Rome and carries Herod's Testament with him. Pherorin leaves his Brother, that he may keep his Wife. He dies at home.

§ 1. Now when Antipater had cut off the hope of the orphans in such affinities as would be most for his own advantage, he proceeded briskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness, he became intolerable: for not being able to do the harm of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into them. Pherorin also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already fixed in his kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which excited new disturbances. For Pherorin's wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters, on which account the king hated her to a great degree. Yet although these women were hated by him, they domineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreement, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of his affairs. And when these women knew what calamities she had raised against them, and how much Herod was dis-
pleased, they left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; nor, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another, when the king was within hearing. The like dissimulation did Antipater make use of, and, as it were, aspersion. But still they had private cabals and merry meetings in the night-time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual agreement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.

2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Phæroras's wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends, and kindred together, and there accused Salome of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughter; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. At length he turned his speech to Phæroras, and told him, that "he would give him his choice of these two things, whether he would keep in with his brother, or with his wife." And when Antipater said that he should rather forsake his wife, "Herod, not knowing what to do farther in that matter, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Phæroras's wife, or with Phæroras himself, or with him. But he went to her. Now, though Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in secret come to their night-meetings; and because he was afraid that Salome observed what he did, he used to go forth in the same dress, and pretended as if he was going to a public place. And that he might go and live at Rome: for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance of his guards, and gave him his testament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to him, and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamme, the high priest's daughter.

3. Syllenus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Cæsar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that lawsuit which Nicolaus had with Herod. This Syllenus also was a son of Aretas his own king; for he had slain many of Aretas's friends, and particularly Sabinus, the most potent man in the city of Petra. Moreover, he had prevailed with Phæroras's son to take up his cause, by giving him a great sum of money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Syllenus, and by his means he desired of Aretas that he should require of him to pay. But when Syllenus paid him what he was to pay, and did also accuse Phæboras to Cæsar, and said that he was not a steward for Cæsar's advantage, but for Herod's, Phæboras became angry at him on that account, but was still in very great credit with Herod, and discovered Syllenus's grand secrets, and told the king that Syllenus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of his body, by bribing him, and of what they had done before his death. Accord- ingly, the king excommunicated Corinthus, though he was brought up in Herod's kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian; so the king ordered him to be taken up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians, who were sought with him; the one of them was Syllenus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. The last being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthus, for a large sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been delivered, he was condemned, and crucified. When he, the president of Syria, were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Phæboras, but proceeded to force him to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which to make his brother subject to punishment, although he had many causes of hatred to her; till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Phæboras took the injury very patiently, and retired away into his own tetrarchy [Perea beyond Jordan], and seems that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death; and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor indeed would he return when his brother was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to him, because he had a mind to leave some junctions with him before he died; but Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Phæboras died, and Herod saw a great moderation; for he came to him and joined his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Phæboras died a little afterward. Now, though Herod had put off his wife, he was left without a son. Some say that the king's death, when he was very young, was not a great loss to the kingdom; but that the king's death, when he grew to be a man, was a great loss to his kingdom.

CHAP. XXX.

When Herod made Inquiry about Phæboras's Death, a Discovery was made that he had prepared a poisonous Draught for him. Herod casts Doris and her Accomplices, as also Mariamme, out of the Palace, and bids her son Herod out of his Testament.

§ 1. But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author, Antipater, and took its rise from the death of Phæboras; for certain of his adherents discovered to the king his mother, and told him, that "his brother had been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that, upon his tasting it, he died." Herod was informed that Antipater's mother and sister, two days before, brought a woman out of Arabia that was skilful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Phæboras; and that, instead of a love potion, she had prepared the king's deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Syllenus, who was acquainted with that woman.  

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the naked facts of the case, of the tree of these things, of the murder of his father, and of what cried out in her agonies, "May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish the author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this occasion, and proceeded to inquire further into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Phæboras and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Phæboras and Antipater had drank

* This strange obstinacy of Phæboras in retaining his wife, who was one of a low family, and refusing to marry the beauty related to Herod, though he so earnestly desired it, as also that wife's admission to the council's of the other great court ladies, together with Herod's own imprudence as to Phæboras's divorce and other marriage, as some resemble here or in the Antiquities. B. xvii. chap. ii.
with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either servile or maid-servant, to be among one of the free women discovered the whole matter.

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every one by themselves separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries, and was in order to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon their head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her, (for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,) and asked her what was the matter, and what she did not give her her oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave none of her to be buried. This God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said, "My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for the rest, I have consulted the necessity; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to any heathen punishment. I have before bought as he bade me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee."

4. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it; but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to Antipius's mother and brother, who both confessed that Antipius brought that box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander and Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquirers and discoverers of what had been done. They could not do this, but brought such as were the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest's daughter, was conscious of this plot, and her very brothers, when they had discovered it, were turned over to Antipater. He gave order upon the king avenged this insolent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had by her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor to Antipater.

CHAP. XXXI.

Antipater is convicted by Bathylus: but he still returns from Rome without knowing it. Herod brings him to his Trial.

§ 1. After these things were over, Bathylus came under examination, in order to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's designs; for indeed he was rather than his freed-man. This man came, and brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other serpents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife might be armed with this also against the king. He brought this in addition to Antipater's insolent attempt against his father, which was the letters which he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, who were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, by the numerous desire which he had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon their head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her, (for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,) and asked her what was the matter, and what she did not give her her oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave none of her to be buried. This God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said, "My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affectionate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for the rest, I have consulted the necessity; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may not be liable to any heathen punishment. I have before bought as he bade me, and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear of thee."

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater, of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him, he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by Antipius, a companion of his; that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Antipater; which he had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself; that Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and when she had received this charge, she received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of the house.
of his friends at Rome. Some of these he con
voked by bribes to write how they grossly re
proached their father, and did openly bewail
Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at
their being recalled; for their father had already
sent for them, which was the very thing that
they had most feared.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea,
and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he
gave money to have the like letters against them
sent from Rome, and then came to his father, who
as yet had no suspicion of him, and apoe
logized for his brethren, and alleged on their be
half, that some of the things contained in those
letters were false, and others of them were only
youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he
wasted a great deal of his money, by making
present to such as wrote against his brethren,
did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion,
by buying costly garments, and carpets of va
rious connectures, with silver and gold cups, and
a great many more curious things, that so, among
the very great expenses laid out upon such fur
niture, he might conceal the money he had used
in hiring men [to write the letters:] for he brought
on account of his goods, amounting
to a hundred talents, his main pretence for
which was the lawsuit he had been in with Syl
leus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a
lessor sort also, were covered by his greater vil
lian, or by his extraneous, or by his torture, he
claimed his attempt to murder his father, and
the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder
his brethren; yet did no one of those that came
to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea,
even seven months had intervened between
his convicion and his return, so great was the
hatred which they all bore to him. And perhaps
they were the ghosts of those brethren of his
that had been murdered, that stopped the mouths
of all those that were desired to betray him. He
then wrote from Rome, and informed [his friends]
that he would soon come to them, and how he
was dismissed with honour by Cesar.

3. Now the king being desirous to get this
person close to him, and to have him in
hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way
come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon
his guard, he dismissed his anger in his epistle
to him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, and
in such a sort as made him be desired to hand in his
report, and to beseech him yet more, to show him how
he came quickly, he would then lay aside the com
plaints he had against his mother; for Antipater
was not ignorant that his mother had been ex
pelled out of the palace. However, he had before
received a report from Rhodon of the death of Phoroman
at Tarentum," and made great lamentations at it; for which some
commanded him, as being for his own uncle; though
probably this confusion arose on account of his
mother; whereby failed in his plot [on his father's
life,] and his tears were more for the loss of him
that was to have been subservient therein, than
for [an uncle] Phoromar: moreover, a sort of fear
came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison
and the murder should be discovered. However, when
he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned
epistle from his father, and made great haste
accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celen
deria, a suspicion came into his mind relating to
his mother's misfortune; as his soul foreboded
some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his
friends who were the most considerate, advised
him not rashly to go to his father, till he had
learned what were the occasions why his mother
had been expelled, but were afraid that he
might be involved in the calumnies that had
been cast upon his mother; but those that were
less considerate, and had more regard to their
own desires of seeing their native country than

* This Tarentum has coins still extant, as Rilchius in
form us here in his note

* Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make
baste home, and not by delaying his journey af
ford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and
give a handle to those that raised stories against
him; for that in case any thing had been moved
to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence,
when no such thing had been done as was pre
sent. And they said, it was absurd to deprive
himself of certain happiness, for the sake of an
uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to
his father, and take the royal authority upon him,
who was in a state of dishonour, and accounted
only. Antipater complied with this last advice;
for Providence hurried him on [to his destruc
tion.] So he passed over the seas, and landed at
Sidon, and from there to the haven of Cesarea.

4. And he found a perfect and unexpect
ed solitude, while every body avoided him, and
nobody durst come at him; for he was equally
hated by all men; and now that hatred had li
berty to show itself, and the dread men were at
the king's anger mademen keep from him; for
the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the
rumours about Antipater, and Antipater himself
was the only person who was ignorant of them;
besides, he was dismissed more for love than
to whom he began his voyage to Rome, so was no
man now received back with greater ignominy.
And indeed he began already to suspect what
misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet
was so cunningly concealed as to suspect
while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he
put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor
could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way
of emerging out of the difficulties which accom
panied him; nor indeed he even there were
certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal
family, by reason of the threats the king had
given out: yet had he some small hopes of bet
ter tidings; for perhaps nothing had been dis
covered towards concerning Antipater, and
perhaps he should be able to clear himself by
impudence and artful tricks, which were the
only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself,
till he came to the palace, without any friend
with him; for these were antioxidants and shut
at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of
Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this jun
cture:] so Antipater went in to his father, and
was received in such fashion, because if he had
not been quickly, he would then lay aside the com
plaints he had against his mother; for Antipater
was not ignorant that his mother had been ex
pelled out of the palace. However, he had before
received a report from Rhodon of the death of Phoroman
at Tarentum," and made great lamentations at it; for which some
commanded him, as being for his own uncle; though
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life,] and his tears were more for the loss of him
that was to have been subservient therein, than
for [an uncle] Phoromar: moreover, a sort of fear
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epistle from his father, and made great haste
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deria, a suspicion came into his mind relating to
his mother's misfortune; as his soul foreboded
some mischief to itself. Those therefore of his
friends who were the most considerate, advised
him not rashly to go to his father, till he had
learned what were the occasions why his mother
had been expelled, but were afraid that he
might be involved in the calumnies that had
been cast upon his mother; but those that were
less considerate, and had more regard to their
own desires of seeing their native country than

* This Tarentum has coins still extant, as Rilchius in
form us here in his note

* Antipater as accused before Varus, and is convict
ed of laying a Plot [against his Father] by the stron
est Evidence. Herod puts off his Punish
ment till he should be recovered, and, in the same	time, alters his Testament.

§ 1. Now the day following, the king assem
bled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and call
ed in Antipater's friends also: Herod himself,
with Varus, were the presidents; and Herod
called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been the witnesses on which the former trial was founded, and the letter from her to her son: "Since all those things have been already discovered to thy father, do not thou come to him, unless thou canst procure some assistance from Cæsar. When thou shalt be taken in by some one who is disposed to betray you, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said, "Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiased, and attend to my defence; for if thou wilt leave me, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spoke thus to Varus: "I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a traitor, and vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt ahar my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children, while yet I ought rather to be praised, who have been so affectionate a father to every wretched son; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them friends of Cæsar, and had instructed them in all the civilities of other kings, I found them plotting against me; these have been put to death, and that, in a great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was a readFile将持续], and appointed to be my cæsare. I took no care to secure him from danger: but this prodigal wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I seemed to him to have laid nothing out of practice. It would have been easy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And justly I am served by him for bringing him up so well, and made him a prince, and gave him a palace, and a king's power over the kingdom; and of the succession to all my dominions, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree of the most luxurious expense of my own residence; when he was about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Cæsar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of whom I have already spoken, to project against me, and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a certain murderer put to death, and that for trusting my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from any fears of danger: who, as he said, had been the cause of my trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body. And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plot of mine. Yet, however, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will with tears lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under it. But I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the company, who said to ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head, (for he lay on the ground before his father's feet,) and cried out aloud, "Thou, O father, hast made me a sacrifice; but how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardians? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisie; how then could it be that I, who was so subtle in other matters, should not be able to see as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime should be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things? Did I not know when my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could I desire to be a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No: was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No: for I was able to extend to others as much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been one of the bestowded upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest into the palace; whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime, and by the grace of the king of the world, at times called me Philopater. Take here the letters he hath sent thee; they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here: these letters are my only apology; these I use as the best testimony of my innocence."

* A lover of his father.
any lamentations that this polluted body can make; for if I be a percifile, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion by a certain ten- tlement he fell into. However, he sent an ac-
account to Caesar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome; he sent also for his testament, and altered it, and therein made Antipater king, as being the son of Aristobulus; and Antipater had his testament altered to all others a great quantity of land and money, and showed his respects to Salome his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The golden Eagle is cut to pieces. Herod's Bar-
barity when he was ready to die. He attempts to kill himself. He commands Antipater to be slain. He survives him five Days, and then dies.

§ 1. Now Herod's distemper became more and more acute. As he was being in great pain, the disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him during the years of his life, and all the disorders upon him in his old age; his life was as full of miseries as ever he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggra-
vated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now not at random, but as soon as he should have seized again, and resolved to have him slain in a
d public place.

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city of Jerusalem, who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were on that account had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Ananias; and those two young men to these men, when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that Antipater had been overthrown, and was no longer able to protect him, they, with a dissembler, they dropped words to their acquaintance, how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces of the like representation of any animal whatever. Now the king had put a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which those two men had reported them to Herod, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country; because that the soul was immortal,

bics to persuade their scholars to hazard their lives in the vindication of God's law against images, by Moses, as well as of the answers those scholars made to Herod, who claimed to be a Jew, and that he was the son of the house of David, and that the kingdom was to be restored, as compared with the parallel arguments and answers presented in the Antiquities, B. xvi. ch. vi. sect. 12. A like difference between Jewish and Roman law is observed in my notes on Antiquities, B. xii. ch. viii. sect. 11; B. vii. ch. vi. sect. 7; Contr. Apor. B. ii. sect. 30: where we may observe, that none of these passages are in his hands of Antiquities, written particularly for the use of the Gentiles. The case he thought it proper to insist on, in these topics so much out of the way as these were. Nor is this observation to be omitted here, especially as account of the anomalies we have now before us in Josephus' representation of the arguments used by the rab-

forged: he was moreover greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sis-
er on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay therefore to bring him to punishment for all his crimes; yet when he was eagerly pur- sue Antipater, the very report that was received by a certain ten-
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and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean-spirited, and those that were not wise enough to discern between right and wrong, and suffered death by a disease before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad that Herod had fell upon the twelve young men set about the work with greater boldness, they therefore let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at mid-day, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down the golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle, they confessed they had done so; and when he asked them by whose command they had done it, they replied, at the command of the law of their country; and when he further asked them, how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death, they replied, because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.

So it was in such an extra\-gant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out, and spoke to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and having cut down the golden eagle, which was made of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty, and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon their work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with the rabbins, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers to be put to death by them.

5. After this, the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all his parts with pain. And then the distemper fell upon the fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continual pains on his colon, and dropical tumours about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a pus\-sion, and several worms. Besides which, he had a difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, insomuch that the diviners said, those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. According to several methods, he immersed himself in those hot baths at Callirhoo, which run into the lake of Asphaltitis, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he were dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after the sick men gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmas a piece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6. He then went back and came to Jericho, as much a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a hurtful wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the Hippodrome, and there that they were. He then called for his sister Salome, and her husband, and her two sons, and said to them: "I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death; however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but keep watch for me, that I may be slain; for you but take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it, whether they will or no."

7. These were the commands he gave them, when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given that Acme was put to death at Cesar's command, and that Antipas was condemned to death. However, they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Cesar had permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple and asked for a knife, for he used to pare apples and eat them; then he looked round about him, and thought that there was nothing to hinder him, and lifted up his right hand as if he would stab himself; but Archelaus, his first cousin, came running to him, and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing; on which occasion a very great crowd of people was gathered, which made him more as if the king was expiring. As soon as ever Antipas heard that, he took courage, and with joy in his looks besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him and let him go; but the principal of the people were of opinion to construe his death, and construe it in that intention, but ran and told the king what his design was, whereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards and slew Antipas; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanum, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, and the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch of Galilee.

8. So I have thus related the slaughter of his son five years, died, having reigned thirty\-four years since he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty\-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now he lived for many years extremely prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other man could be so, since, from a private man he obtained the kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still, in his death, he was a most unfortunate man. Now before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and said thus that he had altered his testament, and would send word one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers [the king was dead,] and got them and the rest of the multitude together to an assembly for the burial, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet\-ring, came before them, and spoke of the happiness the king had obtained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been sent; and exhorting them to be good\-will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas to be tetrarch as before said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar, and the settlements he had made sealed up, because Cesar was to be lord of all the set-
WARS OF THE JEWS.

clements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the disposition he had made was to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement, and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in processions, and promised him their good-will, and besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this they besought themselves to prepare for the king’s funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments and ornaments the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroiled with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexts, with the dead body upon it, covered with purple; and a dais was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, as he had his right hand; and near his bier were Herod’s sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to whom came his guards, and the regiment of Theracians, the Germans also and Gauls, all accosted, if they were going to war; but the rest of the army went forward armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freed-men followed with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodion, where he had given orders to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS—FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TILL VESPASIAN WAS SENT TO SUBDUDE THE JEWS BY NERO.

CHAP. I.

Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People on the account of Herod; after which a great Tumult is raised by the Multitude, and he sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy the thousands of them.

§ 1. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days, and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude, (which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feed the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garment, and went up to the temple, where the people accepted him with various acclamations. He also spoke kindly to the multitude from an elevated seat, and a throne of gold, and returned thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father’s funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom; but he told them withal, that “he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Caesar, who is made lord of this whole empire by the testaments of the gods, should condescend to give the title to him, by which the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their base and good-will to him, as when the superior lords (the Romans) should have given him a complete title to the kingdom; for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father.”

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased, and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him; for some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes, others, that he would take off the duties upon corn, because he would lose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good-will of the multitude; after which he offered the proper sacrifices, and feasted the people. And it came to pass that there it was as it was the case, that a great many of those that desired innovations, came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These

* Hear Dean Aldrich’s note on this place.—The law or custom of the Jews,” says he, “requires seven days mourning for the dead, Antiq. B. viil. chap. vii. sect. 6. Whereas the author of the book of Ecclesiastes, ch. xxii. 19, assigns seven days as the proper time of mourning for the dead, chap. xxvii-17, enjoins men to mourn for the dead, that they may not be evil spoken of; for, as Jews

lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. No war was the order of the present nature, and the representations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men who had perished for the laws of their country, and for the temple; for it was ordered out, that a punishment should be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived, and that it was fit to close a person of such a fine life and dignity than was. 3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his return, he should be deprived of the power and dignity than was. 4. Accordingly he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his genera in a private way to them, and by him exhort them to be quiet. But the seditionaries threw stones at him, and drove him away, as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The Bl treatment they showed to others, who came to them after him, many of whom were wounded. And when they desired the people to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner; and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And indeed at the feast of the passover, a great deal of mixed wine with the Rabbins (that had been put to death,) and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent his tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, to disperse the multitude, which should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult, by force, to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were terrified, and the tribune, in the sight of the soldiers, killed them; but the tribunes fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so. After which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear
goer to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitude, by the way of the city, and the horsemen; and by night the plain, who, failing upon them on the sudden, with the reason of their sacrifice, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains; these were followed by Archelaus's herald, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes; whither they all went, and left the festival.

CHAP. II.

Archelaus goes to Rome with a great Number of his Kindred. He is there accursed before Caesar by Salome, but in some ways defended by him in Judgment, by the Means of that Defence which Niccolaus made for him.

§ 1. ARCHELAUS went down to the seaside, with his mother and his friends, Poplus, and Ptolemy, and Niccolaus, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went, also, along with him with her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality for the king's destruction. Niccolaus, of the laws, by what he had done at the temple.

2. But as they were come to Cesarea, Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, met them; he was going up to Judea, to secure Herod's effects: but Varus, (president of Syria,) who was come thither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus, Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time indeed, Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadel, to see the emperor, nor entered the city, but his father's money was laid up, but promised that he would lie still until Caesar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cesarea; but as soon as those that were his hindrances were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadel, and the stewards (of the king's) effects, and the sworn officers and accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadel. But the governors of those citadels were not mindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard the palace; so that he was neither forced nor bound to Caesar than to Archelaus.

3. In the mean time Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brothers, of the kindred, as much weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenus, the orator, upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome, although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws, [without a king,] and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fall in that point, these desired that Antipas might have it.

4. Sabinus did also assure these his assistance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Caesar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put them into Caesar's ears. After they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the same one, and gave it to, and, by Ptolemy, sent in his father's ring, and his father's accounts. And when Caesar had naturally weighed by himself what both had to say, he determined for himself, and also considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and arrangement of the revenues, and within the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had moreover read the letters he had received from Varus and Salome, in his opinion assembled the principal persons among the Romans together, (in which assembly Caesar, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julia, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat,) and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5. Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater, (who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the sharpest pleader,) and accused him in the following speech: "That Archelaus did in words contain for the kingdom, but that in deed he had long exercised royal authority, and so did but feign Caesar in desiring to be now heard on that account; since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, but he went away to Rome. Caesar had not yet determined even about the succession of Pilate. He did not appear before Caesar, but was called thither to Rome, as he was compelled in all things with the people in the requests they had made him to as to their kingdom, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father, for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he is not only to be seized of the kingdom, but he is, in order to his authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Caesar lord, not of things, but of words. He also reproached him further, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day-time, but drank to great excess in the night, from which behaviour, he said, the late disturbance among the multitude came, while they had an indignation thereon. And indeed the purport of the words was, not to urge Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he said, "there was such a number of dead, that it was difficult together in the temple, as even a foreign war, should that come upon them (suddenly,) before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foresight his father had of that, which was made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more in him, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son, whom he had for his second successor; and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion. That, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgment, when he was sick, was superior to that at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behaviour, and those his actions, which were contrary to the law, and which were contrary to reason, as of a king will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Caesar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it."
Then stood up Niclaus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged, that "the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided; that those who were slain greatly aided by the fact that Archelaus' kingdom only, but to Caesar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated, that Archelaus' accusers had advised him to perpetuate other things of which he might not have been accused. But Archelaus said that the latter testament should, for this reason, above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Caesar to be the person who should confirm the succession, and who showed such conspicuous revere from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor." 7. When Niclaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came and fell down before Caesar's knees, without any noise. Upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case; but when he had dismissed those that were present, he, on the day that he himself had deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments for Herod's successor, or whether the government should be part by part among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

CHAP. III.

The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus' Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jeru-

salum.

§ 1. Now before Caesar had determined any thing about these affairs, Maltchus, Archelaus' mother, fell sick and died. Let us also bring it out of Syria from Varus, about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came, after he was gone, and gave them as a trust all the robe of the temple, but for he compelled the keepers of the citadel to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers who were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all of whom he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast, which was observed after seven weeks, and which the Jews call Pentecost (i.e. the fiftieth day,) was at hand, its name being taken from the number of days (after the passover,) the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had [at the present state of affairs]. Wherefore an immense multitude ran out of the temple, and from Jerusalem, and Jericho, and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Juden itself were above the rest, both in number and in the sanctity of the men. So they distributed themselves in all parts, and pitched their camps in three places; one at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the temple, and surrounded it.

2. Now Sabinus was astirred, both at the multitude and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for that, if he delayed his legion would be out of pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Pallasades: it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was slain by him, and by the Pallasades, and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy; for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Here upon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and the Pallasades, and fought with the Jews; in which, while there were some over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them, by their skill, and the others' want of skill, in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the temple, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from so high, not so much more easy for having to maintain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3. Since, therefore, the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to their cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnificence and costliness. Whereupon those that above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; so the city was destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them there. The Romans also threw themselves down from the walls back ward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire, by smothering it with his own body, but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last, some of the Jews being delivered and others of the cloisters, the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away.

4. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple,] and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together, to oppose the Romans. They not only collected their wounded and slain, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly; for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legions. There were not only five thousand, but also ten thousand, a detached, the Romans, and assisted the Jews; yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebastas, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same. (O! how much of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse,) each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight, on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales of affairs. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus indeed was well contented to go out of danger he was in, but he distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment of them. In this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.
VIRGIL

BOOK II.—CHAP. V.

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the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And indeed in Iunoes two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers followed their own order of discipline, and fought against those of the king's party; against whom Achiaus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified; but so as to avoid a direct assault; and yet they were encountered, as well as Aretas the Arabian, (who, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,) Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius one of his friends with his regiment. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sephoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called Arus. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampo, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they found, and all the provisions belonging to them, all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plunderers of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his heart at the slaughter of those that were about Arus.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves; they also went away, and he set up and down the citizens, but the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt; and said, that they had raised no commotions, but had been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gra- tus, together with Rufus, who led those of the base, as we have already said; but he also met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone up before the rest of the city before this, to the king; but Varus sent two of his regiment to the country, against those that had been the authors of this commotion, and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults, he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty, he crucified; these were in number about two thousand.

3. He was also informed, that there continued in Idumææ, ten thousand men still in arms: but when he found that the Arabians did not like auxiliaries, but managed everything according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste with his own army to the public revenues; but those that had revolted: but these, by the advice of Achiaus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offences, but sent their captains to Cæsar to be informed of the same. Cæsar forgave the rest, but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen,) should be put to death, because they had engaged in war against a king of their own country. When therefore Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

CHA P. V.

Varus composes the Tumults in Judea, and crucifies about two thousand of the Seditionists.

§ 1. Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion (as he had left them.) So he made haste to
coive those stripes upon their faces (but not upon their backs, as hitherto.) Whereupon they prayed that the Romans would have compassion upon the [poor] remains of Judas, and not expose what was left of them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders, whereby it was demonstrated that the Jews are under the columny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones.

So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicolaus, and confirmed the accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation, as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinmen of Archelaus, who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3. So Caesar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward, he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of Ephraim, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, and made them also tetrarchs. He also gave a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip: while Idumea, and all Judea, and Samaria, were parts of the etharchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was casued of one queen's portion; but it came out of regard to their having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebasto, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus, was four hundred talents. Salome also had what the king and left of his kingdom, with what made mistress of Judas, and Ashod, and Phassaleia. Caesar did moreover bestow upon her the royal palace of Aeaces; by which all she got together a revenue of sixty thousand drachm of silver, and twice as much of corn, and in marriage to the sons of Pharaoh; but after this family distribution, he gave between what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself by some inscrutable presents a honour of the deceased.

CHAP. VII.

The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Gephyryia dies, after what was happen to both of them had been showed them in Dreams.

§ 1. In the meantime there was a man, who was named in a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freed-men, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome,
In hopes of not being detected, he had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and his Arkodus had been put away, and that he stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money from them by travelling in espionage, and thence sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal of money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he came there, and there, [Paul vii. 8. 9.] where he was[1523] of great consequence, he got very much money, and was used very well, which carried him so far, that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there which stood in the narrow places, through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

2. He was very much esteemed. The eyes were perfectly well the Amusements of Alexander's face, because he had been accused by Herod before him, doubted the truth of the story, even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went before him to have some weight with him, and brought Celedus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Caesar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance, and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a very robust and strong texture, and like that of a slave, he understood that the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said that he was preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both into their power while they were separate. Then did Caesar take him by the hand, and said to him, if you hold thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories. So he said, that he would discover him, and followed Caesar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the name of Rome, whom he said that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did when he was alive. Caesar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3. These effects were seized, and the book possession of his kingly authority, and used not the Jews only, but the Samaritans also, barbarously; and this out of his resentment of their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Caesar, and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Viches, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Caesar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Caesar, he seemed to see nine masts on a vessel that was expected by sea. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended, and when some of them had one interpretation, and others another, he thought that the present of the Es- 

4. I cannot but also think it worthy to be recorded, what dream Philemon, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, and that the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death, as before, already related. This Phyl- eum was married, after his death, to Judas king of Libya, and after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus, the etharch, saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Ma- rianne, who was then his wife, and married Phyl- eum. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her, "Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but art returned again to my family, to a third husband, and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine own for thy husband. I will not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Philemon hardly survived the nar- ration of this dream of here two days.

CHAP. VIII.

Archelaus's Etharchy is reduced into a (Roman) Province. The Sedition of Judas of Galilee. The three Sects of the Jews.

§ 1. And now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province; and Coponius, one of the equestrians order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and death] put into his hands by Caesar. Under his administration it was, that a certain Galilaean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were not Romans if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans, and would not hold God and would not hold their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2. For there are three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees, of the second the Sadducees, and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essenes. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essenes reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons' children as their own, while they have no doubt of keeping in esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

3. These men are desiers of riches, and so very communicative as raise the admiration, Nor is the number among them of such as have who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty, or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions, and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.
They think that oil is a delusion; and if any one of them be anointed, without his own approval, it is wiped off his body; for they think that beauty is a good thing, and that it also helps them to be clothed in white garments. They also have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs, who, every one of them, have no separate business for any, but what is for the use of the sect. For they have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own, and their sect, which they never knew before, as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them. For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for swarthy is a good thing to them. And in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as to make use, when in one of their meetings, not to allow the change of garments or of shoes, till they first be entirely torn to pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another, but every one of them lives according to what he hath to his mind, and what he wants, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they will have of whomsoever they please.

And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for, before sun-rising, they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this, every one of them is sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they live, whether it be the fifth hour or not. After which they assemble themselves together again into one place, and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification, they sit together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set their table. When the bakar driver lays them loaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. In some, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat, and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he bestows their food upon them; after which they lay aside their work, and those of their labours again till the evening: then they return home to supper, after the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house, appears to...

This practice of the Essenes, in refusing to eat, and abstaining from swearing on ordinary occasions wore thus profane, is delivered here in general words, as are the rest of our Saviour, Matt. viii. 21; of St. James, v. 12; but all admit of particular exceptions for solemn causes, and on great and necessary occasions. Thus three very Essenes, who here do so solemnly abstain from all, are to be understood. If the Essenes, however, could not be avoided, to swear truly; or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak truly, or, to speak true...
are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

8. But for those that are caught in any heinous or

serious crimes against their society, and he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the custom he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to part

take his food with the rest of the society, or from the common stores, but is forced to eat grass, and to furnish his body with hunger till he perish; for which reason they reason many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking they are given them by God, and they came to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they exercise they are most accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence, they cast out of their society, and he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the custom he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to part

take his food with the rest of the society, or from the common stores, but is forced to eat grass, and to furnish his body with hunger till he perish; for which reason they reason many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking they are given them by God, and they came to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the hand of death, the juniors are not allowed to marry, but must remain single for ever; and if the seniors become infirm, the juniors cannot marry, but must remain single. In this way the society preserves the purity of its membership, and is kept intact.

11. For their doctrine is this, That bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the soul is immortal, and that it exists in a state of suffering, or joy, and that it is destined to be judged after death, and to be rewarded or punished accordingly, according to the manner in which it has lived on earth.

12. There are also those among them who undertake to foretell things to come, by reading the holy books, and using the divine arts, and divining, and being per

manently conversant in the discourses of the prophets: and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Esen

iates, and it is the function of these to live in a way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of success-

sion; and their ascetic life, and that which they have given up, is not to do them any injury, but for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

trine concerning souls, both good and bad, in Hades, see that excellent discourse or eloquently of our Josephus concerning Hades and the infernal regions.

1. dreadisch reckons up three examples of this gift of prophecy in several of these Eseniacs out of Josephus himself, viz. in the History of the War, B. i. ch. iii. sect. 8. and in the Antiquities b. v. ch. xii. sect. 3. Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign but nine or ten years; and Agrippa B. i. ch. vii. sect. 3. Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign but nine or ten years; and Antig. B. x. ch. ii. sect. 5. Blanchebois b. v. ch. ii. sect. 4. and Euseb. i. 5. Blanchebois b. v. ch. ii. sect. 4. and Euseb. i. 5.
14. But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned. The Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of the laws of Moses, and in the administration of justice. They are said to be those who ascribe all to fate, [or providence,] and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men: although fate does co-operate in every action. They say, that all souls are immortal, but that the soul of good men only are removed into other bodies, but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Saddu- cees are those that compose the second order, and the race of Jannai exclusively, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil, and they say, that to act what is good or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other behooves so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of conciliation and respect for the person, but the behaviour of the Sadducees toward another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Salome. The Cities which Herod and Philip built. Pilate occasions Disturbances. Tiberius gots Agrippa into Bona, but Caesare frees him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.

§ 1. And now as the ethncrarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the adminstration of their own territories. Salome died, she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamias, as also her plantation of palm-trees that was in Phasaelis. But when the Roman empire was tresed, and regarded for the person; but the behaviour of the Sadducees towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

* There is so much more here about the Essenes than is cited from Josephus in Porphry and Eusebius, and yet so much less about the Phariases and Sadducees, the two other important sects, than would naturally be expected in collection to the Essenes, or else, in a case, it seems to be referred to of himself elsewhere, that one is tempted to suppose Josephus had it at first written less of the one, and more of the other, as we have seen, before the copies are here made up of the larger editions in the first, and the smaller in the second. See the note in Havercamp's edition. However, what Josephus says in the name of the Phariases, that only the souls of good men go out of one body into another, although all souls be immortal, is not anywhere to be found among them; also what he says afterward, Antiq. B. xviii. ch. 1. sect. 3, that the soul's vigour is immortal; and that under the earth they receive rewards or punishments according as their lives have been virtuous or vicious in the present world; that to the bad is allotted an eternal prison, but that the good are permitted to live again in this world, are nearly agreeable to the doctrine of Christ. Again, only Josephus's rejection of the wrath of God on other bodies, or into this world, which he reserves to the good, looks somewhat like a contradiction to

15. In the mean time Agrippa, the son of the Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Her- rod, came to Tiberias, to accuse Herod the t.
which bring it into, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into a gassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that gassy sand which in this mine becomes bare common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers with their wives and children into that plain that was between Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius, first for their laws, and in the next place, for themselves. So he was prevailed upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left his army and the statues at Ptolemais where he had stationed Agrippa from his bonds, and made him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had arrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod the tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him that it was only because he would not sail to Cæsar, that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Cæsar had on a former occasion not visited him, he would do more to advance him to a tetrarchy than to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herod, so that he came to Cæsar, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being made to bear the reproach of his person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarchy to that dignity. And this Cæsar commanded that his statue should be set up in the temple itself; and what Petronius did thereupon.

1. Now Cæsar Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to take himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of the greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as the Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place his statues in the temple, and commanded him, that in case the Jews would not admit of them, he should stay those that opposed them, and carry all the rest of the army with him himself, and with these his commands. However, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judæa, with three legions, and some Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them came out to meet them, in ambuscade, and set upon them; but those that did believe them were in the utmost distress how to defend themselves, and the terror diffused itself presently through them all; for the army was already come to Pæonia.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galileæ, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furigons off, belongs to Galileæ; but that on the south being five hundred and twenty furigons; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and is called by the people of the country, the Ladder of the Tyrians, which is at the distance of a hundred furigons. This is a hundred furigons; the distance of two furigons; near which there is Memnon's monument; and hath near it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and we took the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presently sent an epistle to Cæsar, and informed him of the irruption very particularly in Tacitus and Strabo, and more largely in Pliny.

† This Memnon had several monuments, and one of them speaks, both by Strabo and Diodorus, to have been in Syria, and not improbably in this very place.
he had made into Judea, and of the supplications of the nation, and that unless he had a mind to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their law, and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered, that epistle in a violent way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so tardy in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those who brought Caius, were taken off by the sea, and were all detained on the sea for three months, while others that brought the news of Caius’s death had a good voyage. Accordingly, Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius seven and twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Government of Claudius and the Reign of Agrippa. Concerning the Deaths of Agrippa and of Herod, and what Children they both left behind them.

§ 1. Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been slain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Punicus Severus, to the three pretenders to the thrones of soldiers that stayed with them to keep the city quiet, and went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

§ 2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both the senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent for him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him, as he should have occasion for his service. So he, perceiving that Claudius was in effect made Caesar already, went to him, who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let them know what his intentions were: That “in the first place, it was without him, he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it was not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him, and that if he should do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty; for that it was a dangerous thing to be then out of the power of the empire. He added farther, that he would administer the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he would be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor, but would, in every one of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for that although he had not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him a sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station.”

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa; to which the senate replied, That “since they had an army, and the wisest consuls on their side, there was no reason to consider a vassal slavery.”

When Claudius heard what answer the senate had made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message, That “he could not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given him their support to true him; for he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such a one; that he had no mind to fight; but that, however, if it must come to that,” it was proper to choose a place without the city for the war; because it was not proper to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own countrymen, and this only on occasion of their imputable conduct.” And when Agrippa had heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the meantime, one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, and cried out, “O my fellow-soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, to kill our brother, and not to use the law against the man that are with Claudius? While we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath so many just reasons [to lay claim to the government]; and this with regard to those against whom we are going to fight.” Thus they marched through the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon which all the patricians were immediately at a great fright at being thus deserted. But still, because there was no way within which they might deliver themselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and went to Claudius. But those that had the greatest lack in flattering the good fortune of Claudius between the walls, had still some swords, and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa cared for them, and told him what a great danger they were going about, and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most sincere to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiers, and received the senate into the camp, and so flew along with them, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lycaonia. This gift he declined at the beginning to receive, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tablets of brass, and to be set up in the capital. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Berenice, the tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, six Bernstein, Mariamme, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he also had a young child, who made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alteration of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity.

Now after this, Herod the king of Chaldea died, and left behind him: two sons, born to him of his brother’s daughter Bernice; their names were Berniceianus and Hyrcanus. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife, Salome. There was also another brother of his that died a private person; his name was also Aristobulus, who left behind him a daughter, whose name was Jeluspe; and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Herod, who were born to Berenice; and Alexander were born to Herod, by Mariamme, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander’s posterity, they reigned in Armenia.
CHAP. XII.

Many Tumults under Cumanus, which were com-
passed by Quadratus. Felix is Procurator of
Judea. Agrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a
greater Kingdom.

§ 1. Now after the death of Herod, king of
Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrip-
pa, over his uncle's kingdoms, while Cumanus
look upon him as the procurator of the rest,
which was a Roman province, and therein he
succeeded Alexander, under which Cumanus
seized the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on;
for when the multitude were come together to
Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, a
Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the
temple, (for they always were armed and kept
guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation,
which the multitude thus gathered together
might make, of the solemnity of the festival), to
garment, and, crowning down after an indiscern
manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and
spoke such words as you might expect upon
such a posture. At this the whole multitude had
heated up, and made a clamour to get away from
him, that he would punish the soldier; while the rab-
ber part of the youth, and such as were naturally
the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught
up stones, and threw them at the soldiers. Upon
which, the soldiers ran to the place where the sold-
iers should make an assault upon him, and sent to
call for more armed men, who, when they came
great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews
were in a very great consternation, and being
borne away by the multitude, they were carried
by the violence with which they crowded to get
out was so great, that they trod upon each other,
and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of
them were killed, insomuch that this business
became the more monstrous to the whole na-
tion, and every family lamented [their own rela-
tions.]

2. Now there followed after this another ca-
 исследова, which arose of the soldiery and mod-
ern robbers: for at the public road of Bethoron, one
Stephen, a servant of Cesar, carried some furniture,
which the robbers fell upon, and seized:
upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about
about the neighbourhood, and take in all the
inhabitants, and bring them bound, as laying it to their
charge that they had not pursued after the
thieves, and caught them. Now here it was
that a certain soldier, finding the sacred book of
the Jews, too, he said to it and gave it to another
and the fire." Hereupon the Jews were in great disor-
der, as if their whole country were in a flame,
and assembled themselves so many of them by
their zeal for their religion, as by an engine, and
ran together with the multitude to Cumanus,
and made supplication to him, that he
would not overlook this man, who had offered
such an affront to God, and to his law, but
punish him for what he had done. Accordingly,
he proceeded to the council of the Sanhedrin,
and put this question before them, whether
of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was
jail; and besides a vast number of people ran
together out of Galile, in order to fight with
the Samaritans; but the principal men among

* Relied notes here, that the Talmud, in recounting the accidents for which the Jews ought to read their
sufferings, reckons this for one. "When they bear that
the law, worse.

them came to Cumanus, and besought him, that
before the evil became incurable, he would come
into Galile, and bring the authors of this mur-
der to punishment, for that there was no other
way to make the multitude separate without,
coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed
their supplications to the other affairs he was
then about, and sent the petitioners away with-
out success.

4. But when the affair of this murder came to
be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into
disorder, and they left the feast, and without any
generals to conduct them, they marched with
great violence to Samaria; nor would they be
ruled by any of the magistrates that were set
over them, but they were managed by one Elea-
xar, the son of Dinesus, and by Alexander, in
these their turbulent and seditious attempts.—
These men fell upon those that were in the
neighbourhood, and they made a diligent inquiry
slew them, without sparing any age, and set the
villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen,
called the troop of Sebasie, out of Cesaras, and
came to the assistance of the people of Samaria;
he also seized upon a great number of those that
followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And
as for the rest of the multitude of those that went
so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the
rulers of Jerusalem ran to the camp of the Jews,
and advised them to put off the garments
and cloth, and having ashes on their heads, and
begged of them to go their ways, lest by their at-
tempt to revenge themselves upon the Samari-
tans, they should provoke the Romans to come
against Jerusalem. And therefore they
their country and temple, their children and
wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of
destruction upon them, in order to avenge them-
selves upon one Galilean only. The Jews
provided with the advice of those that dis-
persers themselves: but still there was a great
number who betook themselves to robbing, in
hopes of impunity, and rapines and insurrec-
tions which were happening in the whole
country; and the men of power among the Sa-
martans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quad-
ratus, the president of Syria, and desired that
they that had laid waste the country might be
punished: and the son of Jonathan, called Ananus,
the high priest, came thither, and said, that the Samaritans
were the beginners of the disturbance, on account of that
murder they had committed, and that Cumanus
the king had given them to do what they pleased, and
his unwillingness to punish the original authors
of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that
time, and told them, that when he should come
up to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry
after every circumstance. After which he went
to Cesaras, and crucified all those whom Cuma-
nus had taken alive; and when from thence he
was come to the city Lydus, he heard the affair
and ordered, that the Jews whom he had learned to have been con-
cerned in that fight, and beheaded them; but he
sent two others of those that were of the great-
est power among them, and both Jonathan and
Annumus, the high priest, as also Ananus the son
of this Annusus, and certain others that were
eminent among the Jews, to Cesar; as he did in
like manner by the most illustrious of the Sa-
martans. He also ordered that Cumanus [the pro-
curator] and Felix, for they were in Rome, in order to give an account of what had
been done to Cesar. When he had finished
these matters, he went up from Lydus to Jerusa-
lem, and finding the multitude celebrating their

* This Ummidius, or Numidius, or, as Tacitus calls him,
Pondimus Quadratus, is mentioned in an ancient inscrip-
tion, still preserved, as Spanicus, here informs us, which
calls him Indiculus Quadratus.
Before unleavened bread without any yeast, he returned to Antioch.

7. Now when Caesar at Rome had heard what Cæcullus and the Samarians had to say, (where for the bearing of Ananias, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cæcullus,) he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death: he dismissed Cæcullus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented; that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8. After this Cæsar sent Felix, the brother of Porcius, procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippina from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom, for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis: he added to him the kingdome of Lycaonia, and that province [Ableine] which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years eight months and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor, whom he had married to his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was Britannicus, by Messalina his first wife, and a daughter whose name was Octavia, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was Antonia.

CHAP. XL.

Nero adds four Cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other Parts of Judea were under Felix. The Disturbances which were raised by the Saracins, the Magicians, and an Egyptian false Prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a Contest at Cæsarea.

§ 1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, those that are related to the kingdome of Lycaonia to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was essayed to destroy Julius, which is in Lycaonia, and Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch robber, and many that were with him alive, when they had ravaged the country for twelve yeares with him, and sent them to Rome; but as to the number of the robbers he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and when he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

2. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, who were called Saracini, who stay men in the day-time, and in the midst of the city: this they did chiefly at the festivities, when they mingled with themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them, by their late repulsive act, in order to reputation that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men by the increase of their power, and their protection, and the weight of their numbers, were more and more the instruments of a dangerous evil. The next whom they slew was a magistrate, and the last, Plotinus, who was a man of great power and fame.

4. There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, who in the city, were the happy state of the city not worse than the murderers. These men, as deceived and deluded the people under pretense of divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government, were preserved with the multitude, to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would show them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horsemen and footmen, both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

5. But there was an Egyptian false prophet, that did the Jews more mischief than the former, for he not only taught his people to revolt from the power of the Empire, and to go on foot, and to eat grass and roots, and to go to the desert; but he also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him; these he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called the Mount of Olives, and was ready to break into the city, and to do consequence with the Romans. If he could but once conquer the Roman garrisons, and the people, he intended to dominate over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix invented his plot, and met him and his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, insofar that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptian ran away, with a few others, while the greatest part of the people, who were then in the city, either fell or taken alive: but the rest of the multitude here says in about countries very remote from Rome. "Tell them what he says of the Romans, the one over Galilee, the other over Samaria, at the same time, is without all example elsewhere; and since Josephus, who lived at that very time in Judea, appears to have known nothing of this procuratorship of Felix, before the death of Cæsarens, I much respect the story and believe it to be nothing better than a mistake of Tacitus, who very properly well refers the同样的故事，并且它不是完全由Josephus；但就这一点，我们必须把它看成是对??；因为有些人认为，也许某一个我们能理解的事件。"
were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6. Now when those were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation; for a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government; and the actions of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the sentence of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, a magistrate, but he who had released him. At this time those enterprises of the seditions at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their sedititious practices; while that part of the people who desired peace, and who delivered it to them, they concerned to such as had fellowship with Albinus: and every one of those wicked wretches was encompassed with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and appeared a judge over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation; for they, who had escaped, were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others.

7. There was also another sedition at Caesarea; those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there, raising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said, that he who built it was a Jew, meaning king Herod. The Syrians contended also that its builder was a Jew, but they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could have no other title. As both parties had a contest with one another, and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were now grown very valiant. They were disposed to tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches, and strength of body; but the Grecian party had the advantage of assistance from the soldiers; for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria, and being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were not disposed to see the seditious men that they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught all the remainder, or make those that were enraged less exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them that if they did otherwise, he would have them put to death; he, that he might obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had been plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most experienced men on both sides as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

CHAP. XIV.

Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus as he is by Florus; who, by the Barbarity of his Government, forces the Jews into the War.

§ 1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix, as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country, so he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus, who succeeded Festus, did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named, but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the nations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there, either by the sentence of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons, a magistrate, but he who had released him. At this time those enterprises of the seditions at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their sedititious practices; while that part of the people who continued in obedience to the Roman government, and delivered it to them, they concerned to such as had fellowship with Albinus: and every one of those wicked wretches was encompassed with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and appeared a judge over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation; for they, who had escaped, were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others.

§ 2. And though such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus, who was, that led the enterprises of the seditions at Jerusalem, was a very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their sedititious practices; while that part of the people who continued in obedience to the Roman government, and delivered it to them, they concerned to such as had fellowship with Albinus: and every one of those wicked wretches was encompassed with his own band of robbers, while himself, like an arch robber, or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and appeared a judge over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly. The effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation; for they, who had escaped, were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others.

§ 3. And truly, while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, nobody durst do so much as send an embassy to him against Florus; but when he came to Jerusalem upon the request of the whole nation, he sent bread, the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions; these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus a butcher of the whole country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quitted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florus should hereafter treat this in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch; Florus also third year of Trujan, or A. D. 105, as I have several times observed before; and immediately after the cessation of the Jewish war, at the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, or A. D. 65, the history in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities ends; at least, the description of those Jews who held the government of Judaea, or A. D. 63, twenty-seven years afterward; as he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life till Agrippa was dead, which happened in the third year of Trujan, or A. D. 105, as I have several times observed before; and immediately after the cessation of the Jewish war, at the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, or A. D. 65, the history in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities ends; at least, the description of those Jews who held the government of Judaea, or A. D. 63, twenty-seven years afterward; as he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life till Agrippa was dead, which happened in the third year of Trujan, or A. D. 105, as I have several times observed before; and immediately after the cessation of the Jewish war, at the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth of Agrippa, or A. D. 65, the history in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities ends; at least, the description of those Jews who held the government of Judaea, or A. D. 63, twenty-seven years afterward; as he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life till Agrippa was dead, which happened in the
conducted him as far as Cesarea, and delivered him, though he had at that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means he thought it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected that, if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Caesar; but that if he could procure them to be put to death, a war was worth all the laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery which was much greater; he therefore did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.  
4. Now this sad event happened, that the Greeks at Cesarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination; at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the first that he had brought upon the Jews, in the month of Artemisius [Jyar.] Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us. For the Jews that dwelt at Cesarea had a synagogue near the place, whose owner was a certain Cesarean Greek; the Jews had endeavoured frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, but the owner refused it at a value equal to its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of frontal to them, and made working shops of them, and left them a narrow passageway, which was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, they sent men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents, to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do it at their request, and therefore went away from Cesarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.  
5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding space to their synagogue, a certain man of Cesarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This grieved the Jews exceedingly, and made them so bad a degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted. Whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again; while the seditions part, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditions also among the [Gentiles of Cesarea stood ready for the same purpose; (for they had by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice to the gods,) and therefore were ready to fight.] and that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jacundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cesarea, the Jews caught up their books of the law, and retired to Narbata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cesarea sixty furlongs. But John, and his friend Philip, in the city, excited the people, and went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and with all possible decency put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the book of the law out of Cesarea.  
6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although many were ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seven talents out of the sacred treasure, and presented them to the messenger. But the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Caesar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some of them set up an image of Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about and begged some spils of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet he took this manner of treating them with any of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cesarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning there, he took away the occasion of my disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward of eight talents,) he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen, and declared war upon us, and made war by the will of the Romans, and might by his terror, and by his threatenings, bring the city into subjection.  
7. But the people were desirous of making Florus of his own accord take his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not make a show of receiving him in an obnoxious manner, whom they had so foulishly reproached before; and said, that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls, and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of peace to those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow; that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the greatest number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked, to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.  
8. Florus was more provoked at this, and lacer. (Lukis. ch. xiv.) It is also known that the Gentiles and the Jews made a number of accused persons, but now an accuser, vessel, the Jews were exposed as a leprous people; for that was to be done by their law in the cleansing of a prison, and accused them for carrying the book of the law out of Cesarea.  
9. Florus was more provoked at this, and
called out among the soldiers to plunder that which was called the upper market-place, and to stay such as they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not cease until they had reflected on the two above houses, and then they were affrighted together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not to provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude compiled immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus was truly relieved. The tumults were over, and endeavoured to kedge that same again, and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said, the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Caesarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the cohorts to the extent of the two cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them not to return the Jews' salutations; and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now as much as the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditions part would not comply with the instructions of their commander, but were desirous of those of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

4. At this time it was that every priest, and every servant of God, brought out the holy vessels and vessels, and the lamps of the temple, used to minister in sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymnus, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high priests themselves, with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any ornaments; and they besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offence betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste; saying, "We beseech you, that you would not suffer the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews! or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they salute them civilly, all bondage would be cut off from Florus to begin again, that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all further sufferings; and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to so few seditions persons, while it was fitter for

smooth Artemisia [Yarz.]. Now on the next day, the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to the upper market-place, and made the lowest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as could not be checked from the women and infants themselves, was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier, was this new method of Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order whipped" and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who although they were by birth Jews, yet were of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Bernice's Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, but in vain; as also here, after the seditions Flume was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.

1. About this very time king Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was committed to the care of his own people, the women of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse, and her guards, to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with them. And this was the case of the multitude of those already slain, or to the necessity of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers broke out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself, for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but indeed killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, where she was left, and all right with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that have served in a temple, and with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him (to spare the Jews.) Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the
them, who were so great a people, to force the others to act soberly."

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude, and to the seditionists, they restrained some by threats, and others by the reverence that they paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner, and when they were come up with them, they saluted them; but when they met with the seditionists, they manifested great alteration. Florus, which was the sign given for falling upon them. The soldiers therefore encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs, and as they fled away, the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body and making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down; for they were unloosed and broken to pieces by the multitudo of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relation as much as to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them, fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitudo through the place called Bezealia, as they overtook them, and seized upon the temple, and the tower Antonia. Florus also being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and making haste to get as far of the citadel [Antonia;] but his attempt failed, for the people turned back upon him, and stopped the violence of his attempt, and as they stood upon the tops of their houses, they threw their doors down upon those who were within, and were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude, which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

6. But for the seditionists, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple, through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined and cut it off from the town. This caused the avarice of Florus, for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple,] and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were breached, he attempted it for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them that he was indeed himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire: hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations in case he would leave them one band; but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill-will against that band, on account of what they had suffered from it; so he engaged the best, and they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cæsarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Cestius sends Neopolitanius the Tribune to see in what Condition the Affairs of the Jews were.

Agrippa makes a Speech to the People of the Jews, concerning the Reasons of their Intentions of making War with the Romans.

§ 1. HOWEVER, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government,] and impeded the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended they had been the authors of that discourse which they had said in the Temple when they were on the siege; they had desired, and the others had agreed, that they were to go up with their army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a more regular way. Yet they continued under them: but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intention of the Jews. Accordingly he sent one of his tribunes, whereas was Neopolitanius, who met with king Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errand he was sent.

2. And it was that the high priests, and men of power among the Jews, as well as the sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return;] and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities, and said that they had not been so unjustly treated as Agrippa had met with from Florus. At which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred, after a noble manner, his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might best decrease the numbers that were destroying the city. He would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated, in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desiring to make the king happy, said that they had understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good: but, as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanius; but the wives of those that had been slain, came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentations also, and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also cried out, 

"Agrippa, see to Neopolitanius and to the Jews' misfortunes, that they had endured under Florus and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market-place was made desolate, and the houses plundered. They then put upon the cloisters and the temple the ceremonies, that he would walk round the city, with only one servagent, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself, that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for the good temper they had, and exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such parts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do, he returned to Cestius. 3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king, and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasions of such great slaughter as had been done, and were displeased also, alleging that they should seem to have been the side of the temple, and not far from the tower Antonia, en-8. The Return of the Jews to the Temple amounts to the same, and that the only remaining cloisters are but three. See Maim-
first beginnings of the war, if they did not prevent the rage by showing who it was that bore it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to approach the Roman camp, yet, in order to show their patience; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicted. Let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are ready to abuse you. Incurably you are, by the Romans who thus injure you, nor hath Caesar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you; it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who use in this, cannot be thought men of the greatest; nor indeed is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one; to do so with such mighty people, for a small cause: and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain; nay, such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is that the successors of this man will come in more moderate temper. But as for war, it if be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unreasonable to indulge; for it will not be long since that you will be found eagerly in old time that you might never have lost it; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but this has been but too long. One brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have had the liberty in the Roman army. But it was not, when you came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money and [strong] bodies, and [valiant] souls, did not bear the onus of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted in your circumstances, will ven
tage yourselves; you shall separate those privileges that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty! If you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaints against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in serv
grave of the earth for small occasions, by the politeness of their composition, and their
are contented to admit the same lords. These Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had subjected them the Empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason to fear than to hope for. They who have made subject to them the Empire over the world, these are not to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war in order to keep their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in dread and awe, and are hardly so many as are their cities: nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and sea be it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and the Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Roman foe extended and searched the borders of Havre, and have walked among the clouds upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so far as to have to consider the Roman arms remote from home. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Roman arms were no opposites to them. Yet there are others: yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despiseth death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, and have the might of numbers, and the dangers of wars, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became the servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who stand on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away from them, and subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of the world, and where there are a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should I speak much more about this matter? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and drenched with such mighty forces, are all In the region of the Romans; whereby you may see if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under Roman sway, you tell me, if you would be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brass, of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phoenician origin, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyprians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmarae, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syriacs, a race terrible to the world, either our city, or our kingdom, nor have they the Universe in either hand, nor do they have the advantage, which might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature. On the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them, yet they are always attacking men, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them; nay, have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over all the world. They have no other thing to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war in order to keep their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in dread and awe, and are hardly so many as are their cities: nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and sea be it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and the Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. 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Nor indeed have the Cyprians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmarae, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syriacs, a race terrible to the world, either our city, or our kingdom, nor have they the Universe in either hand, nor do they have the advantage, which might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature. On the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them, yet they are always attacking men, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them; nay, have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over all the world. They have no other thing to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war in order to keep their liberty; but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in dread and awe, and are hardly so many as are their cities: nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and sea be it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and the Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Roman foe extended and searched the borders of Havre, and have walked among the clouds upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so far as to have to consider the Roman arms remote from home. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Roman arms were no opposites to them. Yet there are others: yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despiseth death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, and have the might of numbers, and the dangers of wars, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive became the servants; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who stand on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away from them, and subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of the world, and where there are a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should I speak much more about this matter? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and drenched with such mighty forces, are all In the region of the Romans; whereby you may see if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now when almost all people under Roman sway, you tell me, if you would be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brass, of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phoenician origin, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyprians, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmarae, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syriacs, a race terrible to the world, either our city, or our kingdom, nor have they the Universe in either hand, nor do they have the advantage, which might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature. On the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the
besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintained the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, often suffer inconceivable disgrace to themselves, although they have but few Roms, or among them, that abides among them. And indeed what occasion is there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighborly lands? This country, part of the land of the Ethiopians and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India: it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, and so many beyond the borders; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is, besides, exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome, that supports it for a year. It is divided into two parts, being seated on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found so strong for the Roman good fortune; hence the Romans take arms and bridle both for the remotest parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from another land, who are not inhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are under the Romans. Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in the country called Syria, which is hard to be observed even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and how can you observe the custom of the sabbaths, and will not be prevailed on to do anything thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in this kind of the Romans, which is due to Caesar; and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the town Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, and in all, the tributes, for the city of Joppa, and for the Sabbatical year, as Suspendam observeth from the Antiq. B. iv. ch. 2. sect. 6.

mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being base. But it was best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storms, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes, for we justly pity those who fall into great danger, but in the midst of a storm, but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration.] But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans get you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for the Romans, by virtue of war, will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have here after. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them who dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also and for the sake of that, you will not be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to murder them, since those that are so strong. Have pity, therefore, if on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourself; for hence, getting you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully required. I call to witness your sanctuaries, and the holy angels of God, and this city shall have its own, that is, all, the more reason to turn back any thing that is for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice, which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge your passions, you will but run those hazards which, I shall be free from."

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people; but still they would not return to the city against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means."

To which Agrippa replied, "that what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans for you; for you have not to thank which is due to Caesar; and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the town Antonia. You will therefore prevent any occasion of revolt, if you will but join these together again, for the city of Joppa does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

CHAPEL XVII.

How the War of the Jews with the Romans began. And concerning Manahem.

§ 1. This advice the people heartened to, and went up into the temple with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters: the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was due to the war. And they also put a stop to that war which was threatened. Moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Caesar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and
get him excluded out of the city: nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, he only urged the confusion he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus, to Cesareas, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

2. And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress called Masala. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and stripped those of their own party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that resided in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account; and when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice, which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed upon. These relied much upon their multitude, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them, and had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal men of the Pharisees; and thinking all this to be a disgrace that their nation was becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, while the high priest and the king [to hand, the priest] which looked toward the sunrising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country: after which they confuted their pretence as unjustifiable, and told them, that their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them, as a sign of nation for that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice, (which would be the highest instance of impiety,) that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple which were still visible. And then, during a time of peace, they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should ever be introduced in the case of a single person only, he would have indignation at it. If, for nothing of inhumanity determined against him; while they have no regard to the Romans or to Caesar, and forbid even their oblations to be received also: that is, lest by rejecting his sacrifices, they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and indeed amounting to what they feared foreigners) before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured.

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the custody of the temple, who, throughout the city, reported, that "all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations." But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said;
king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest, and the ambassadors that had been sent to the Romans. And the people were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month [As], they made an assault upon Antonius, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison, and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and pitied them into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed them into the breaches and retrenchers, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one with another either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weak for want of food, and those within supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

8. In the mean time one Manahem, the son of Judas, that was called the Zealot, Maccabeus, and had formerly prospected the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans, took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada, where he broke open the doors; Here he arrayed them, and more especially to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of the sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege, but when they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it together, and so, from the head of it, that they set fire on what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they meet with another wall that had been built within the besiegers, and which was the hand of what they were doing, and probably the tower shook as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification, which, when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were turned that way for a purpose. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers, and their weariness was upon only, who went out accordingly; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security, that they would not make them forsake it, and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it; so they deserted their camp as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers, that called Hecatomnus, and that called Pharamas, and that called Marthamne; but Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and piled the walls to their houses, and sent them to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpeius [Eul.]

9. But on the next day the high priest was caught, where he had concealed himself in an apartment; he likewise, together with the robbers, hereupon the seditions besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel, and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute him, he changed the manner of the management of affairs with him, he being better than an insupportable tyrant; but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how "it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to kill with liberty their countrymen, and make them widows and orphans, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves; as also, that in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter that they should give that privilege to one rather than to him," they made an assault upon him in the temple; for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in the temple; and the robbers felled violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought, that if they were once rained, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one as he had pleasure; and those who were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem; he departed the same day to Samar and afterward: as for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called Ophra, and there lay skulking in private; but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all; they then tortured him with many sorts of tortures, and after all slew him: they did by those that contained under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was Apasalmon.

10. And I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, and in this manner it happened that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metillus, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, they were more earnest in sparing their lives only, but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorton, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias; the Zealot and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security of their right hands, and of their oaths, after which Metillus brought down his soldiers, which soldiers, while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any inconsiderable nor by appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no farther suspicion of any harm, but were going away, Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them, while they neither defended themselves, nor entertained for mercy, but only cried out upon the retreat of the rest to have their lives. And thus were all these men barabaraously murdered, excepting Metillus; for when he entertained for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew, and be circumcised, they saved him alive. But his beard, that was already long, was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army; but still it appeared to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they
saw that men occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations, from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape vengeance from the Romans so that city was filled with sadness and fear by the moderateness in them it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditionis; for indeed it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the sabbath day, on which the Jews have a reverence from their works on account of divine worship.

CHAP XVIII.
The Calamities and Slaughters that came upon the Jews.

1. Now the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain,] which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch, that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Plutarch caught such as were running away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid hands on the sons of the Scythopolis, and its neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebastea, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara, and Hippos; and falling upon Gabaon, some cities they destroyed there; and some they made their capital and their belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cæsarea; nor was either Sebastea [Samaria] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burst the doors to the ground, they entirely demolished Anathoth and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew: for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they had of them, but also to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one from the destruction of the other; since the day time was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaeans in apprehension also and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of grasping the plunder they did not fail to kill their own men, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle towards them; for they without fear plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honour who got the greatest share, he having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together; women also lay amongst them, without any covering for their nakedness; you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, which fell upon the Tyrians, and to whom those which were threatened, was everywhere greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners, but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies: for as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their arm to their piety, and marched against their own countrymen; may, these insubcrancy was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city by the sea, and so destroy it, and to their destruction; they should go out of the city, with their families, to a neighbouring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to come secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded, some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

4. It will deserve our relation what befell Simon: he was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished not only by the greatness of his body and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently frequented the house of Kindus, and to Cæsarea, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cæsarea; nor was either Sebastea [Samaria] or Askelon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burst the doors to the ground, they entirely demolished Anathoth and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

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of the Jews. But still conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame: for when the Alexandrians, by a public assembly, to deliberate about an embassy they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theatre; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and charged them with their sins: and perhaps they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despaired their attempts; but I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commissination of these tumults; for they caught them and held them for so to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man; and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this did not begin till they wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the sedition made a jest of the eminencies of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent them out upon a tour, and they discovered, to the Jews were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who by chance were come together out of Libya, to the rule of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to demand of the other Jews if they would set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called Delta, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bid, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back, they were destroyed unmercifully, the destruction of many Jews being caused in the open field, and others forced into their houses, which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown them, and no one appeared before a magistrate; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps; nor had the remainder been preserved and they not been themselves to supply them. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire: accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria being so madly full of hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

9. And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon, Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were every where up in arms; so he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entirely, and out of one eighth of the rest by the sea shore, and, with six cohorts of footmen, and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus

* Of this Sosemus we have mention made by Tactius. We also learn from Dio, that his father was king of the Arabines of Iutae, which Iutae is mentioned by Str. Lyc. ii. 1; both, whose testimonies are quoted here by Dr. Norden. S. 2. Nolin. No. 371.

† Spenheim notes on the places, that this latter Antichus, who was called Euphrasias, is mentioned by Dio, in page 845, and that he is mentioned by Iosaphat twice also, B. v. ch. iii. sect. 3, and Antipat. B. xii. ch. viii, sect. 1.
wart two thousand horsemen, and three thou-
sand footmen, with as many archers: and Agrippa I,
the king of the Romans, was at Caesarea, and one
thousand horsemen; Sohemos also followed with
four thousand, a third part whereof were horse-
men, but most part were archers, and thus did
he march to Ptolemais. There were also great
numbers of horses, and cavalry. He sent to the
free cities, which indeed had not the same
skill in martial affairs, but made up in their allure-
city and in their hatred to the Jews what they
wanted in skill. There came also along with Cestius
Agrippa, who came alone, both by land in his
march over the country, and a director what was
fit to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces,
and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of
Gallies, which was called the city of men, and di-
vided the army of Ptolemais into four nation:
this he found deserted by its men, the multitude
having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of
good things; those he gave leave to the sol-
siers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although
it was of admirable beauty, and it housed built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus.
After this he overran all the country, and seized
upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and
then turned back to Ptolemais. But when the Sy-
rians, and especially those of Berytus, were
busy in plundering, the Jews pulled up their courage
again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind,
scandalously, and destroyed about two thousand
of them.
10. And now Cestius himself marched from
Ptolemais, and came to Caesarea; but he sent
part of his army before him to Zabulon, and gave
order, that if they could take that city [by sur-
pise], they should keep it; but that in case the
citizens should perceive they were coming to
attack them, that they then should stay for him and
not fight the army. But none of the army made
a brisk march by the seaside, and some by land,
and so coming upon them on both sides, they
took the city with ease; and as the inhabit-
ants had made no provision beforehand for a
flight, nor were there enough for fighting,
the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all,
with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was
eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius Agrippa also went to the city of Dor, and
sent men to the toperarchy of Nabaton, that
adjoined to Caesarea, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plun-
dered what they had, and burnt their villages.
11. And now he being made commander of the
twelfth legion, into Gallies, and delivered to him
as many of his forces as he supposed suffi-
cient to subdue that nation. He was received by
the strongest city of Gallies, which was Sep-
phira, with acclamations of joy; which was the
conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the
cities to be quiet; while the seditious part of the
robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in
the very middle of Gallies, and is situated over
against Jerusalem, it is called Amonem. So Cae-
seus brought his forces against them; but while
those men were in the superior parts above the
Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the
Romans, as they made their approaches, and
slew about two hundred of them: but when the
Romans had gone round the mountains, and were
approaching over their mountains, the others were soon beaten, nor could they who had
only light armour on, sustain the force of the
Romans that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemy's blockading forces. And when they had sealed themselves in certain places hard to
come at, among the mountains, while the rest,
above two thousand in number, were slain.

CHAPTER XIX.

What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his besieging Jerusalem, he was restrained from the
City, without any just Occasion in the Jewish War.
For the present, the Jews he under-

1. And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that
looked towards an innovation in Gallies, re-
turned with his army to Caesarea; but Cestius
removed with his whole army, and marched to
Antipatris. And regarding that passage there
was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a
party before to fight them; but this party dis-
sembled on the Jews by straggling before them it
came to a head; so they came about the camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the village
that lay about it. But when Cestius had march-

ed from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city
empty of its men, for the whole multitude was
gone away; and coming to Jerusalem to the feast.
yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed
themselves, and burnt the city; and so marched
forwards; and as Cestius came to Jerusalem, he
did not appear as a man that was in war, but his
forces were delivered up to the Jews, who
the Old Testament, p. 48. 50.—We have also in this and the next section two eminent facts to be observed, viz., the first example that I have met with of the Jews' enemies upon their country when their men were brought up to Jerusalem to one of their three great festivals of the year, during the decency, Gallus and others proposed to preserve their towns. Exod. xxiv. 1. That was the
is this, the breach of the Sabbath by the sedition Jew is an
offensive fight, contrary to the universal doctrine and practice of the Jews, and to what they themselves afterward practiced in the rest of the war. See the note on Act. xvi. ch. b. sect. 4.
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hence, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and for the most part all the places within the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such a disaster was overtaken upon them, their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to quit fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borsus and Phæbus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them, near Cestius should give them his right hand, to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the soldiers, hearing that the whole multitude of them, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall upon and kill the ambassadors: accordingly they slew Phæbus before he said a word, but Borsus was thrown into prison, where he remained many days, and guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slipped off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, within which this general fort, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gates of the temple.

4. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the multitude, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city by so much as might be taken immediately: but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, and he and the rest of his party, a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the averison God had already at the city* and the sanctuary, that he was hindered from putting an end to the war that very day.

5. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged despaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and that, while the soldiers stood guard, and the multitude prepared for battle, they might be seized by the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the hindmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the army, and threw darts upon them obliquely, nor durst they overlook those that stood in their pace, nor those that wounded them behind, as imagining that the multitude of those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those that pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and were afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews were light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was

5. In the mean time, many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by ananus, the son of Jotham, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him: but he overlooked this offer, partly out of anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest, whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances, and with their arrows shot at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose; but on the sixth day, Cestius took a great many of the choicest men, and with them the arrows, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it: but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire; but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like. But those that were on the right did those that were on the left in the same manner; and the soldiers guarded themselves with what they call Testudo, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slid off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, within which this general fort, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gates of the temple.

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* There may be another very important and very providential reason be assigned for this strange and foolish retreat of Cestius; which, if Josephus had been now a Christian, he would have been more careful to have avoided. For was not that the avenging the Jewish Christians in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction and caution given by Amos sixty and three years before, that when they should see the abomination of desolation (the idolatrous Roman armies, with the image of their idols in their ensigns, ready to lay Jerusalem desolate) standing where it ought not, or in the holy place, or

when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, they should then flee to the mountains. By complying with which those Jewish Christians fled to the mountains of Judea: thus was also foretold the destruction of the temple, which was Accompli. of Prop. p. 60, 70. Nor was there, perhaps, any one instance of a more transportable, but more providential, conduct than that of all the Christians and Jewish people within the whole siege of Jerusalem; which yet was providentially such a great tribulation, as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time; see, nor ever shall be. Deut. p. 70, 71.
the reason why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to ravage themselves upon the Jews, as they were greatly surprised in their ranks and their ranks were put into disorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; amongst whom were Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinius the tribune, and many others of the companions of the Emperor's horsemen. So it was not without difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the loss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Caesius stayed two days, and was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but when, on the third day, he saw a still greater number of enemies, and all the parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his own destruction, and that if he delayed longer the time, he should have still more enemies upon him.

8. That, therefore, he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what might hinder his army's march; so they killed the mules, and other cattle, and burned their darts and machines, which they retained for their own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should seize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Beth-horon, where the Jews did not follow upon them when they were in large open places, but when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then did some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them; and so they were but hindered to meet down into the lower places, and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the foot soldiery knew not how to defend themselves, the danger pressed the horsemen still more, for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the soldiers were so high, that the horses were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also, and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tumbled down, were such on each side of them, that there were neither place for their flight, nor way of escape, so they thought it for their defence; till the distress they were at last in so great, that they betook themselves to lamentations, and to such mournful cries, as men use in the utmost despair; the joyful acclamations of, alas, they were taken away with tears, as one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced, and were in a rage. Indeed, things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost cut off their army in two, and not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Beth-horon, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out [in the morning].

9. And then it was observed that Caesius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away; and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications, and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched, without any noise, thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them, and their terrors did not the less, as he had been ready made use of a great part of the night in

* From this name of Joseph the son of Gorion, or Gorion the son of Joseph, as B. iv. ch. iii. sect. 6 is one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the massacre by the soldiers. B. iv. ch. vi. sect. 1 the much

his flight, and still marched quainter when it was day. Insomuch that the soldiers, through the vanities of that feature, left the arms of their engines for sieges, and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Autipatria, after which, seeing they could not take them, they left the engines, and took the engines, and spoilt the dead bodies, and gathering the prey together which the Romans had left behind them, came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they themselves lost few only, and lost sight of the Romans five thousand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dios, [Marchevas,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

CHAP. XX.

Caesian sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus lay those Jews that lived with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had [left off] pursuing Caesius, return to the City, and get things ready for its Defence, and make a great many Generals for their Armies, and put their affairs in good Order, and make a Peace with Bithynia. Some Account of his Administration.

§ 1. After this calamity had befallen Caesius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink; Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, and Florus, and Placidus, and the other leaders of the party of Jacinus, who was the commander of king Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Caesius. But then he saw Antipas, who had been bemoaned with them in the king's palace, would not stay away with them, but was penned in, but the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Caesius sent Saul and his friends, of his own desire, to Achasia, to Nero, to inform him that he had done in and by the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

2. In the mean time the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of these Jews that were among them; and as they had them already copped up together in the places of public exercises, which they had done out of the fear of the multitude, they now expressed great rage against those among them that should meet with no difficulty in the attempt; yet did they distrust their own wives, who were of most all of them addicted to the Jewish religion; on which account it was, that their greatest compassion was for the young women, who did not the least time from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Caesius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence, and some they persuaded by [brutal] reasons to join with them, and get together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war; Joseph also, the son of Gorion, and Anazarus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city; for they did not disdain Eleazar the son of Simon to that office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they took from Caesius, and had it with a great part of the public treasures, because they later Jewish author of a history of that nation takes it for granted that the temple was burnt by the Romans, and is mentioned by the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, but the forest is too great to be put upon the learned world.
After he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were in their behaviour like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Bezaer's money, and the subtle tricks used by him brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

4. They also chose other generals for Idumae., Jesus, the son of Sepphoris, one of the high priests, and they also appointed, for the care of other parts of the country, but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as a general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Peræa, and John the Essene, to the toparchy of Tæmæ; Lydda was also added to his province, and this is, and Esæus. But John the son of Matthias, was made the governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabatæne, as was Josephus the son of Matthias, of both the Galileæ. Gamala also, which was a city in those parts, was put under his command.

5. So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with what soberness and prudence they could, and as to Josephus, when he came into Galileæ, his first care was to gain the good-will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should there have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious of himself, and of the use of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends, and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands with justice. He sent persons of his acquaintance in whom he was well acquainted, he chose out seventy of the most prudent men, and of the elders, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galileæ, as he chose seven judges in every city, adding the lesser province of the people, of greater causes, and those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be brought to him and the seventy elders.

6. Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for the different cities, in regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself to make provisions for their safety against external violence; and as he knew the Romans would fall upon Galileæ, he built walls in every city, and gave the command to Næcan and Baræsææ, and Sabæææ; and besides these, about Capua, and Japha, and Sepphoris, and Sisicæ, and Lydæ; and in Capaneæ he fortified Scæææ, and Sogæææ, and Gamala; and as to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to build their own walls, and this because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, and ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpose. The case was the same with Gischæææ, which had a wall built about it by John the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus; but for the building of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured that they should be made as complete and durable as possible. Yet he did present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got together an army out of Galileæ, of more than a hundred thousand young men, all of whom he armed with the old weapons, which he had collected together and prepared for them.

7. And when he had considered that the Roman power became invincible, chiefly by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, and desirous of teaching these men the use of their arms, which was to be obtained by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing to the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions of his army as follows: He made his officers of the Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed the soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captains of a hundred, and captains of thousands; and besides these he had commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signals one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets, how to expand and contract the ranks of an army, and make them wheel about, and when one wing had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in the defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in what concerned the courage of the soldiers, and the hardness of the bodies, and all the exercises were performed for them, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of the Romans, and that they were to fight with men who, both by the strength of their body and of their discipline, had conquered in a manner the whole habitable earth. He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from indulging themselves in, such as theft, and robbery, and rapine, and from desiring their own countrymen, and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of him to him, to be any advantage to them. For thus he managed the best when the warriors preserve a good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life, will not only have those for enemies who attack them, but God himself also for their antagonist.

8. And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the war such an army as was sufficient, i.e. sixty thousand footmen, and two hundred and fifty horsemen; and besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, there were

"docut in martials affaire. Yet may we discern in his very high character of Ananias the high priest, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 2, who seems to have been one of the successors of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, to be stoned, under Albinus the procurator, when he wrote these books of the war, he was not so much as an Ebionite Christian; otherwise he would not have fallen, according to his usual custom, to have reckoned this his barbarous murder as a just punishment upon his enemies. But Josephus, rather, only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Now, had he been then a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without the word of either the condemnation of James or crucifixion of Christ, as he did when he became a Christian afterward.

† I should think that the number of 60,000 footmen should require many more than 250 horsemen; and we find Josephus had more horsemen under his command than 250 in his future history. I suppose the number of the thousand is dropped in our present copies."
about two thousand five hundred mercenaries; he had also six hundred men as guards of his body. Now the cities entirely maintained the rest of his army, excepting the mercenaries, for every one of the cities enumerated above sent one hundred archers and their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that served were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning John of Chickala. Josephus uses Stratagems against the Plato John laid against him; and recovers certain Cities which had revolted to him.

1. Now as Josephus was then engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Chickala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning, and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other inhabitants there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow any where. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wealth were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He had great yet a gainin g credit to his fictions; he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity; but where he had no interest, and where the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from those mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at vie winning; but in some things he was certain of his component in his prudent practices; at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on in his evil course, they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their evasions, but he increased the number of what had run away from its villages; and by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to rise among them.

2. John's great wealth had hindered him to restrain him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust to him the repairing of the walls of his native city. [Chickala, which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were used to take a large sort of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders: so he bought four amphorae more of money out of the value of four Attic drachmae, and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the money with which he was to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege. And, as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee, so he gave orders to the robbers that were under his command, to be more wreakers in their thievish expeditions, that, by the rise of men that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snare, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overturn the robber, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report, that Josephus had received the administration of affairs to the Romans, and many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

3. Now at the same time that certain young men of the village of Debarrita, who kept a mine of gold, were carried by John, and the city was Agrippa and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him, among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred talents of gold, yet were they not content to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus, to Tarichea. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and his men, and deposited what they had taken with Euseius, the most powerful of Tarichea, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time, which set of Josephus's brought him into the greatest danger; for those that had stolen the things had an insurrection at him, both because they disputed so share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what was the property of the king, and his queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them: they also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities, in order that in the meantime armed men came running together; which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome at Tarichea, and made a very peevish demand against him; while some cried out, that "they should kill him"; others cried out, that "they should burn him." New John irritated great many, as did also one Jesus the son of Sophias, who was then governor of Tiberias. This it was that Josephus's friends, and the guards of his body, were so affrighted at the violent onset of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was a sleep, they snatched him, as the people were going to set fire to their house. And although those four that remained with him do not give the truth, as we neither surprised at his being himself seized, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands bare, and his body black with soot. At this sight, his friends, especially those of Tarichee, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in his neighbourhood to whom his government was most agreeable, reproached him at the violent action of those who thereby contrived to set those that were angry at him at variance one with another, about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all; he therefore was more obliging towards the king, who intended to send this money back to Agrippa, not to gain it myself; for I did never esteem that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage; for, as the king of Tarichee, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the province of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to
saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which joy Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea-shore, and left them still cut off at that instant. And when he came to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high, he then seizes on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake. 7. But now to return to the matter of his taking up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters: but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and that it should bring the multitude to the utmost; so he sent among his party to tell them, that they should do more than provide for their own safety, that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any for the occasion they had afforded [of a disorder.] Accordingly these men obeyed his orders and were quiet; but the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus; and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out that they were come against John, the common enemy of his name, which he would not do, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good-will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to assemble the multitude otherwise, but have, nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make; but he said, that he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him, that might pacify the city, and likewise he gave them the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had them whipped till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the mean time the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in about what they claimed of him. He said, and accordingly, he sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly afflicted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away. 6. But as for John, his envy grew greater (and so was it generally the case) and he set a new plot against him; he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias, for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John; which favours, when he had made use of, in two days' time did what he had said, and he was set upon delusive frauds, and with others, money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and intimated to him the plot against him; which spied when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him there, and he found that he was not for his advantage, sent, however, one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that, being confined to his bed, he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as he had gone, Josephus met him together in the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people
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four commanders by stratagem, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, be sent them to Jerusalem; and the people of Gallilee had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay, not only these forces. but those that sent them also, had not those forces prevented it by running away.

8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala, by the fear he was in of3 John's men; but a few of Heriads revolted again, the people within it inviting king Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there.] And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen passed by the city, he took up and ran out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Tarichaeas, and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out against the Romans or be safe; he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the Sabbath-day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem; and in the first place he ordered the gates of Tarichaeas to be shut, that nobody might get out to those of Tibersias, for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about; he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four marines. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city, that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and down there, while himself, with a few of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished, that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession besought him to spare the city.

9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the masters of the city, and the Romaeans were in the possession of it, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that besides they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him who took effectual care, and had not been the cause to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls; that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Tiberias, to conform those that were in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Tiberias.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Citas that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only]; but Josephus, whose in-

tention it was to slay nobody, commanded one I.a-

vius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the

vessel, in order to cut off both Citas's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone, to touch a body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Citas saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself; he begged therefore from the shore, that he would go out and lead him forth a few of the Tiberians prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships; and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he took Gischal-

a, which had revolted with the people of Sep-

hori, and girt their inns, and put them out of the

city; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants, and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sephoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good-will, by restoring them their money again.

CHAP. XXII.

The Jews make all ready for the War. And the Son of Gierses falls to plundering.

1. And thus were the disturbances of Giel-

es quieted, when, upon their own request, they exe-
cute their civil dissensions, they betook them-
selves to make preparations for the war with the Romana. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were in the interest of the Romans, both re-
paired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil. Although the multitude of the young men was great, they still continued in order, and made the city appear very regular, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the moderate sort were exceedingly sad, and a great many there were who, out of the prospects they had of the calamities that were to befall the nation, were looking to such times. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils, by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and others were such as were used to the coming of the Romans against it. was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's con-

cern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the prepa-
rations for the war, and to persuade the multi-
itude to consider of the safety of the city, and the security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently, and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he laid them to be cried a great way out of the city. He then considered that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf, under one another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Tiberias, to conform those that were in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Tiberias. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Citas that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only]; but Josephus, whose in-

* I cannot but think this stratagem of Josephus, which is related both here and in his life, sect. 35, 38, to be one of the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whatsoever.
BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS, TO THE TAKING OF GAMAŁA.

CHAP. I.

Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero, in order to make War with the Jews.

§ 1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was as brave as any of his ancestors; yet this case was rather owing to the negligence of the commander, than to any value of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bore the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes as these, he left Judea without any one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was growing an old man already in it. This mission came from a sovereign, who was exasperated in warlike deportment: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before, whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience, and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the nourishing age they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's guidance. This interposition of Providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterward. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were to be sent to Judea, and gave him the necessary instruments to make him effectual; that he might be able to pacify the Romans and proclaiming war, and to make them deliver up their armies and flatteries, such as they were then, to the Romans and the Jews, the whole city of Idumea, called Sela; some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.
3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken so by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were incited by their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with great swifter fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambuscades for them in the passages that led to their city, which they fell into, and unexpected, and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were also eight thousand of them slain in all the ten of the river that ran near, and with them Niger, who still did great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called Beszedal. However, Antony was and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most part of them to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, and there remained the greater part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spoke out of the ground to those that with great lamentations were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral; and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army, consisting in the nations of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable earth, that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude, and other marks of prosperity, where he found king Archelaus, one of his former enemies living, and marched to Tmolus. At this city also the inhabitants of Sephphora of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of the king, and had given the peace to the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gal- lus, before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at the time with Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as the large number of their cities, and the length of their war, and the expedition of the Jews, if they should come against them. And indeed the danger of losing Sephphora would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans.]

CHAP. III.
A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.

§ 1. Now Phoenicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the Upper Galilees, and the Lower. They are bounded towards the sea and of the territory belonging to Tmolus, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Ga-

* Spanasilm and Roland both agree, that the two cities here mentioned greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syr-

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* Wars of the Jews. *
great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, and discovering that the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father: eighteen cohorts followed these legions; there came also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horsemen; and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen, a piece, and a hundred and twenty horsemen. There was also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus, and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus, also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of whom were archers; so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united and stationed, had an acquisition of ten thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their force in numbers, so they were as if their weapons did so they under the liability dangers with them in times of war, insomuch that they were inferior to none, either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

CHAPTER V.

A Description of the Roman Armies, and their Camps; and of other particulars for which the Romans are commended.

§ 1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants, as might not only serve a time for their immediate use of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a number hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune; for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peacetime. But as if the Romans never always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but it is every day exercised, and that with real diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigue of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity, nor can any afraid frighten them out of it, nor can labour tire them: which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and that these battles have no enemies, but their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have waded their camp about; for neither is the first that they charge nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled; their camp is also four square by measure, and carpenters are present with their tools to erect their buildings for them.

* This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army and of the Roman encampments, with the sounding of their trumpets, &c. and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like to the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel in the wilderness, (see the description of the temple, ch. 19.) that one cannot well avoid the supposition, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other, and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from the rules given by God to Moses: And it is thought by some skilful in these
2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tests, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones, and with all other engines, and there is also another wall to protect the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for men. All the houses are of brick, excepting those that are built on the sudden; with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers, superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The city wall is not one also, it is accompanied with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the laborers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and security. All their effects and all their provisions are managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please, themselves singly, but all together. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal; and in the morning the soldiers go every one to their companies, and there deliver furniture, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watchword and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command, which is also ordered when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

5. When the trumpeter of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to convey the same signal, to get away the match; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of borther, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march: when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, so that they may not stay behind; and when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war or not! To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, We are ready. And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as fittet with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they cry out, they lift up their right hand, so that it is very conspicuous.

6. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own manner, that these accounts of Josephus as to the Roman camp and army, and conduct in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side, but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen to be porters, under the shade of his own head, have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers, have a spear, and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pickaxe, and an ax, a thong of leather, and a book, with a proviso; many others in diverse ways they carry no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also, and the like signally and by means of their horse to be distinguished; he is that is borne on their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces, and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the person of the armourer, our narrative differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops, and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lord assigns that employment.

5. This is the manner of the marshalling and setting the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight, they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off hand, but counsel is for ever first taken upon the business; what is to be done, what there resolved upon is put in execution presently; for which reason they seldom commit any errors, and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem anything done upon taking counsel beforehand, to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only; because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be considerate, while consultation, and thorough deliberation, do endue a thing with this good in it, that it makes men more careful hereafter: but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them; and as to what melancholy accidents happen upon war, they can find no comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers but their weapons only come stronger; they are moreover hardened for war by fear, for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though these are not distinctly brought before us; but they are generale more severe than their laws, for they prevent any imputation of cruelty toward those under condensation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obtaining each of the ensigns, and so miserable are their hands when they set to work, whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor do we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in, and not for the enemies for their; so much so, that oftener than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, who wonder us if that Emperor on the east, the ocean on the west, the most formidable
BOOK III.—CHAP. VI. VII.

Chap. VI.

Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, and is beaten off.

VESPASIAN MARCHES INTO GALLIÆ.

1. AND now Vespasian, with his son Titus, and carried some time at Ptolemais, and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overran all Galileæ, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught, (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as would follow him), as if they had no conception of Placidus at all, or of his name, ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched forward against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden assault. This was but a last of all attempts; for he had set his hope in the honour to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted that he would be able to subdue the many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children, to be in danger, and easily put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven of them, because their retreat was made not in a disorderly manner; because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armour in all parts, and because the Jews did not wait to receive him, they but ran away, a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armour on, while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a fourth wounded, whom he himself was unable to assault the city, ran away.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out to Ptolemais, leaving put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those batteries which were lighted, and the archers, to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked promising, and that were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans who were completely armed, both footmen, and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them, such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were any where rough and hard to be passed over, to plain it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress, or tire with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the people of Galileæ, and the men of the hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is the head of every Roman legion, the kindest and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march; these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons, and battalions, with six men in depth, who were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed with foot and horse. So that the order of the soldiers, which was borne by the mice and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all, their horses being both footmen, and in their armour also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, whereupon he pitched camp that night. And at this time were many, who were eager for war; he also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before the Romans came to battle, and all to see if they might not get things ready for besieging their strong holds. And indeed this sight of the general brought many to repent of their revolt, and put them all into a consternation; for those that were in Josephus' camp, which was at the city called Garea, not far from Sephoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves, and fled, not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would not come to the battle; he set about being both a divine and a human legislator in the affairs of the state. He also set fire, not and the Jews fought at some distance: his meaning in doing that was to show them why they were not more than seven. I have met with many the like examples in the scripture, in Josephus, &c. but did not note down the particular places. This observation ought to be borne in mind upon many occasions.
only to the city itself, but to all the villages and small cities that were round about it; some of them were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of others the greater part of the inhabitants had carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring to that city, which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not believe he would have left it unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken according to his opinion; for he saw whether the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forget him, yet did he choose to die many times over, rather than to betray his country, and to disgrace that supreme command of the army which had been entrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not by too much aggravating the power of the enemy, make them too timorous, nor by relating that their power beneath the truth, might encourage them to stand out when they were perhaps despised. He said to his men, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write to him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. According to this, and to oblige their officers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired into the city of Tiberias, out of which city he had cast out Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him come to the city; he also sent an army with him, and with taking that, he should take all Judea. In case he could not obtain Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the greatest advantage to him, and believed in it he brought about by the providence of God, that he that appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Palsus with a thousand horsemen, and Eutocius as a decurion, a person that was of experience both in counsel and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was found near the city, and was greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was indeed so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put out the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day, although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop every way for an exit: which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men more desperate than the hope of escape, and if they are beleaguered, they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed more, but eighteen were slain, and seventy were wounded.

5. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans, and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than at the first time; and in that they were more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before; as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of the loss of all their hope of safety, and of seeing their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews, till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

6. But now Jotapata was almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, incommensurate, that those who would look down would have their sight reduced; and so few it rested in a plain. It is only to be covered on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fell many glorious, that held about two million of people; and the city is covered all round with other mountains, and can now be seen till a man comes close upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

7. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overcome the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. And when he called the Jews over that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage, and when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank with a squadron of horses, and be capable of being seized upon by the enemy. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can now be seen till a man comes close upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.
that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them to death. But this was a very slow way of doing it, for they would be forced to petition him for mercy by want of provisions, or, if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they should perish by famine: and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

13. Now Vespasian besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and indeed of all other necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet it is a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer; and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely. For Josephus, seeing that the city was abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing much harder upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would, made them more desirous of drinking than they were before, and they were so much-disheartened thereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the welle, and could see the water flowing up to them, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would be no longer be emptied, and that they would be forced to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave commands that they should not be cut off, but they should always have a small portion of water by measure; but this they could not support as much disheartened thereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in, for when they stood over against them, beyond the wall, and could see the water flowing up to them, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing, to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers; so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western part of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were within the city, desiring them to send what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance; he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as were given them. If any one should spy them out in the night time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived their contrivances.
and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own safety would in doubt if he remained in it, so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him, "not to overlook them with a disdainful air, but to follow them, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance, if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any penes with great confidence on his account, and that in case there would be some of them also, though they should be taken. That it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to desert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was in the midst of the sea, or from a ship by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they who had confided."  

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them, that "he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he stayed, he should be able to do them little good, while they were in that condition, and that if they were once taken he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to save them very great harm; for that he would then immediately get the Galliaceans together out of the country, in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war. That he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to begin a siege more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly wrath at them for their calumny; for that it did not please the men to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children and the old men, and the women with their infants, came mourning to him, not before him, but behind him, caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune; and I think they did this, not that they envied my design, nor that they hoped for it, but for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.  

17. Now Josephus thought, that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to a cliques; and if he resolved to go away by force, he should be put into custody. His commission also of the people under their lamentations had much broke that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them, "now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking, which may be remembered by later posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled down the tents, and burnt them, and made a fire of their furniture, their baggage was upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day, nor the day after it, but went on with it for a considerable time.  

18. Upon this, Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies, (though they were ashamed to be made away by the Jews; and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armor would not let them pursue them far, while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be known, they would return,) took his armed men to avoid their onset, and set fire to the city, and made a great fire, to put it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be weakened when they saw they failed of their purpose; and further, when it wants fuel, and that it was most proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they are not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So in completing this, the Jews in a great measure by the Arabian archers, and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them, nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, from which they were unable to escape, and when these engines threw stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either the men or the ships, one part meeting another by turns, when it was tired down.  

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged by these multitudes of the Jews, and when his ships were now set on fire, and the men and ships of war of the Romans of his battering ram. This battering ram is a vast beam of wood like the mast of a ship; its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like a huge battering ram. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it, in the nature of a supporting arch, and by a large number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men, with a mighty noise, it batteries the wall with that iron point which is prominent. There is the ram tower so strong, or walls so broad, that can resist any more than its first batteries, but all are forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general bestowed himself to, with the battering ram, for the battering of walls, but found lying in the field so long as to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for battering an enemy nearer to the wall, insomuch as the battering ram of Vespasian, or of Josephus, or of the Romans, was now in the enemy's hands, and upon the wall, and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts: these throw stones and javelins at them; in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the wall. This brought matters to such a pass that none of the Jews dared mount the walls; and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering ram that was used with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured with skins that could not be broken, and fastened on the wall and the engine itself, and fastened to the engine, so that the Romans, at the very first stroke of this engine, the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.
it made it so much that the wall was now very burnt, and this by diversions of the stones, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the walls. Now when the battering rams thus reversed had got into the general way, they were newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire, to defend themselves with; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a great and fierce set fire to the machines and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves; nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jericho, and also and what was the more, they did not see the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately and was carried the Romans a great deal of pain was in one hour consumed.

21. And here a certain Jew apprised worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sarmues, and was called Eleazar, and was being of very good size. This young man covered a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force that it broke off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram, and put it upon the ground; and the word of his concern carried it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelled by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts. And the sound of their way went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which, he drew himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and was to the height of the wall, and next to him two brothers showed their courage; their names were Netir and Philip, both of them of the village Ruma, and both of them Galileans also; these men might have been sacrificed to the fire of the dead carcasses; the mountiopus also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes, nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing or the sight; yet after all the noise of the night was so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been better to have stood at their posts, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and all that were about him, with the rest of the great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the work belonging to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and after them all. So that the noise of the materials under ground. However, about the evening, the Romans erected the battering ram again, against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city in the wall, hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great, that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans, that they should draw out of the city; for they saw him bleeding, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with carriages and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch, that the multitude were in great confusion, and this, out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. And Vespasian soon past an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under; for being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight, and seeing from the vantage of the same, that he was willing to expose himself to danger instantly, in order to avenge their general; and

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead one upon another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not all immediately fall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those who they could not see, for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the day time, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was the purpose in which they might be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent force of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great, that they carried the Romans solders of the tenth legion, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engine by what happened to one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the day-time also, a woman with child was cast out of the breach, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible; but the sound of the stones, and those thrown by them was also: of the same sort was that noise the dead bodies made, when they were dashed against the wall; and indeed dreadful was the clamour which the noise made from the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain; while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood; and the wall might have been ascended by ladders of the dead carcasses; the mountiopus also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes, nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting, that could either affect the hearing or the sight; yet after all the noise of the night was so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been better to have stood at their posts, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down, before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together, in order to take the city by storm, after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was determined to draw out of the city, that once again by himself, his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad, through the whole army, that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with carriages and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, insomuch, that the multitude were in great confusion, and this, out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. And Vespasian soon past an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under; for being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight, and seeing from the vantage of the same, that he was willing to expose himself to danger instantly, in order to avenge their general; and
take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the rest of the men that were down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

26. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian’s contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and more them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that “when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be surriff at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemies’ darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields, and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that, when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy, and that every one should strive to do his best, in order, not to defend himself, but rather to be preserved, but in order to revenge it, when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed, and that they should be prepared, and that they would beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors.”

27. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies, but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army, (for none of the usual guards, that had been fighting before, were removed,) when they also saw, not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them, shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of the misfortune that had befallen them, threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the war-like actions of the men too easy, by making them see their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his lotment was: for all those who brought ladders to the other places, he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

28. And now the trumpet sounds of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a great noise, and the darts by order, blew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus’s men remembered the charges he had given them; they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as it was possible to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many accidents happened. Now the darts were exalted, while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them, nor did they draw back, but rather did do all in their power, whether they fell down themselves, or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enough to come in their places, and succour them; while on the side of the Romans fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still more men soon got upon the machines for ascent, in the enemy’s attempt, and soon both sides, enraged one another, and joining several with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken and as this hand thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

29. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counsellor in this utmost distress, (which necessity is very sagacious in invention when it is ibrillant, and necessary,) and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them. Whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire; this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled down from the wall, with horrid pains, for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated, and slowly cooled; and as the men were coop’d up in their heads within, pieces of their flesh were free from this burning oil; they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own boats, their boats were burnt, and many were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

30. However, in this ill success of the Romans, their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them, for the Romans halted not, but used their own measures, and in a miserable condition, yet were they very hamently bent against those that poured the oil upon them, while every one reproached the men before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exercising himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling lemmugrass upon the boards in order to make them slip and fall down by which means neither could those that were ascending, come upon the others without standing on their feet; but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down upon the bank they had raised, and when they came upon it, they were carried in the water; for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, altho’ more than those were carried away as wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Diesius (Sivan.)

31. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened; and as he found these new expedients, he observed, that if we do any further exhortations, we gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, and be provided with the theorie engines, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers were set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as should shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts. Then also those who were in the main body, the stoutest men among the sliagers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them,
might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenue themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the heaviest part of the enemy were in front of them, in which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city. And, of the Jews that shot at them with arrows, as many as the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil on their enemies, nor could they keep them out of the city, where they were in danger of being taken.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called Japha, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was indeed the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city, he desired it to be best watch for the natural strength of its situation, and was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short time they were detached from it for to go after them; and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely that they fell in together with them; but when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, they shut them out as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God therefore who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city itself, as well as their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds; and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their threats cut in the very midst of their applications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together; many of them were run through by the Romans, who stayed the gates with their own swords, besides an immense number that were slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, that which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that war; and although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he went thence thither, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary, sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege: and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall, the enemy might be observed to oppose them from above for a while, but soon afterward they left the walls. Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a force battle between them; for the man of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women throw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours' time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air, and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. Thus the city, with about a thousand remaining besides infants, who, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity; so that the number of the slain both now in the city, and at the former fight, was fifteen thousand, and the captives with them two hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves upon the mountain of Gerizim, which is with them a holy mountain; and there they remained; which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not not threaten somewhat of war; nor were they restrained by any policy or terror that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unrespective manner, depending on their own strength, and were divided and any appearance. Vespasian therefore thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts. For although all the Samaritans had gathered together among these, yet did the number of those that could mount Gerizim, and their conspiracy together, give ground to fear what they would be at: he therefore sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up the mountain, and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were infamed with a violent heat, for it was summer time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessary, imagining that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood, that those who still held them were very much the wiser for their fortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and that they should choose the better, and that they, if they would lay down their arms he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand six hundred. This was done on the twentieth seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan.], and these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out no longer, they were overthrown under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were, and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watchful, and as perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be attacked in the night; and he besought him to attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep, accordingly, his sei-
vise was, that they should make their attack at the close of the day. Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last, because one of the people of Josuah, when he was taken, said they would not feed them, and though they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and, as he was crucified, smiled at them. Hence it was, the probability there was in the relation itself, did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak the truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if they shan't; so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. And no one coloured, except the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city, because it is a city that held for a great many of them, for they were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in; and they, as it were, found only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared not the city; but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipices, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those that were able to fly, but drove them down the precipice; and the Romans, who resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the midst of the city, and escaped themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the other side of the city, and, as it were, defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length they cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side], for there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the very taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery: for there was one of those that fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him, and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly, he incensed reached him out his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and killed him immediately.

36. And on this day it was that the Romans blew all the multitude that appeared openly; but on the following day they seized all places, and fell upon those that were under ground, and in the caverns, and went through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together十二 hundred and thirty, those that were slain at the taking of the city, and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the dead should be decently embalmed, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Judaea taken, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz].

CHAP. VIII.

How Josephus was discovered by a Woman, and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what Discourse he had with his own Men, when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian, when he was brought to him; and in what Manner Vespasian used him afterward.

§ 1. And now the Romans searched for Josephus, who had carried the bodies of the men, because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he be once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and took him up, and brought him to the city; but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereby he joined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and here he met with forty persons of eminence that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to last them for a certain time. So when the time he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night time he got out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch; but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who knew him and knew what he was, told Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up. 1. And on this Paulinus, in his eye and invited him up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved; but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans, must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides those a third tribune, Nicorides, to invite him; who, when Josephus and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he exhorted upon the natural mildness of the Romans to come up, and to consider how he had been harnessed by his soul, that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not continue unlawfully, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He moreover added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent him to a friend, but now put the fairest column upon the vilest action by pretending friendship and love.
my perfidiousness, nor would he have himself 
aquiesced, or come to him, had it been to de-
roy his own life.
3. Now as Josephus began to hesitate with 
himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery 
were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire 
to the den; but the tribune would not permit 
them. Then Josephus went in to the man alive. 
And now as Nicanor lay hard at Jo-
sephus to comply, and he understood how the 
mutility of the enemies threatened him, he 
called to mind the dreams which he had dream-
ed in the night time, whereby God had said to 
him beforehand both the future calamities of the 
Jews, and the events that concerned the Ro-
man emperors. Now Josephus was able to give 
shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of 
such dreams as had been of late narrated to 
him by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted 
with the prophecies contained in the sacred 
books, as being a priest himself, and of the pos-
terity of priests; and just then was he in an ec-
stasy, and setting before him the tremendous 
images of the dreams he had lately had, he put 
ap a secret prayer to God, and said, "Since it 
pleaseth thee, who hast created the Jewish na-
tion, to depress the same, and since all their 
gods did not openly take it to heart, and since thou 
hast made choice of this soul of mine 
toforetell what is to come to pass hereafter, I 
grefully give them my hands, and am content 
to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go 
outside the laws, which have been written by the 
Jews, but as a minister from thee."
4. When he said this, he complied with Nica-
nor's invitation. But when those Jews who had 
fixed with him, understood that he yielded to 
their blandishments, and that he did not speak 
about him in a body, and cried out, "Nay, in-
deed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which 
God ordained himself, well groan to purpose; 
that God, we mean, who hath created the souls 
of the Jews of old, a target, that they destroy 
death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life! 
and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of 
slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself? 
How much hast thou persuaded to lose their 
liberty, in order to save thyself? Is it a false 
reputation for manhood, and a like false 
reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for 
preservation from those against whom thou hast 
fought so zealously, and art, however, willing 
to be delivered from thy own company? But 
although the good fortunes of the Romans hath 
made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care 
that the glory of our forefathers may not be mar-
ted, and that we be rated among the sword and 
the sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt 
die as a general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, 
you wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as 
they said this, they began to thrust their swords 
at him, and threatened they would kill him, if he 
thought of yielding to the Romans.
5. Upon this, Josephus was afraid of their at-
 tempting him, and yet thought he should be a be-
trayer of the commands of God, if he died before 
the Jews were delivered. He was therefore a phi-
losopher to them in the distress he was then in, 
when he said thus to them: "O my friends, why 
are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are made 
use of in destroying us, and are not sordid, 
any one pretend that I am not the man I was for-
merly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how the 
matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to 
die in war; but so that it be according to the law 
of war, by the hand of conquerors. If there cara-
eal death from the sword of the Romans, I am 
truly worthy to be killed by my own sword, and my 
own hand: but if they admit of mercy, and 
would spare their enemy, how much more ought 
we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare 
ourselves? For it is certainly a foolish thing to 
do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them 
for doing to us."

Therefore, Josephus did not die. He was sent 
thither to see about them, and to examine what 
they did to die for liberty; but still so that it be in 
war, and done by those who take that liberty 
from us; but in the present case our enemies do 
neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. 
Now, he let out a man when he is obliged to die, 
and he who will die when he is not obliged to do 
so. What are we afraid of, when we will not go up to the Romans. 
Is it death? If so, what are we afraid of when we 
suspect our enemies will inflect it on us, shall 
we inflect it on ourselves for certain? But it may 
be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in 
a clear state of liberty at present? It may also 
be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill him-
self. No, certainly, but a most, unnatural one, 
as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant 
coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink 
his ship of his own accord. 

Now, self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature 
of all animals, and an instance of impiety against 
our Creator: nor indeed is there any animal 
that dies by its own contrivance, or by its own 
means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in 
them all; on which account we deem those that 
die by their own act to be wicked persons, and 
those that do it by treachery are punished for 
doing so. And do not you think that God is 
very angry when a man doth injury to what he 
hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that 
we have received being, and give it to his disposal 
to take that being away from us. The bodies of all 
men are indeed mortal, and are created out of 
corruptible matter; but the soul is 
ever immortal, and is a portion of the 
divinity that inhabits the body. Besides, he who 
steals or abuses a depositum he hath received 
from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and 
perfidious person; but then if any one cast out of 
his body this divine depositum, can we imagine 
that he who is the best of all masters does not 
know it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that 
slaves which run away from their masters shall be punished, 
though the masters they run away from may 
have been wicked masters to them. And shall 
we ever endeavor to escape from the God, who is 
the best of all masters, and not think ourselves 
highly guilty of impiety? Do not you know that 
those who depart out of this life, according to 
the law of nature, and pay that which they 
have received from God, and are not allowed 
be that lent us it is pleased to require it back again, enjoy 
eternal fame; that their houses and their posterity 
are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, 
and obtain a most holy place in heaven from 
what they have done, in the revolution of ages, they 
are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose 
hands have acted madly against themselves, are 
received by the darkest place in Hades, and 
are received by the hands of God who is their 
father, amongst those that offend against either of them in their poster-
ity; for which reason God hates such doings, 
and the crime is punished by our most wise legis-
lator. Accordingly our laws determine, that the 
dead bodies of such themselves should not be 
posed till the sun be set, without burial, although 
at the same time it be allowed by them to be 
lawful to bury our enemies [soon.] The laws 
of other nations also enjoin such men's hands 
to be cut off with the sword; and in the case of 
man, is made use of in destroying themselves when alive; 
while they reckoned that as the body is alien from 
the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It 
is, therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason 
justly, and not add to the calamities which more 
bring upon us, impiety towards our Creator. 
If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do 
it; for to be preserved by those our enemies, to 
whom we have given so many demonstrations of 
our courage, is noway inglorious; but if we have
a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than they that have done it before them, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Roman may prove treacherous in this matter; for if not, I am ready to offer them the right hand for security, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

2. Many of the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter, and another from another, and called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he calling to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions, (as he well might in the great distress he was under,) all at once let fall the swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of them were so moved by God's inter- vention, that they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were, who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress, he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard (in the manner following:) "And now, (said he,) since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hates him, and so die this day, that all may make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us per- ish by his own right hand, for it would be unfair if, when the rest are gone, somebody should re- gain his self-command."

This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevaild with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his naked bare to him that had the second, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately; for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, was sweeter than life; yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it for the lot was as contrary to the provid- ence of God. And as he was very desirous neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countryman, he persuad- ed 1

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans, and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicana to Vespasian. But now all was not yet over; he was still to be in danger, and continued so to do. Thus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

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1 I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterward by Eusebius, B. vii. ch. viii. sect. 7; and almost implied in B. i. ch. xiii. sect. 28. Josephus' recommendation of Phineas for doing so; I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves, rather than go into slavery un-
**CHAP. IX.**

_How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up._

4. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus [Tammuz], and from thence he came to Cesarea, which lay by the sea-side. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Romans and their army with demonstrations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good-will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquerors by them; on which account they expected they should first be destroyed, which was the desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Twixt the length of many men, he illustrated Cesarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cesarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter, as it was insalubrious hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee].

2. In the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had seduced and gone out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might become a refuge for the most part of the people; for the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and took upon them the trade into Syria, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unavailing to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, which was unwarded in the night time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavours to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships and lay at sea all night out of the reach of their force.

3. Now Joppa is not a natural haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great steep cliffs. But the long and straight coastal chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as those people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them: it is such a wind as calls the ships back to land, and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while others cast up such violent waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them; nor was that all; but the wild and opposite wind, and the raging sea, the violence of the wind, the cutting wind, and the closing sea, they all put in like way to save themselves, while they were thrust out of the sea by the violence of the wind, if they stood where they were, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrased with shipwrecks. But some of them thought, that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rocks, in such a manner, that the long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies, for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown upon the shore was the fourthousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

5. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent any further trouble in that place, erected a camp there, where the city of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages, and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces and laid them low.

6. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eyewitnesses to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a famine was spread abroad at random that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees, from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem with sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them: but the mourning for the commander was a public one, and some mourned for those that had lived with him, and others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day, and a great many hired mourners," with the sumptuousness of their mourning, should begin their melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had showed their good-will before when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; but they were at the same time indignant by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean afflictions, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and to run the risk at the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

Acts, xii. 20, where the reader may consult the notes of Grotius.

* These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, are to be understood as a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now, as they had showed their good-will before when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter; and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; but they were at the same time indignant by their afflictions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean afflictions, became a spur to them to venture on further calamities, and to run the risk at the beginning of another; they therefore resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.
way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away to Tarichæs. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as the city was full of men that were of the same mind with the petitioners, he took his army and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with exclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and deliverer. But as the army was great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them not to abstain from justice, in order to gratify the king; and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

CHAP. X.

How Tarichæs was taken. A Description of the River Jordan, and of the Country of Gennesareth.

§ 1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Tarichæs, but fortified his camp so strong that it could not be attacked. He therefore should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Tarichæs, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. The lake is called Gennesareth. The city itself is situated, like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain, and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though the fortifications of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews revolt, when he had had plenty of money, and great power, but Tarichæs partook only the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake that in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a sea-fight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither so frightened at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them, and cut the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had into the sea, and saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out so fast as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and cast anchor, and brought their ships close, so as to keep the sea out of the fight they had on shore, and from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of these were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six thousand horsemen, to disperse them. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him, that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succors could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them, "Fear Romans, fear for it is right for me to put you in mind of what sentence you were in the beginning, of this Cæsarea Philippi (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matthew xvi. 13; Mark viii. 30) there are dates still extant, as Speendonk here informs us.
3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be decreased by the men falling. Wherefore Titus had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall; while he waited in this fashion, and gave commands, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise and with him; and they attacked them from every side, which made them disperse themselves, and run to the city as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest, some he let fall upon as they stood on; but he wrapped up all they prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through, many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible addition among them within the city; for the inhabitants deserted themselves, and none were left upon whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten: but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them against each other, and still more, because that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out, "Fellow soldiers, why do you look now the like as you would when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do you not hear what a noise they make! Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another; and besides hate, we must undergo some labour, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger; accordingly we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessarily will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that as few as we are we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."
all without fighting: for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for their security, and out of consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had made the city take the worst of the wound there; and put a stop to any further slaughters out of commissoration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the further shores.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was in joy, both at the victory of the courage and glorious actions of his son: for he thought now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up, in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7. Now this lake of Gennesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it; its breadth is from five to six miles, and its length of about four; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the front of a plain. Nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is: now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala: this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Panium, by the road that is by the right hand; and indeed it hath its name of Phiala (vial or bowl) very justly from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, which fence them off from the sea. As for this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis: for he had chartered through into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whither it had been therefore carried [by the waters.] As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan rises up from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake of Semichonitis; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city of Julius, and then passes through the middle of the lake of Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltitis.

8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its natural beauty is so great, and the soil so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants accordingly plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed, that it agrees very well with these particular sorts; particularly vines, which flourish upon the coldest fens, and flourish there in various forms; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it has its yet more various conditions that are naturally causes to one another to agree together, it is a happy contentment of the seasons; as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only bound itself with the whole circle of vegetables, but good men's expectations, and keeps them a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, and dates, continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year: for besides the good temper of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain.

The people of the country call it Casarisma; some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Corinac fish as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake, that bears the same name, for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty. And here the Danubian sea begins.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put upon shipboard as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and out of the Gennesareth; as for the vessels, they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However, as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones, they took them to be the brand marked on their ships, and said to the soldiers, they might use the stones as they pleased, but they would not do any harm to the other, and would drown themselves. As for those that endeavored to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans launched in their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships and themselves. But when they were about to drown themselves in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts, or caught by the vessels; but if, in the despicableness case they were in, they attempted to swim to the enemies, the Romans cut off either their hands or their heads; and indeed they were destroyed after various manners everywhere, till the rest being put to flight were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them almost on all sides, and, which was very great, when they were getting ashore, they were killed some time of the year, came and found leaves upon a fig-tree near Jerusalem, and withal a fruit upon it, because the seasons of figs ripening were not yet; but he says very true; nor were they therefore, other than old leaves which our Saviour saw and said, and afterwards expTECTED even with no commonly harsh on the most winter long.
BOOK III.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.—FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO RESIEGE JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER I.

The Siege and Taking of Gamala.

§ 1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did upon the conquest of Tiberias deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischlia and those that had been seized upon by Simon Maccabeus in the midst of the war. And when they had marched against Tiberias, but on the other side of the lake, compassed with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis, for Sogana was a part of that called the upper Gaulanitis, as was Gamala of the lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphus, which in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called Little Jordan, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is shut into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself, at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala s e c e d e t h e m , but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata, for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend, it lengthens itself, and descends toward the sea, as in the case of a camel; and that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately: both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other: but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblong ditch there, and made it so hard that it was ascended also. On its seashore, which is strait, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would pects, that even here we should read Dom instead of Daph- na, there being nowhere else any mention of a place called Daphos hereabouts.

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the stars upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land; one might then see the foal all along the lake, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink, and a very sad sight, there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores, they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all smeared; and as the dead bodies were innumerable by the sun, and putrefied, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of compassion to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight.

The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand and five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Tiberias, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders, whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders allowed that the disposition of them would be to his own disadvantage, because, when they were once set at liberty, they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and, as to the whole of his kingdom, he did not have to do with what he pleased, or his enemies, he did not desire to be true, and went along sedulously, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless who were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Neria, to dig through the isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he did not have to do with what he pleased with them: however, the king sold those also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Tzuchonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were hanged, and those that were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus [Elul].

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This is the most cruel and barbarous action that Vespasian ever did in this whole war, as he did it with great reluctance also. It was done after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners' lives, and when all knew and confessed that those prisoners were no way guilty of any sedition against the Romans. Nor, indeed, did Titus ever give his consent; so far as appears, nor ever asked of himself so barbarously; nay, soon after this Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocents; he would never bear it, that so many that had been suppliants to him should be killed; and to offer violence to them, after he had given them assurance of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against the Jews could be any impiety, and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along sedulously, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless who were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Neria, to dig through the isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he did not have to do with what he pleased with them: however, the king sold those also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude, who were Tzuchonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were hanged, and those that were of such shameful characters, that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpheus [Elul].

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cent with the guilty, and gave the people of Gischia a leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 3, § 3. But it is not to be supposed that he would have done this if he had not been persuaded by the advice of his friends. But we must observe, that there were two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews, and that when both cannot be consistent, advantage must prevail over justice. Admissable court doctrines those!

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Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves, at the temple of Little Jordan into Great Jordan, near a place called Daphus; but of old Daph. See the note on 2 Kings viii. viii. sect. 4. But Rehob is

BOOK IV.
WARS OF THE JEWS.

down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It
is exposed to the south, and its south-ern mount,
which reaches to an immense height, was, in the
nature of a citadel to the city; and above that
was a perpetual mist that extended itself to an
immense depth. There was also a
spring of water within the wall, at the utmost
limits of the city.

5. As this city was naturally hard to be taken,
so had Josephus, by building a wall about it,
made it still stronger, as also by ditches and
mires under ground. The people that were in it
were made more bold by the nature of the place,
than the people of Jotapata had been, but had
not seen, or else been in it; and they had
such a confidence in the situation of the place,
that they thought the enemy could not be too
many for them: for the city had been filled with
those that had fled to it for safety, on account of
its height; and in his account they had been able
to resist those whom Agrippa sent to be
siege it for seven months together.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where
he had last pitched his camp before the city Ti-
berius camped; and it is said to be forty; and he
had heard the enemies, of the strength of the city,
that is, for the time being, the city was strong,
he sent men to watch it, and seized upon that
mountain which was over it. And as the legions,
according to their usual custom, were fortifying
their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast
up one side, and to make two walls toward the
east, where the highest tower of the whole city
was, and where the thirteenth legion pitched their
camp; while the fifth legion did duty over against
the other, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the
ditch. And at the time it was that king Agrippa
was come near the walls, and was endeavouring to speach to those
that were on the walls about a surrender, he was
hit with a stone; and his right eye was by one of the
slingers: he was then immediately surrounded
with his own men. But the Romans were excited
to set about the siege, by their indignation on the
king's account, and by their fear on their own
account; and it is said, that the legions were so
eminent against the foreign and enemies, who were so enraged against one of
their own nation, and one that advised them to
nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. So the banks were in the midst of the
what he had done on the sudden, both by the multitude
of hands, and by their being accustomed to such
work, they brought the machines; but Chares
and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the
city, set up on, and armed men in order, though
already in a fright, because they did not suppose
that the city could hold out long, since they had
not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of
other necessaries. However, these their leaders
encouraged them, and brought them out upon the
wall, and for a while indeed they drove away
those that were bringing the machines; but when
those machines threw darts and stones at them,
they retired into the city; then did the Romans
bring battering rams to several places, and made the walls shake [and fall].

They then poured in over the parts of the wall
that were thrown down, with a mighty sound of
trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of
joy, and began to climb the walls over those that
were in the city; but these men fell upon the
Romans for some time, at their first entrance,
and prevented their going any further, and with
great courage beat them back; and the Romans
were so overpowered by the multitude of the
people, who beat them on every side, that they
were obliged to run into the upper parts of the
city. Whereupon the people turned about,
against the Romans, or about themselves, (for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians.) So he got up in the night time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with the rest of his men.

And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say anything about what he might by no means seem to complain of; but he said, that "we ought to bear with the progress of the war," and that by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stand about us so many riches which is of itself nature, that while they had killed so many thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning so late: and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success, so it is the part of cowards to be too much afflicted at that which ill befalls them for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides; and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully reason what usually falls out in war. For what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage and of our disadvantage. Accordingly you might blame your zeal as perfectly unquestionable; for when the enemy had retired to their nearest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the gates, to show how little you were satisfied with the success that had been given to you, and when upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your own safety. But this indelicacy in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim, while we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order; that process is more the mark of a barbarian, and of a barbarous war. For we being therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than more dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own care, and comfort himself from his own courage; by means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will, endevour, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retire from it."  

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gâmalia, it happened that they took courage for a little while, upon such the more prudence of the man that had had. But when they considered with themselves that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions would perish before they got away, and that all was lost as being so closely cast down, and their courage failed them; yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And here, as the Romans did, the flight was made to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also through subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for the very reason said in the city, perished for want of food, for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8. And these were the hard circumstances that the people of Gâmalia were in. But now Vespasian went about another work by the way during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs," and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now, Josephus says this so long a wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below, for the inhabitants only made use of rain water; as, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian came upon it with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession, and of the security of his army. Accordingly you might blame your zeal as perfectly unquestionable; for when the enemy had retired to their nearest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by presenting yourselves at the gates, to show how little you were satisfied with the success that had been given to you, and when upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle; whereas, in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your own safety. But this indelicacy in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim, while we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order; that process is more the mark of a barbarian, and of a barbarous war. For we being therefore to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than more dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own care, and comfort himself from his own courage; by means he will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself, I will, endevour, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retire from it."
at other places were under such disturbance, that they ran away; the Romans also viewed many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom were many of those that were by birth part of the senate, running away over that part of the wall that was broken down; but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10. At which time Titus, who was now returned out of the indication he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with them, and entered without noise into the city. Now, as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and bestowed themselves upon their arms; and as that an entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, that the city might not be massacred with tumults and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, the Romans set about the groans of those that were killed, were prodigiously great every where, and the blood ran down all the lower parts of the city from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance, and thus they actually did fell to on the citadel, and brought his whole army with him; saw this upper part of the city was every way rocky, and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to the others by their darts, and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemy could hardly reach them. However, there were such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction; this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and destroy the friends themselves: and so the Jews indeed stood upon the precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them; so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves, and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain in their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now: a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despairing of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves upon darts, into the sea, which, near the citadel, had been dug hollow to a vast depth, but so it happened that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were nearest to the Romans so hard in the sand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand; nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and which his son was the son of a certain eunuch, a certain man called Jacinthus, who had been general of King Agrippa's army; and these did therefore escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans, when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants; of whom many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Galamis taken on the fourth day of the twentieth of May, and the Emperor Titus, [Tirri], whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpius, [Etul.]

CHAP. II.

The Surrender of Gischala; when John fell from it to Jerusalem.

§ 1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, whose multitude yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always supplied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to the city and country, that were wounded, or sick, or old, and had crept in among them, and one of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was Levi, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes, very rash in expecting great things, and very sanguine in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to the magistrates of the city, but they could not thrust himself into authority; and the soldiers part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to sue for peace, were encouraged, while the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cesarea with the two other legions, and marched thither to tempt the Romans after their long and hard campaign, thinking with them that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits, against the difficulties they were to go through afterward; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other parts could not come thither. Vespasian was not naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that it was not easy to subdue them; worse of all, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin to a band of robbers, that they might be paraded, but that their continuance still in their opposition.
their ways, and the earnestness of such as aspired to outgo the rest, threw down many of them. And indeed there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back to them, and who had been beaten, they uttered the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but Titus’ exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves, and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would revenge on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run, one faster or slower than another.

3. Next on the next day Titus came to the wall, to make the agreement, whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John’s flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were forsaken to punishments for innovation. But Titus, not so much regarded the supplications of the people as that part of his horsemen to pursue John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with them, but governed the city, and almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John, who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the city, which was taken in a great deal of ruin, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repeated that he had delivered the city, rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it, for that probably such a one might be taught prudence, by the fear of the punishment that he had deserved, and might judge on him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for security, by which he would be an unreasonable and justifiable distress that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably dispos’d in greater security. And thus was all Galilea taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

CHAP. III.

Concerning John of Gischala. Concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananias: as also how the Jews raised seditions one against another [in Jerusalem.]

§ 1. Now upon John’s entry into Jerusalem the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard; that for that it would be an unreasonably difficult and less thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala, and such weak
tion, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Jerusalem, and their decent departure, as they proceeded, from that city, it was not surprising that many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they were in great confusion, and those things plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the very same means. He declared that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also rested upon the ignorance of the unskilful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

2. These banzies of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already in such a confusion with the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cesarea, and Vespasian from Adiabene and Armenia, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them, he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city, and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war, and those that were desirous of peace. At the first this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another broke through all restraints with rage and bloodshed, and every one suspended with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose everywhere, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by these means were raised up to sedition, aged and the prudent men. And, in the first place, all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did now differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

3. Now the Roman garrisons, which guarded the cities, partly out of their unnesses to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bore to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable, till the captains of these troops of rubbers, being satisfied with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusa-

* This name Dorcas in Greek was Tabitha in Hebrew or Syriac, as Acts i. 26. Accordingly, some of the manuscripts set it down here Tabetha, or Tabetha. Nor can the reason be made plausibly apparent, why they are wanting here, which seem to be adding the reading to have been this, the son of Tabitha, which in the language of our country denotes Dorcas [or a doe.]

4. This was almost the sixth year of the reign of Titus, or the sixtysixth of the high priesthood among the Jews, when underserving, ignoble, and vile persons were advanced to that noble office by this sedition; which sort of high priests, as Joseph, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men knew that he made himself the ruler of the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct authors of the city's destruction also; for so they were an irritable people, and as often as they spoke those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing of these provisions, were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

4. There were besides these, other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by ruins and plunderings only, but proceeded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the day time, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineages, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasury was in his keeping. And as they were confounded, as they did in the next place to Levinus, a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Raguel; both of whom were of royal lineage also. And besides these, they did the same in the market-place, and in the way to the temple, and in a terrible consternation among the people, and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bands into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were very powerful, and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would perhaps be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them: it was therefore resolved to have them slain. Accordingly, they sent one officer of their band, and every other person to him, to see all, to do that execution: this man was also called the son of Dorcas, in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and in so many persons they were not afraid of the Jews there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and savours of the city.

8. The people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high priests. So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings;
be such as obtained this highest of all bounties without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sons of the covenant, who did not gain the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions which had been done towards men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananias, the ancientest of the priests, was so prudent a man, that he did not think it well to wait until he was a very prudent man, and had perhaps saved the city, if he could have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place of refuge, and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the mines; they introduced, which was more insensible, and more severe, for what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the high priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to be decided by lot; and that preposterous project they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said, that of old it was determined by lot; but in truth, it was no better than a dissolution of an undeniably law, and a contempt of the office, even of the most venerable name [of high priest], still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and as it were, in my own life, and that alone for God's sake: for what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? For if you are not upon, you bear it, when your are beaten you are silent, and when the people are murdered, no one dares so much as send out a gross openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of this? I have done with your sufferance of them, that have nourished them! Was it not you that overlooked those first that of all got together, for they were them but a few, and by your silence made them grown to be many, and the sanctuary at the same time, and you took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your sin, or taking the cry of the people, and of the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Benach, to take part of that which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner, for it fell upon one whose name was Phaninnas, the son of Samuel, of the village of Apithes. He was an, as not only any unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a more rustic was he: yet did they hale this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were casting for a king among the innumerable, and adorned him with a counterfeit face: they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime to all the city. Those who were priests, who, at a distance saw their law made a jest of, shed tears, and sorely lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the presence of this preposterous, and did all together run zealously in order to overthrow that tyranny: and indeed they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down with them, and giving them the laws and letters, and as they saw them alone, bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of those bloody polluters of it. The best experienced also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamaliel, and Ananias the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitternally reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good under-

* * * This tribe or course of the high priests, or priests bearing the name of Aaron, as it is expressed, is well served in Josephus, to be 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, the source of Jactin, where some copies have the course of Etam, and I think this to be so mean an improbab- li conjection.

† This Syncon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish sanhedrins, and one that pe-
have been occasioned by your negligence, as well they will become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmenting, and in their rage and mist, their eyes, that are like to themselves, and their audaciously is therefore inflamed because they must meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher price, they will make use of every ill name running away to the people, that are like to themselves, and be assured of this, that if we get up to them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences; and what advantages they have is the hatred of the people; and if you adjoin the opinion of their reason; perhaps also God himself, who hath been smitten by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and those impious wretches will be stilled by the consternation and fear which will appear before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any scarcity of ours be wanting for your support, nor shall you lack all these things that are necessary for your support.
made to the zealots, and for confiscation of his good-will to them, and not against these, went into the temple, and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows: that he had run many hazards on their account, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly conspired against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but he sent the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian, to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple. He then related how, by force, and fight with them there; that he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies.

He added farther, that it was by the providence of God he might consider sent an ambassador to them for an accommodation: for that Ananus did therefore offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed: that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to let the guardsman, or to propose such regulations as were for their advantage: and to provide some foreign assistance for themselves: that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of preserving their liberties, though they should be subdued, they had forgotten what did become great states, and who could suppose, that as soon as the actors reported, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them: while those that had done injuries, though they should repent of their former conduct, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance, and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors; that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of these laws, and [illegal] judicatures, insomuch, that although some part might consent sent an emissary to them, those would be quite overborne by the majority.

**CHAP. IV.**

The Idumaeans, being sent for by the Zealots, came immediately to Jerusalem; and when they were excluded out of the City, they lay all Night there. James, one of the High Priests, made a Speech to them; and Simon, the Idumæan, makes a Reply to it.

§ 1. Now by this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid; yet he durst not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimat the Idumæans. But now that he might particularly cast upon the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar, the son of Simon, who seemed well disposed to be in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zasaribus, the son of Phake, both of whom derived their families from the same stock. When some brethren had heard not only the common threatenings which belonged to these all, but those particularly levelled against themselves, and, besides, how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own danger, had come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should market-place, nay, a den of thieves, without account. Matt. xii. 19, 21; Mark xi. 15-17. Accordingly, Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts, only them both dyne or holy places, but, as far as I remember, he never gives that character to the court of the Gentiles.
de, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the aboundingness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed of it. However, it was in the ranks of the volunteers that they propped the country up, and so they wrote a short letter to this effect, that “Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they them- selves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody of the law; to which was added, that of the preservation of their liberty; that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of the Romans.”

They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message, and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture; and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, to be able to keep the roads of food and provisions to them ever clear and protecting them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick despatch in the carrying of it, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the news of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly got together, sooner indeed than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis, and twenty thousand of them were put into battle array, and came to Jerusalem, under four commanders, and were called Simeon, Judah, and Hasidias, and Simon of Sossan; and besides these were Simon the son of Cathias, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus, or to the guards, but the approach of the Idumeans was known to them; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of engaging them, but, before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly, Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the lower that was over against them, and said thus, “We know now, good friends, by the rites and ceremonies of our nation, of what kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see not, and cannot conceive, how it is possible, that those who professed to be servants of the Lord, who were put by him to protect his people, and to be the watchmen against us, and this with so great anixity, as you would hardly put on the like, in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against idolatries. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who advised them, I had not esteemed your attempt so absurd. For nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offencouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities, in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are those who have made the temple, which God had profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoil of those whom they have slaughtered upon themselves. If you, who believe in God, have no other motive that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners. What can a man call this procedure of yours? Not a just war, but a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take on your arms on behalf of rob- bers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the Romans are prepossess’d, and we have a reason to suppose, that they came to this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamour about those matters, and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now, we cannot but admire at these things; but, as for us, we are no way against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally de- sirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by this means as if they were to set them as the most dear, the most important, and the most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this cummunity, and against what sort of people that calamity is raised, and to gather the truth of things from fictions, deceitful speeches, and the actions of both parties; for what occasion is then for us to sell ourselves to the Romans; while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at first, or, when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again; and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste? whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desired of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are about to add to the city that they might make a endeavour to please them at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself I deeded, I should have preferred peace with this people, and not two to a hundred; and we have, and not only we, but many others have fallen upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, and thus privately to the Romans, hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent to fight against us. And the same, if any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could he be concealed from such a vast number of our citizens? And can you name him that every hour, while what is done privately in the country, is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are but few in number, and under confinement, and are not able to come out of the temple? And as for the very sacredness of the temple, and what the people are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? For while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people,
have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insist upon our case, nor abide with these proposals against your metropolis: for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discovered with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the jealousies into which they have been raised; anything that we have accused of is brought to light, then to come, and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you from doing this. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you?'

'4. Thus spake Jesus, yet did not the multitude of the Idumæans pay any attention to what he said, but were in rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity, to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon the son of Cathbas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said, 'We have no longer the right to call ourselves the friends of liberty; for those in the temple, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; a war now, perhaps, may be not only dispensed with, but with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumæans from their own towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms, which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty.'

'And while they were talking thus, Jesus, metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn, a whole nation after an ignominious manner; and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have indeed come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen; and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody; and you are supposed to together the like plausible pretences against them also, that you make use of against us: after which you have got the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public fairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you: and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been treated by others as if the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the country of your wondering you mean this, that those Idumæans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country. One may indeed justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, who have had courage enough to punish those tyrants which you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the
most dangerous parts of this enterprise. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Israelites will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that are within. If the city will not abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

5 And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said; but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor indeed was Simon a man of the Idumean nation, for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of their supports to them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them in case they returned without doing anything at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night fasting, though they had an easy camp against them; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continual lightnings, terrible thunderings, and thunders, and continual commotions of the earth, that was an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder, and many proofs that the Idumeans foreboded some grand calamities that were coming.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they could not expect amendment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had squandered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conquerors at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting these bodies into one host, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than these conquerors, and gathered together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The better sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed; and the zealots, the affair being in that state, and that besides, the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to endure the misfortune of it, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perspiring on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this feasible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be everywhere, and visit the guards every hour; which indeed was done upon other nights, but not by reason of the insufficiency of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate that so both he might himself paralyse, and the multitude of the guards might prevent with them; for truly as the night was for them, so was it for these that gave the guards in the gates leaves to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the swords belonging to the temple, and the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the rain, and the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the swords was not heard by the others.

7. And the rest secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their swords, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a few upon the Idumeans themselves, which disturbed them, but in a little while there was a great part of them coming to attack them, so that every man of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans found themselves under the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time; but they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of the city, and then they pursued them as they most desired them to do, and not to overtake those for whose sakes they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once been once taken, they knew not what they would do for them, and would either fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not them be able to overcome those guards they were there, because as soon as they should perceive those guards they were there, they would not themselves come to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

CHAPTER V.

The Cruelty of the Idumeans, when they were gotten into the Temple, during the Storm: and of the Zealots. Concerning the Slaughter of Ananus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. And how the Idumeans retired home.

§ 1. Thus once pleased the Idumeans and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When therefore these were entering, they also came into the inner temple, and then flung themselves with the Idumeans, they attacked the guards; and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awake, were very few, those that were in the amazement: they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their own defence; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on with the hopes of evading them by their numbers; but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their impious companions; and there was great joy among them. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal in the temple, that wives in the city of the exiles they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them could come to their assistance, only they returned the terrible echo of wrestling, and trembled at the misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible; nor did the Idumeans, any body, for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distresscd by
the temple, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for the safety of the city. At last they determined to put an end to all restraint, with such violence as they ran through those with their swords who desired them to re- member the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their con- nexion, and to use their power as a people in any place for flight, or any hope of preserva- tion, but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the great- er part were driven together by force, as there was no place of retreat, and the wounding- ers were upon them, and having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.  

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not sat- isfied by these slaughters; but they now be- look themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met; and for the other multitude, they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them; but they sought for the highest seats, and the persons of the greatest zeal against them; and as soon as they caught them they slew them; and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Je- mudas with the humility of his persons. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without bu- rial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were overthrown, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said, that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall, and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable and a very just man; and besides the care he took of the affairs of the temple, of his own honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of purity, even with regard to the meanest of the people; he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of a democracy in government, and he was always zealous for their welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquer- ed. He could not see that of necessity a war would follow, and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very decently, they would be de- stroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananus had sur- vived, they had certainly compounded matters; for he was a man of spirit in speaking and per- suading the people, and he was the master of the art of persuasion of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put an absence of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he was inferior to him upon the comparison, he was su- perior to the rest; and I cannot but think, that if Ananus had been taken and had been brought before the court, as a polluted city, and was resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers, while those that a little before had worn the sa- cred dress, and had garments of the temple, were allowed to go in safety, and with all reverence, and with all respect, to worship, and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwell on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out na- ked, and seen to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that those, who had themselves groined at these men's cases, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wick- edness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

3. Now, after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the peo-ple as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their de- sire, and all of them were put to death. And all were enrolled among such wicked wretches as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured, that their bodies were so cut to pieces that they were still at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the day time were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for others to be retained, and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that were dismayed for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they had already endured. But as to the Idumeans, they take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bod- ies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort that were thus tortured to death.

4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they im- tended to have Zacharias, the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain, so, what provoked them against him was, that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they might as one take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bod- ies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort that were thus tortured to death.

Zacharias the son of Baruch, in Josephus, was then about thirty-four years future; and since that slaughter was be- tween the temple and the altar, we find one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple, while this was, in Josephus's own words, in the middle of the temple, and most the most probably in the court of Israel, and we have heard with astonishment that the zealots had at this time profaned the court of the priests. See B. v. ch. i. sect. 5.) Nor do I believe that our Josephus, who always insists on the peculiar enclo- sure of that innmost court, and of the holy house that was in it, would have omitted so material an aggravation of his barbarous manuscript, as perjury and murder of a holy, had that been the true place of it. See Antiq. B. v. ch. vii. sect. 1, and the note here on B. v. ch. i. sect. 4. -
as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and of having traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now they appeared to know what was to be so of Zacharias, but they affirmed themselves that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias clearly saw that the way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speaking in the despair of life he was under. Accordingly he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of what the law, and made heavy lamentation upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to; in the mean time the zealots grew tumultuous, and bad much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they design to preserve the appearance and show of judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought Zacharias to the bar, and in a quick manner accused him; but his counsel was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors: hereupon there arose a great clamor of the zealots upon his acquittal, and they all laid in their case just under the standing that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they began to rejoice and cried out, saying, "This is he that has given us a verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than to the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover, they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple, and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled to gain some of the zealots who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked prankers they had themselves done in conjunction with those that invited them, and gave them strict caution never to be again engaged against their metropolis. He said, that "they had taken arms, as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such transactions. They that they had pretended that way had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insensate manner. It had been indeed their business to have hindered them from such thoughts in the first, but seeing the gates had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are like to only cause mischief to their own brethren; that if any had taken ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananias, and such as were concerned that should have punished, had been destroyed in one night's time." That case may perceive many of themselves now repeating for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them, and that they had no regard to such as had saved them; that they were so impatient as to perpetrate the vilest things, under the eyes of those that had supported them; and that the wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and that what God till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or severs himself from the same wicked action; that they therefore ought to retire hence, since the imputation of treason appears to be a calumny, and that there was no excuse for the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down: and, by avoiding this danger with these Idumean men, to make some excuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded as to have been partners with them hitherto.

CHAP. VI.

How the Zealots, when they were freed from the Idumeans, slew a great many more of the Cottsens. And how Vespasian dissuaded the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at that Time.

§ 1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions, and in the first place they set at liberty those that were taken prisoners in the temple, and two thousand of the populace, who theretofore fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went hither to Damascus, which does not need to be set at liberty to both parties; for the people not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies whom they grew more insolent, not as despised by their captors, but at least by such men as might hinder their designs, and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their utmost science, but made use of the shortest methods for all their executions: and what they had once resolved upon, they put in practice soone, than any one could imagine.

But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of all them that were of good family; they were the sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potest men alive; on which account they slew Giorion, a person eminently beloved of his country also; he was also for a democracy, or great boldness and freedom of spirit as were many of the Jews whatsoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Febron know how to escape their hands: he had been a man of great value in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city, as he went he frequently cried out, and showed the hand of his commander; and when he was by the out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them all, and whom he who without permitting him to be buried. Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprermission upon them, that they might understand both their fire and pestilence in this war, and they would have the same with another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what come most justly upon them, when not long after they were killed in their own madness in their own safety, and mean kind, and that their choice prince of all was this Niger was killed, their fear of being over turned were diminished; and, indeed, there was no part of the people but they found ease, pretence to destroy them; for some were, there,
whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with those men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be the same as if the conquest was not owing to our bravery, but to their sedition."

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And they gave the Jews every comfort, and every day that deserted every day, and fled away from the Zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were very dry or over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while it would be said the poor zealots were very dry or over to the Romans. And all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting, at length chose rather to perish within the city, for the hopes of burial in their own city, than die in their country and be less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city, or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had been consumed in their zeal, they cast them forth to the country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the Divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrefy under the sun, and to be consumed by the beasts of the field, as if such were buried, as to those that deserted, which was no other than a death, while he that granted the favour of a grave to another, would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, the Gentiles that had been entirely lost among them as mercy, for what were the greatest objects of pity did most all of irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to the dead, both men and beasts, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in their own country. For the comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they had not a care. Now these things these prophecies foretold many things concerning the rewards and punishments of vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of these prophecies, belonging to their own country; and there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that the city should then be taken and the sanctuary burnt," by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute the temple of the living God. Now these did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

CHAP. VII.

How John tyrannized over the rest; and what Machabees the Zealots did at Manasseh; how also Vespasian took Antioch; and what Actions were performed by Placidas.

§ 1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought himself to accept

...
WAR OF THE JEWS.

A view of them above seven hundred. Afterward when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And indeed these men had used all manner of sacrilegious treatment. They burnt the vineyards and olive-groves, and the rest of their produce, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day, from all parts, not a few men as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea that had hitherto been at rest from the means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper, so by means of the disorder that was in the most populous city, the opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert; yet were these men that now got together and joined in the conspiracy by parties, too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves; and thus did they fall upon the holy places, and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were sometimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war; but still they prevented any further punishment, as do robbers, who, as soon as their ravages [are discovered,] run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that did not continue in this condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters; for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, what with fire and with sword, where they had found none of those that were there some that had concealed the vessels, and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to their city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him of the people's good-will to the Romans that many of them were already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did indeed already pity the calamities these men were in; and aroze, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave none behind, but to rush behind them, for fear they were then in prevented their farther ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided by sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook great things; and at the last, they made a guerrescence, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being observed, and set them on their feet, who had prevented them, and overran a certain small city called Engaddi. In which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them, but they also overran them, and cast them out of the city: as for such as could not run away, being women and children, they

* By these i.e., holy places, as distant from citizens, or the temple part in the town, and places of prayer and public worship, or other places, or by the sea side, or on the Inland, or some other house of prayer, as they are called in the New Testament, and other authors. See Luke vi. 13; Acts xvi. 12.

+ See sect. 31; his Life, sect. 34. In 

[By the 9th 11th v. 304. They were situated sometimes by the side of rivers, Acts and 13, or by the sea side, Acts xvi. 13, sect. 53. He did the twenty-five interpreters go to pray every morning by the sea side before they went to their work, Acts i. 26, ch. ii. sect. 13.]

* By these i.e., holy places, as distant from cities, or other places, or by the sea side, or on the Inland, or some other house of prayer, as they are called in the New Testament, and other authors. See Luke vi. 13; Acts xvi. 12. 

+ See sect. 31; his Life, sect. 34. 

people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand, as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the robbers and marauders who frequented the desert. But as soon as they saw that the wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Caesarea with the rest of the army. But as soon as they saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village, which was called Bethannabris, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them further off the wall, and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horsemen encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, which was four miles, and Placidus fought against them: for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans, when they were joined close together, and, as it were, wall-eyed, so that they were unable to find any place where the darts could enter, nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and, like the wildest of wild beasts, they fought upon the point of an extremity, so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village; and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that escaped into the village, so that, as they were driven from the wall, that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now as the guards were sent further off, that they might not for the future they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet if they should admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them and shut the gates, while Placidus made an attempt to fight them as long as it was dark, he got possession of the people on the wall, and of them that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed, but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiery plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country; and exaggrating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Arabians was already there, they excited great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hopes of escaping, being a city that was strongly situated and inhabited by wild tribes. But Placidus relying much upon his horse-men, and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan: and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current, (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them, so that the necessity of others was, provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no wall whether they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them, and the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them to death, and pursued them into the current. At which sight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides, two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than if really war; and this, because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now, Placidus, after this good success that he had had, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abilina, and Julius Benezeth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships; and slew as much as had remained to the island of Perea and had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

CHAP. VIII.

How Vespasian, upon hearing of some Comotions in Gall, made haste to finish the Jewish War. A Description of Jericho, and of the Great Plain; with an Account besides of the Lake Asphaltitis.

§ 1. In the mean time an account came, that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero; which affair is more accurately described in the next book. Thus, related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he first set the hand to the business of the empire peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter; while therefore the winter was his hindrance, [from going into the field, he put garrisons into the villages, and smaller cities for their security; he put deceivers also into the villages, and centurions into the cities; he besides this built many of the cities that had been laid waste, but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and sailed it from Caria into Asia, where he rested two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thomassos, he passed on to Iyyda, and Jaminia, and when both these cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places as inhabitants, and also those that were where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethlephon. He there encamped the whole strength of his army by fire, and fortified at proper places the strong holds all about Iдумæa; and when he had seized upon two villages, which were in the very midst of the

* Gr. Galatia, and so everywhere.
of Idumees, Betarías and Capharobas, he slew about ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed them in a part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he with the rest of his forces returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the coun-
yard of the city, and pitched his camp hard by the people that country Mabortas, to Corea, where he pitch-
ed his camp, on the second day of the month Deseia [Sivan:] and the army pitched their camp in a valley which day Tidrum, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jor-
dan being subdued already.

2. Hereupon great multitudes prevented their an-
swer, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem, while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Sathyropolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom, and the utmost limits of the plain. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness; there is an opposite moun-
tain that is situated over against it, on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias, and the one itself, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrah," which is the bounds of Petra in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between this ridge of moun-
tains, is called the Great Plain; it reaches from the village of Ginnabris, as far as the lake As-
phaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty, and that alone it extends by Jordan. It had two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis, and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other; for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very un-
wholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan, which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees that are on the banks are so flourishing and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing or fruitful.

3. Notwithstanding which, there is a fountain by Jericho, that runs plentifully, and is very fit for water, the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan, by right of war. The re-
port is, that this fountain, at the beginning, came up above the level of the sea, and that it extended as far as the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever, but that it was made gentle and very wholesome and fruit-
ful by the prophet Elisha. This brought set up with Elijah, and was his successor, who, when he once was the guest of the people of Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him with the best of all the hands as well as the best kind of the country, by a lasting favour; for he went out of the city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication, that 'the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water might be opened; that God also would bring the place a more temperate and fresh water for the current, and would bestow upon the peo-
ple of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth, and a succession of children; and that this
prolific water might never fail them while they live.' 1

1 This excellent prayer of Elisha is wanting in our ver-
cions, 2 Kings xi. 20, 21, though it be referred to in the Apocrypha under the name of the Pro-
cess of Elisha, but the occasion of it is mentioned in them all.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, filled from wide and deep springs; and then (which is very

Whether this Somorrah or Somorrah ought not to be'

1 This excellent prayer of Elisha is wanting in our ve-
cions, 2 Kings xi. 20, 21, though it be referred to in the Apocrypha under the name of the Pro-
cess of Elisha, but the occasion of it is mentioned in them all.
could not swim, should have their hands tied be- 
hide them, and be thrown into the deep, when 
it so happened that they all swam, as if a wind 
had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change 
of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it 
changes its appearance thrice every day, and as 
the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the 
light is variously reflected. However, it casts 
up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; 
these float, but are not seen so well as bitu-
mel both in shape and bigness headless bulls; 
and when the labourers that belong to the lake 
come to it, and catch hold of it as it hangs to-
gether, they do not put into their ships; but when 
the ship is far it is not easy to throw off the rest, for 
it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon 
its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual 
blood of women, and with urine, to which alone 
it yields the bitumen is not only useful as for the 
building of ships, but for the cure of men's 
heads: accordingly, it is mixed in a great many 
medicines. The length of this lake is five hun-
dred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended 
as far as Zonar in Arabia, and its breadth is a 
hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom 
borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, 
both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its 
cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is 
reported that the temple of the death of 
Galba was burnt by lightning; in consequence of 
which there are still the remains of that divine fire, 
and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are 
still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in the 
nearby fields. But whether the publicans and 
their men were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them 
with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. 
And thus what is related of this land of Sodom 
hath marks of credibility which our very 
sight affords us.

CHAP. IX.

That Vespasian, after he had taken Godara, made 
Preparation for the Siege of Jerusalem. But 
that, upon his hearing of the Death of Nero, he 
changed his Intentions. As also concerning 
Simon of Gerasa.

§ 1. AND now Vespasian had fortified all the 
places round about Jerusalem, and erected cita-
des in them; and he divided them into families 
them both, partly out of his own Romans, and 
partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also 
sent Lucius Anniius to Gerasa, and delivered to 
him a body of horsemen, a considerable number 
out of the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew 
thousand of those young men who had not pre-
vented him by flying away: but he took their 
families captive; and permitted his soldiers to 
plunder them of their effects; after which he set 
fire to their houses, and went away to the ad-
joining villages, while the men of power fled 
away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and 
what was remaining was all burnt down. And 
now he made his march into a strange and bar-
tainous country, and all the plain country also, 
those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the 
liberty of going out of the city: for as to such 
as had a mind to desert, they were watched by 
the zealots; and to such as were not yet on the 
side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by 
comprising the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cesarea, 
and was getting ready with all his forces for the 
directation of the expedition, there came to him 
that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen 
years and eight days; but as to any narration 
after what manner he abused his power in the 
government, and committed the management 
affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidia and 

* See the note on B. v. ch. xii. sect. 6.

† Of those R. germanicus and sertorius under Galba, Otho, 
and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see 
Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio more largely. However, we 
Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he 
had a plot laid against him by them, and wasde-
serted by all his guards, and ran away with four 
of his most trusty freedmen, and slew himself 
in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that oc-
casioned his death were in no long time brought 
themselves to punishment; how also the war in 
Gaul ended; and how Galba was made emperor, 
and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he 
was accused as well of being the lover of a 
woman person, and slain by treachery in the middle 
of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made 
emperor; with his expedition against the com-
manders of Vitellius, and his destruction there 
upon; and likewise how Vitellius was slain under 
Vittellius, and the fight that was about the 
capitol; as also how Antonius Primus and Mu-
cianus slew Vitellius, and his German legions, 
and thereby put an end to that civil war; I have 
omitted to give an exact account of these be-
cause they are well known by all, and they are 
described by a great number of Greek and Ro-
man authors; yet for the sake of the connexion 
of matters, and that my history may not be inco-
herent, I have just touched upon every thing 
briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his 
expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting 
whither the empire would be transferred after 
Nero's death. Moreover, it is said that when 
Galba was made emperor, he attempted nothing 
else he also should send him some direc-
tions about the war; however, he sent his son 
Titus to him, to salute him, and to receive his 
orders, and commands about the Jews. It is 
reported that Vitellius, the Emperor's 
erand did king Agrippa sail along with Titus to 
Galba; but as they were sailing in their long 
ships by the coasts of Achal, for it was winter 
time, they heard that Galba was slain, before 
they could get to him, after he had reigned 
several months and as many days. After whom Otho 
took the government, and undertook the man-
agement of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to 
go on to Rome, without any terror on account of 
the change in the government; but Titus, by a 
divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, 
and came in great haste to Cesarea, to his father. 
And now they were both in suspense about the 
public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a 
disturbed and fluctuating state. It is certain that 
their expedition against the Jews, but thought 
that to make any attack upon foreigners was 
now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude 
they were in for their own country.

3. And now the war in Jeru-

sal.- There was a son of Giora, one Simon, 
by birth of Gerasa, a young man, not so cunning 
indeed as John [of Gischala] who had already 
seized upon the city, but superior in strength of 
body and courage; on which account, when he 
had been driven away from that Acrabattene 
toparchy which he once had, by Ananus the high 
priest, he came to those robbers who had seized 
upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, 
and only permitted him to come up with 
who he brought with him, into the lower part of 
the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of 
it themselves. However, his manner so well 
agreed with theirs, and it was seen that he was 
a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged 
and destroyed the country with them about Ma-
ada; yet when he persuaded them to undertake 
greater things, he could not prevail with them so 
far as to do; for as to their distrustfulness at 
that citadel, they were afraid of going far from 
that which was their hiding-place; but he affect-
ing to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, 
when he had heard of the death of Ananus, he 
left them, and went into the mountainous part of 
the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those 
may observe with Ostia, that Josephus writes the name of 
the second of them not Otia, with many others, but Othe, 
with the colts. See also the note on ch. xi. sect. 4.
in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the wild country, and when there were more still more, and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country, and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power ran to him; so that his name was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king. He then overran the Acrobattene toparcheia; and, as that range was as far as the Great Idumea: for he built a wall at a certain village called Nain, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called Paran, he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures, and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partisans had their dwelling in them, and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being what they were, one that was going up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not, out of so much upon him, as make an assault upon the walls: but he received first to subdue Idumena, and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans, got together on the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada, and they resolved to make Simon their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day, and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Romans to their home. Now when Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called Theocoe, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodion, and persuaded them to make the fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found that he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately; but the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a very easy army, before they hazard ed a battle with them.

6. Now there was one of their commanders named Jacob, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went therefore from the village Alurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon, and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him, that he should be appointed to the place, and in especial promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumena under him; upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he had left him, he resolved that he would assist the army of Simon, and said it was manifestly more in number than what it was; after which, he dexterously persuaded the command ers, and by degrees the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government of the city; and they set on foot a great multitude, and doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also: for as soon as their army was mustered, he came, and said to the men of the city, and together with those whom he had corrupted hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude, and before it came to a close fight, they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his house.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumena, without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. And some of the country say, that it is an ancestor city, not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and accordingly its age is reckoned to two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate, that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of Mesopotamia; and they say, that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time shown in the city. And who were the first parts of that country are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there shown, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large terebinth tree,* and report goes that this was the creation of the world. Therewith did Simon make his progress over all Idumena, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid waste the whole country; and besides those that were suddenly taken, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffer such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous dispossession, and he was the greatest and mightiest nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumena was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon. Certain it is long after, some of them having the ground, some utterly demolished, and whatsoever grew in the country they either trod it down or fed upon it, and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated hard and men inured to endure the rigours of the desert.

* In short, this was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste, that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealous fresh; and though there were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself; and in proud expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his bride, and came to the wall of Jeruzalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded, and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly he caught all of them, and threw them into the sea, to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed, and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of his enemies. He also took a great many, and sent them into the city to this day, and that particularly for an ambuscade at a meeting of merchants there every year, as the unworthy inform us.
upon his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seclusion. He also exhorted the people, that Simon, who was also the God of the universe, who was at this time still living, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their walls, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing, and without any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These things so greatly affrighted, not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little more composed, and left off, in order to make the people less exasperated.

9. But now sedition and civil war prevailed not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also, for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecidio, who were Vitellius's generals, at Betricum in Gaul, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory: and after much slaughter Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixia, and after he had managed the public affairs three months and two days. Otho's army also, after fixing him down, made himself down to Rome with his army. But in the mean time Vespasian removed from Caesarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius, [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were still held by Vitellius, who had fixed himself down to a mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the Gophatik and Acra-Batte toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities, and, when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners, and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the Antipatric, and entered into Idumea, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabrim, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall, and when he expected to subdue it, he saw the city open its gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrendered themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them, he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have already said that the Idumeans were a mountainous country not far off Jerusalem; and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodion, Masada, and Mamre, which were in the possession of the robbers, so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

10. And now, as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and released herself, and, in order to make zealots, he returned back to the remnants of Idumea, and, driving the nation all before him, from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all round again; and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the zealots who were within it; for the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the others; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage of John corrupt the body of the Galileans; for he had made him very potent, who made them a suitable requisit from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich, and for the murdering of the men, and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine with lascivies, with all the filthy abominations, till they were satiated therewith: while they decked their hair and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and that they might, appear very comely, they had painted and powdered their eyes, and adorned the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort; and thus did the proflites themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house, entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was affaminate, they presently attacked men, and became warriors, and drew their swords, and ran after their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they lighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the very bloody, and who had escaped the tyrant within the wall, was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates, so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off, if any had a mind so to do.

11. Yet did they not remain in peace, but having made a sedition against him, and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power, and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Gupate, who was a relation of Itzates, the king of Adiabene; the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence and into the temple, which was called Herod's; and this was the end of John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein had he laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyranny. In the mean time the multitude of the zealots that were dispersed over the country gathered unto those that had fled thither, and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves betters in number; nor was that a necessary, lest they should privately sally out of the temple and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after it in manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free, as was worse than the calamity itself. Accordingly, John, together with the Idumeans, who determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias the high priest, to beseech this Simon to come in to them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also who had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem, joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects; and the zealots themselves, in a prudent manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him for his virtue and the preservation of the country; but when he was come in to them, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in, to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.
12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem, in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus, [Nisan;] whereupon John, with his multitude, went up, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city, (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were wounded, for the warriors threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforesaid, that their dead might serve as a kind of scarlet signal for their soldiers, who, at a northeast corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Paphosphorus, where one of the priest's stood, over, and gave a signal bell to sound, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when the day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off war, and they were to return to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal, upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more fiercely, by reason of the help of his men, which were very near weary of the work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him:

CHAP. X.

How the Soldiers, both in Judea and Egypt, proclaimed Vespasian Emperor. And how Vespasian released Josephus of his Bonds.

§ 1. Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius had come, and gave a signal bell to sound, and did along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for the soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the places with men. Then, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their convulsive desires, and were one to give themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cesarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed as well as to govern, and was not so much satisfied with him for his lord, who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if it were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments.

* This beginning and ending the observation of the Jews and Jews in the Sabbath, with that as to the trumpet, is remarkable, and nowhere else mentioned, that I know of. Nor is Roland's conjecture here improbable, that this was the very place that has puzzled our commentators so long, called Meneek Sabbath, the Owner of the Sabbath, if that be the true reading, 2 Kga. xvi. 16, because here the proper priest stood dry, under a canopy, to proclaim the beginning and ending of every Jewish Sabbath.

* The Roman authors that now remain say Vitellius had children, whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman

He was under, nor to apply himself further in other wars, when his native country was beset with war; but then, as much as his passions excited him, and he was at that time restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could make himself safe all over the seas to Italy, especially as it was now determined not to let Rome, which they pretend was a very strong city, how vehement soever it was, at this time.

3. But now his commandants and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs, and out of their assembling, out of how great the Emperor there are soldiers that live delicately; and when they have not ventured so much as to bear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors; while you and I, who have been grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what interest have we here in the controversy of their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there is so much justice for Vespasian's being emperor for than for Vitellius; as they are themselves more qualified for the latter, and the emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they ever had the courage to murder their emperors; neither will the Roman senate nor people bestow such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant, instead of a friend. Upon, nor choosing either him, the time of whom says that neither will the Roman senate nor people bestow such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius.

4. That the Emperor, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian; or whether from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus. Since by this means we shall have the image of their age, for that the gods will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and will have the sea and the many enemies in the East to support them, as also those in Europe, and as far out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself, that is, Vespasian's brother, and his other son, who have no one to be afraid of. And these young men are ready for war, and many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case is this such, that if we ourselves make further delay, the senate may choose an emperor, whom the soldiers, who are the savours of the empire, will have in contempt.

* Observe that the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor, and exhorted him to save the government, which was soldiers in Judea saying that he had none. Which of Eusebius, when he describes the Romans' brawling as the Jews, therefore, and those Bishops, is still thought to have given a peculiar reason for calling Vespasian childless, though he really had children. Dian. de Mon. p. 468, GCS, to which it appears very difficult to give a reason.

* This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, son to Sexullius informs us, in Vitell. sect. 15, and in Vespasian. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. xi. sect. 4.

* It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eusebius, that Vespasian was son of co-
and the earth since through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous, yet is the harvest large enough. When you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty farthings in largeness; into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness, as also what abundance the country affords, more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tibicenus Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of the government, was desirous to have him for his confidant and supporter. And when Alexander as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the regions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both of whom willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man, from that his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey to Rome. Now came this news of his return into Rome by the more public way. His countrymen thought, that he was emperor over the East, upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news; the cities also that were in Mycia and Cappadocia, who had been without communications of any account to this insolent attempt of Vittellius, were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Caesarea to Berytus, where he made a public entry, and received money for the building of the cities and towns of the regions that were at Alexandria to the other two regions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defence to himself against the uncertainty of the East, which was subject to many embasures and dangers by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south Syene, which divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be navigated by any but what are of the size of a Coelian. It is therefore not far as to Coplus; and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the Egyptian Sea, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Syene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called Elephassa, and it is navigated by many small ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow, and full of rocks, that make it difficult for ships. But Vespasian, who was much mistrustful of Alexander, and the letter he had before (as his advancement), took that for a very shameful thing (said he), that this man who had forsworn his coming to the empire beforehand, and then the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in

The First Emperor in Judea, and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whence Tacitus's and Suetonius's present cop- sure must be accounted, when they both speak of the first proclamation in Egypt, and that on the calends of July, while they still say it was the fifth of the moon or idea of the new king. The variant in Suetonius is a week in September, and the month there they intended was June, and not July, as the copies now have it; nor does Tacitus's coherence imply less. See one Essay on the Revelation, p. 136.

As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his having foretold the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by their means, and the consequent accession of the Medes and Persians, v. vi, or rather, as Jerrish, when he was a praetor, was set at liberty, and honorably treasured by the Curia Roman, and the command of the Nabuchodonozzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jer. xi. 1. so was our Joseph, that was of the tribe of Levi. His name was added, on account of his having foretold the advancement of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire. All these are most eminent instances of the direct interposition of the divine will, and of the certainty of Divine predictions in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such examples there are both in the sacred and other histories; as in the case of Joseph in Egypt, and of Nebuchadnezzar, the high priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.,
the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he asked for Josephus, and commanded that he be brought before him. And when the commanders promised themselves glorious things, from this requisit Vespasian made to a stranger. This was then present with his father, and said, "O father, it is but just that the scandal of [a] person so vile as Josephus should not be taken off Josephus, together with his iron chain. For if we do not bare his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that had never been bound at all." For that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces; while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

CHAP. XI.
That upon the Conquest and Slaughter of Vitellius, Vespasian hastened his Journey to Rome, but Titus, his Son, returned to Jerusalem.

§ 1. And now, when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power judiciously, and according to ever so many, he came to Alexandria, and consulted which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were more pressing; for Vespasian, who had removed the Maccabees to Italy, and committed a considerable army, both of horsemen and footmen, to him; yet was Maccabees afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Myisa, &c.; he was president of that province, and made haste in order to fight against Vespasian. So Vespasian sent away Cecinnas with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him, because of his having beaten Otho. Thus Cecinnas marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them, and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antinous, and so he sent the standard-bearers and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antinous, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasias. He also told them, that with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it; and that it was better for them to prevent necessity, and gain favour, and, while they were likely to be overpowered in battle, to change the side beforehand, and go over to Antonius willingly; that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted, without their assistance. But the tribunes could not preserve what he had already with it.

3. Cecinnas said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a flour roused on them, lest perhaps Vespasian, who sent them away, should afterwards turn upon them; so they assaulted Cecinnas, in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it; so the soldiers did not kill him. They then took him, and conveyed him to Vitellius, and set him upon a chair with his iron chain. And when they heard that he had been taken, they sent a messenger immediately, and made him put on his armour, and led them against those that had revolted; and when they encountered them in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona: these did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed the multitude of those that fled, and fell into the city together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers, who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Myisa than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinnas, and committed him to the care of his son Titus, and went himself to Cremona, where he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching to Cremona, and that he would come to Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night, and in the night time seized upon the capital, and, as the day came on, many more of character came over to him, with Domitius his brother, and those that were a very great weight for the composing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry with those that had revolted with Sabines, and thirtysix, and all his next door townsmen; for the blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the capital, and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last, the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitius, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially occupied, while the rest of the multitude were entirely dispersed, and the other cohorts brought to Vitellius, and these slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now within a day's time came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius, who said that Vitellius required not his hand for three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace, in his caps, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity, and having drawn a bow from the quiver, and stooping under all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days; and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the end would have been even too long enough for him. Of the others that were slain, were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apellus [Casius]; on the next day Maccabees came into the city with his historians, who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hedges observed before; and they are more agreed and certain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary for some time; one of the latest indeed Cassius Dio; but Scaliger omits them all, as if they did not all together reign one whole year, nor had a single Thoth or New-year's day (which then fell upon Aug. 5.) in their entire reign. Dio says that Vitellius reigned but two years, days, does not estimate all their reign together at no more than 1 year, 1 month, and 2 days.
BOOK IV.—CHAP. XL

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.—FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO EMIGRACE JERUSALEM TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Sedition at Jerusalem, and what rebellious Miseries afflicted the City by their Masters.

§ 1. WHEN, therefore, Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner aforementioned, he came to Caesarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria in settling that city, he had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions; and that one faction fought against another, which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now, as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it has been explained in the manner above manner; as also when it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But, for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and parted the people into the temple, he appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering: but the truth was, that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant which he esteemed to be beneath himself, and which had gained the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas, the son of Chelias, and Simon, the son of Exron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Herakchias, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence.

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots were to be heard of in Jerusalem, and to be the first time that they were to be the object of the public notice. They were, in fact, a body of men who had arisen in opposition to the authority of the Roman government, and who were determined to maintain their independence by force of arms. They were led by Judas, the son of Chelias, and Simon, the son of Exron, and were supported by Herakchias, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence.

but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army, to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria; there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the coast to the city Thamus; there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called Tanis. His second station was Hera, a town of Acroplemus, and the third Pelusium; he then refreshed his forces, that he might have a place for the people to lodge in, and on the third passed over the mouth of the Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Egyptian Jupiter, and on the next day at Osoracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocuges, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Ascalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Caesarea, having taken the resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

* There are coins of this Cusanus Jupiter still extant, as Spantner here informs us.

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots were to be heard of in Jerusalem, and to be the first time that they were to be the object of the public notice. They were, in fact, a body of men who had arisen in opposition to the authority of the Roman government, and who were determined to maintain their independence by force of arms. They were led by Judas, the son of Chelias, and Simon, the son of Exron, and were supported by Herakchias, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence.
against the siege, and by thus setting the
sieves of their own power. Accordingly, it
was arranged, that all the places that were
within the temple were burnt down, and were
became an intermediate desert place. Ready was
the army of the Chaldeans that surrounded the whole
city, and burnt, which would have been sufficient
for a siege of many years. So they were taken by
the means of the famine, which it was impossible
they should have maintained, unless by the
provision they made for it by this procedure.
5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war
on all sides, from these tremendous crowds of
wicked men, the people of the city, between
them, were like a great body of men. And
again, the women were in such distress
by their internal calamities, that they wished for
the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an exter-
nal war, in order to their delivery from their
domestic distress. The situation seemed them
under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had
they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of
changing their conduct; nor were there any
hopes of coming to an agreement with their ene-
 mies; nor could such as had a mind feel safe
for guards were set at all places, and the heads
of the robbers, although they were seditions and
against another in other respects, yet did they
agree in killing those that were for peace with
the Romans, and in a general war, they wished
to desert to them, as their common enemies.
They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those
that were innocent. The noise also of those who
were fighting was incessant, both by day and by
night, so that the noise of it was redounding
exceeded the other; nor was there any occasion
for them to leave off their lamentations,
because their calamities came perpetually upon
another, although the deep consternation that
the Romans made them under, was being
but being constrained by their fear to conceal
their inward passions, they were inwardly tem-
mented, without daring to open their lips in
words. Nor was any regard paid to those that
were still alive by their relations; and nor was
any care taken of burial for those that were
dead; the occasion of both which was this, that
every one despised of himself; for those that
were not among the seditions had no great de-
sire to be killed, knowing that those that were
they should very soon be destroyed; but for the
seditious themselves, they fought against each
other, while they trod upon the dead bodies as
they lay heaped one upon another, and taking
up their garments, and scattering them under
their feet, became the fiercer therewith.
They, moreover, were still inventing somewhat
other than that which was pernicious against themselves,
and when they had resolved upon any thing,
they executed it without mercy, and omitted all
method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John
abused the sacred materials, and employed
them in the construction of his engines of war;
for the people and the priests had formerly
used to keep their houses, which the holy house twenty cubits higher; for king
Agrippa had at a very great expense, and with
great pains brought thither such materials
as were proper for that purpose, being pieces
timber very well worth seeing, both for their
straightness and their largeness; but the war
coming on, and interrupting the work, John had
them cut, and prepared for the building him
other provisions, as was sufficient for many years, was the
direct occasion of this terrible famine which consumed
him, and the increase of the Jews was to increase
for, as Antiochus, see Antioch II. viii. sect. 60, which is the great
Hope of Israel, as Masheeh instead of Messiah, the famous Jew-
and his temple, but Matthew in his text but a treacherous one
that subject, of which the Jewish proverbs are everywhere
full. See the principal of these prophecies collected to-
gather at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page
133. 2d.
1 This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and

* The Letter.

† This is an excellent reflection of Josephus, including
his exact dates and narrative of the Jews' repentance and
resignation, see Antioch. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 60, which is the great
Hope of Israel, as Masheeh instead of Messiah, the famous Jew-
and his temple, but Matthew in his text but a treacherous one
that subject, of which the Jewish proverbs are everywhere
full. See the principal of these prophecies collected to-
gather at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page
133. 2d.

‡ This timber, we see, was designed for the building
those twenty additional cubicles of the holy house about
hundred which had fallen down some years before. See
the note on Antioch. B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 3.
BOOK V.—CHAP. II.

7. When he found them long enough to oppose them, those his adversaries, they brought from the temple that was above him. His house he brought and erected behind the inner court ever against the west end of the cloister, where those he could erect them, whereas the other cloister he would not let them come near enough to the cloister.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his rains would prove of no use to him, so long as the Romans upon him, before he had reached any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched with his camp at his own pace, and those three legions that had accompanied his father, when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour, so did it march on now with great alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by goads and staves, which he carried with him by Jericho; he also moved himself, together with the rest: besides which, marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came from Syria. Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Marcus to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus, which numbers were double, both for his good-will to him, and his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army [under Titus.] The reason of this, was that he had been the first who had encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counsellor, very useful to him in his war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

CHAP. II.

How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in Danger, as he was taking a View of the City. Of the Place also where he pitched his Camp.

1. Now as Titus was upon his march into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries that were the want of the Romans, to send them to the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed to support them; then came Titus himself; he armed himself partly on, and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines, and after these engines, came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts.

* * * * *

4. There being no gate on the west, and only on the west sides of the city, where we now make use of, this was the only gate that the sedition, under this John of Gischala, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, upon the floor of the court itself, as those that were in the description of the temple hereunto belonging.

5. We may hereby note, that Titus is here called a king and Caesar, for that he was the emperor's son and general of the Roman army, and his father Vespasian was still alive, just as the New Testament says Archelaus reigned, or was king, Matt. xi. 25, though he was properly no more than a tribarch as Josephus particularly esteemed Titus as joint king with his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, E. ii. ch. viii. sect. 9.

6. See the note.
him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his way through those that were overlavoured. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the boldness of Caesar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched by, and go off from him in great numbers, so that he might not lose his danger with him kept up close to him; though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening his way that he might not be taken by the Romanojers round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance; the one of which the enemy encompassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews’ first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune on their side, made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion which had been at Emmaus was joined to Caesar at night, he had as it were the ground, and made straight to a place called Scopus; from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place, on the north quarter of the city, and joining thereto a plain, and a infinite part of the city, named Scopus, [the prospect.] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together, but ordered another camp to be formed at the strongest part of the city, farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and those were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and be before the enemy. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives,* which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley which is opposite between them, which is named Cedron.

4. Now, when hithero the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first stop to their contentions one against another: and, as the sedition now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of no awkward sort of concord, and of no other peace. What we here, but what do we mean, when we suffer three fortified walls to be built, to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely: while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our bands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was of no good and advantage. We are, as it seems, (so did they say out,) only courage against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition. Thus did they encourage one another when they were at the first camp to be formed: but the armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigiously about, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this, in order to perform their parts, that they might not be liable to some measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them, and, had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have been extinguished. The Jews had came already unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back. The Jews were upon their arms, they became still more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed, both to themselves and to the enemy, to be many more than they really were. The change of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skillfully in good order, and with keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them; for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when the Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their own numbers, and to the full safety of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, they were wounded by them; but, as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to an equal number of their own proper party. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he re-ordered those that were running away, to those that were running after them for those that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews on their flank, with these select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and ran away hastily down the valley. Now, as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about, and stood over against the legion, and all the cities that were fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but, when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that were behind the army, to repair from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain, to fortify their camp.

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchmen who was placed upon the wall, gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to a rush of a torrent. To be brief, what we say here, but the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemies’ ranks to pieces, who were put to flight and ran away to the mountains: none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the multitude. Now these others who were his friends, deserted the danger they were in, and even came up to his side, so that the soldiers of Titus turned out, and virtually exerting him to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the army with supplies and provisions, and keeping up the enemy so suddenly, and this because he was taken and the city, are things well known both in the Old and New Testament, in Josephus elsewhere, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.
sized in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do depend. And yet he did not forsake those who had come to him in the midst of great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction; as the zealots did, that they might get a revenge against Titus. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood together at the altar, and about the holy house, were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also, as had differences with others, slew and put to death, without regard to person or state; and thus professed the private enmity and hatred, as if they were op- posite to the seditious; and all those that had for merly offended any of these potters, were now known, and were led away to the slaughter: and when they had done abundantly of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and opposed Simon. And thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city, sent Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient, opposite to the Jews to prevent their sailing out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the temple, and the temple ground, and the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled with the hollow potters' and carpenters', and disem- powerd the rocky precipices with iron instruments; and thereby made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoin to the pool called the Serpent's, 3.

3. Now at this very time, the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditians went out at the towers, called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of that city by Titus; and were for peace and cease from war as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried aloud for Titus, as if they were treated they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the city. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in, and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they drove them into great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party saged, only he lets us know, that of the vulgar, carried the head of Vespasian, and buried it at the like number of 600,000, chap. xiii. sect. 7. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum was 500,000, but Tacitus is so very disagreeable to Josephus' history, though they were become much more numerous when Titus encompassed the city at the Passover. As to the number that perished during this siege, we shall see hereafter, they were 1,100,000, besides 97,000 captives; but Tacitus' history of the last part of the siege is not now extant, so we cannot compare his parallel numbers with those in Josephus.
would open their gates to them, so as to execute their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation, by the soldiers to the gates; whereupon them that seemed to have been executed, at the first retired: but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran one upon another, and seeing them routed, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall, threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward: besides which the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake; wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them, routed, and drove them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of Queen Helen.

4. After this, these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and being thus deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by sword and with imprecation by Titus himself, [who spake to them thus:] "These Jews, who are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumpection; they contrive stratagems and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good will and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and regular以防 they have no success, have now had ill success by their contrary behaviour; and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on with their commanders in the very presence of Cæsar. Truly (says Titus,) the law of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have not been put to death shall be punished immediately sensible, that even they, who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death, and that justly and quick- ly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and their sovereigns and their favorers, their fellow-soldiers, and made supplication to him that he would pardon the rashness of a few, on account of the better obedience of the rest; and promised for them, that they should make amends for the fault they had by their more virtuous behavior for the time to come.

5. So Cæsar complied with their desires, and [since dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no farther than proofs; so he was reconciled to the soldiers, and set free them immediately, in order for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been leveled, which was done, and as it were heaping up the earth so as to carry the baggage of the army with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of it, and over against the part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the foot- men placed before them, and the horsemen be- hind them, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now as the Jews were prohibited by Cæsar from being a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens and belonged to the three legions and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall at that part of it where was the corner, and over against that tower which was called Pæphiopion, at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north part of it was between the Jewy and the Romans, but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant, in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place, upon the Mount of Olives.

CHAP. IV.

The Description of Jerusalem.

§ 1. The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the Cæsarean, being Cæsar's city. Others say the hill of Cæsar; but this name is said to have been given to it by Cæsar, who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acrea, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when seen from the hill of the Temple, being a very broad hill, but naturally lower than Acrea, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Assassins reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They took off part of the height of Acrea, and raised it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the Cesesmongers, as it was called, and was covered with earth from the hill of the Temple to the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, ex- tended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outside, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging, on both sides they are everywhere impassable.

2. Now, of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and by reason it was built by Titus on the hill of the Temple, where the other two were above them. But besides that great ad- vantage, as to the place where they wereissettled, it was also built very strong; because Da- vid and Solomon, and the following kings, were very jealous about this work. Now that wall

* Perhaps, says Dr. Dods, here was that pass called the Gate of the Corner, in 3 Qumr. av. 4. 8, 9, 10. xer. 5.
began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xystus, a place so called, and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began on the place, and extended through a place called Bethro, to the gate of the Eunices: and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again toward the north quarter of the city, and the town finished the, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helen, which Helen was queen of Adiabene, and mother of Izates: it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral cavern of Martha, and went again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the Monument of the Fuller, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the way to the Valley of the Fruits, which person possessed the parts added to the city with this wall, which had been all nacked before, for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a ditch, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering it. Its height was about 40 cubits, or rather, the elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called Bezetha in our language, which if interpenetrated by water, is a rampart, or a wall. The New City. Since therefore its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left it unfinished, and what was bad begun was turned into a manner of a wall as it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shivered, as if the buildings were made of wood; nor could it have been any easier to have collected so large a number of stones, as it was no uncommon thing to have had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits high; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints and the beauty of the stones were noway inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of twenty cubits, above there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad: of these towers then the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into two, and it began westward, come over the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephenus elevated above it at the northwest corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent. It was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, as the most high and hard by it, two other cubits higher; and Herod in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength, beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for, besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his munificence towards the city, it was built after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he numbered his kinsmen, and his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain out of his love [and jealousy], as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting Hippicus, so named from his father. On either side of these three were such great breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits in depth; over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round; so that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits; and it looked out over the sea, and was of the same height as the others; and the third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen’s name; it was solid as high as twenty cubits: its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and equal to each other: its upper buildings were made with more variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was decorated from his wife better than those decorated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife’s name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4. Now as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall whereon was all built on the west wall of the old wall, in a height that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not common stones brought together of such large ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so ex-
actly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hands of the architects into their present shapes and crowned (as it were, so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoining, which exceeds all praise to describe its magnificence. The χώρα, or square, was so curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large beds of flowers, that would contain beds for hundreds of guests apiece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed: for a large quantity of paintings that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the roofs, and the splendidness of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of these porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air everywhere green. The extent of these courts was of twenty and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons, in these canals. It is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the enemy, and which they supposed; were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

CHAP. V.

A Description of the Temple.

§ 1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but Herod, king Solomon, who was of great authority in those times, and who built the temple, had built a wall to it on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on other parts the holy house stood naked. But in the temple again the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the compass of the entire temple. And when they had built on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for, (in which work long ages were spent by them, as all their sacred treasures were embattled, which were still repaired by them in brilliancy, till the temple was burned) the hill was so habitable, that they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they (afterward) did the lowest [court of the temple.

The lowest part of this was erected to the height of seven stadia, and was adorned with two sets of buildings; one set was of twenty and long walks through them, with deep canals, and cisterns, that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts of tame pigeons, in these canals. It is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the enemy, and which they supposed; were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

§ 2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations: for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble, and the roofs were adorned with cedars, curiously graven. This great work was called the temple, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [court of the temple] were forty stadia, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go into the temple you stand within the temple, and you then entered the [court of the temple]; there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits, its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, of a law of purity, and some in Roman letters, That no foreigner should go within that sanctuary; for that second [court of the temple] was called the Sanctuary, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the [court of the temple]; but the garth was four furlongs in a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were on the outside forty cubits high, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; but the height of the temple was only five cubits above the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits; this was all plain; whereas there were other steps, each of five cubits in height, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of these sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition made for the women on the side where the place where they went to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate pillars and arches under ground, which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antig. B. xvi. ch. xi. sect. 3; and which H. Maudred saw, and describes, p. 100, as exact under ground.

What Josephus seems here to mean is, that these pillars supporting the cloisters in the second court, and their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the temple was above the ground, which is so the height that the foundations were forced to be added afterward by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without foundation in the scripturc, and at not all confirmed by his exact account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is this, that when the temple was long afterward added with cloisters, the southern foundation for these cloisters was large or firm enough, and was raised upon a foundation supported by great
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5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same, where its twelve cubits; but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and in it there were things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table (of showbread, and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the twelve apostles, and they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also stand on each side, and their height was above twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was so much exceeding and invaluable that it was to be shewn by any purple, and of a crenature that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystic interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe for this threefold division seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colours the exterior of the temple, but the fine flax and the purple have their origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that side of the twelve signs, which represented living creatures.

6. Now the outward face of the temple in its front wasted the distance to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those who were to ascend to it, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Below this stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like a square, and sides like a square, and a visible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There also was a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, and one cubit broad, and carried to the light; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the goathorns and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely: women also, when their nurses
were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor, when they were free from that impiety, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned, but had not even the exercise of their own private gardens; for nobody but he that officiated had access to his sacred garments; but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them, went up to the other in fine linen, and the high priest chiefly from one of these fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always indeed, but on the seventh day and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, whither we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his private parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment for the sake of his own garments, round without seam, with fringe work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunders, the pomegranates thrones of judgment, that tied the garment to the breast, was embroidered with five rows of various colours, of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours we told you before the weft of the temple was embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod, but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There were upon it two golden buttons like small scales, and the edges of the garments: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them; on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a figure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysole; upon every one of which was again engraved the name of one of the names of the tribes. A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraven the sacred name of God; it consisted of wale roses; his high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our easter is celebrated. And with this much concerning the city and the temple; but, for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things therto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west, and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits high, and was square in form. It was the work of king Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for the sake of decoration and to diminish the weight; then they tried to get up or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a steep ascent of steps; it was fifty cubits high, but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon to the height of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and offices; and it also had fountains and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch, that by having all conveniences that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it was truly a city. The structure more resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners: whereof the others were but fifty cubits high; whereas that which lay upon the same corner was seventy cubits in height, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed: but on the corner, where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guards for there always lay in fine linen. In man lye several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but because it was out of the very circuit of the city of Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood, was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the view of the temple. And that hill was so high, that it shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city and the walls about it, because I have proposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tyrants Simon and John. How also, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City, Nicoran was wounded by a Dart; which Accident provoked Titus to press on the Siege.

§ 1. Now the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the sedulous that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumaean mercenaries. Three thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumaean that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob the son of Siran, and his brother, and Simon the son of Cosabas; both of them that had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders; the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon the son of Arianus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that which the Romans suffered from them in their wicked practices, were plundered by both factions. Simon held the upper city and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as went from Siloam to the sea, and which went down to the palace of Menechas, who was king of the Idumaean, beyond Ephraim; he also held that fountain, and the Aures, which was no other than the lower city; he also held all that reached to the palace of queen Hicla, and the temple and the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called the Valley of Cedron; and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt and ravaged, they fled by the war, and joined in one body, and fought with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were un

* Those three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and the tower of Antonia.
campaigned near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser by the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but a while; for they returned to their former glory, and even the very party that was separated one from another, and fought it out, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans, than they made easy to the others, and so the Romans were no way disturbed by the city after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that through it did so much kindness; for I venture to affirm, that the city's destruction was more the Romans destroyed the sodition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them. In the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines, he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the High priest first, because he had observed the destruction of the city, and the temple itself. But at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicaraoh, was wounded with a dart on his arm, and in his distress together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that were upon the wall, about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them. On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew the town was in a posture to receive terms of peace, was provoked to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to take away their baggage; the men that set the engines to work should bring them together, and raise the banks against the city; and when he had parted his army in three parts in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that as he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immense.

* What should be the meaning of this signal or watch-word used to discover the number of the enemy, *The son cometh,* or what mistake there is in the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, I agree in this reading; and I cannot approve of any general alteration of the text from 1010 to 1010, that not the son or a stone, but that the arrow or dart cometh, as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Hieronymus. But Josephus writes even his own story, which is a note of the whole of the relations of the war, and the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a son is in like that for a stone, Ben and Ben, and these words are never used without more distinct designation. But Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Egypt, and so in the Chaldee language, as he himself saith, and for that reason this word was Bar was the Chaldee word for son, instead of we Hebrew Ben, and was used not only in Chaldee, &c., but in Judæa also, as the New Testament informs us. Did he here use Ben, that the very Romans at Rome, pronounced the name of Simon, the son of Giora, Bar Perses, and it is the very name Josephus uses for Bar Giora, or for Bar Gioram, in the text. The land takes notice, "That many will here look for a mystery, as though the meaning were that the Son of God came now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation." which is, indeed, the truth of the fact, but hardly what the Jews could now mean; unless, possibly by way of derision of Christ's threatenings so often made, that he would come at the time of the destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If we were to make an emendation, by mutual conjecture, I would read instead of 1010, or 1010, is not only a poetical word, and most used by Josephus, but, inasmuch as it is the only word that is at all suitable to the occasion, this engine not throwing arrows or darts, but great stones at this time.
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However, the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made on them; and the fire caught hold of the works and both all those works, and the engines then set up, had been in danger of being burnt, had not more than a hundred select soldiers from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it; and had they not behaved themselves with great, or courage than they themselves supposed they could have done; for they extirpated those in the fight that had greatest reputation than those before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, when he himself slew twelve of those that were in the forepart of the Jews; while the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now, it happened at this time, that a certain Jew was taken alive, tower of fifty men. Thus Titus, having surprised the fort, and driven the Jews before him, left the wall to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and obstinate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumæans, and was talking to a number of the Idumæans, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arab, and died immediately; leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was a man of great eminence, both for his actions and his conduct also.

CHAP. VII.

How one of the Towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord; and how the Romans, after great slaughter had been made, put up two of the first Walls. How also Titus made his Assailants upon the second Wall; as also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Conter the Jew.

§ 1. Now on the next night, a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus gave orders for the erection of the towers of fifty men, and the Jews had driven the towers at every turn. So then, upon them at every bank, he might from those drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, Titus was not at all surprised in hearing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions, and no body could tell what had happened, they went one way, and the others in another; excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extent far; but no man could fall upon it, so that the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it. 5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Roman walls were strengthened in their several camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near them came presently to their assistance, and those further off came running after them, and in the meantime, the Jews did not become too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together, and fought about the engines was over hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain.


grew weary of fighting, and of keeping guard, and were retired to lodge on the night times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts than these that Titus did not appear in sight to guard the wall, there being, besides, that, two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful, and their councils having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many of them, at the very midday, mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retraced to the second wall; so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received the Romans into the city. But the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fiftieth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians, having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews’ darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall; while John and his faction did it from the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as well as in the rest of the Romans had fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary with actions and sallies upon the walls, and perpetual sallies out in bodies the day long; nor were they any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was almost all night then, and was more uneasy the day than to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps; both sides also lay in their armour during the night time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now, among the Jews, the ambition was who should undergo the first dangers and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had not that vein of suffering the common; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conducting their affairs in a manner diffe from that of the Jews, in constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion; and what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present everywhere with them all; for it appeared upon a terrible, grave war, and that in a strong body, and while both parties were throwing their darts at each other. Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the army of the Jews, and drew the darts from one of the other, with which he ran this man through his side, as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signaled himself for several miles, and there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischiefs they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. For the severity of their violence was madness, and that alone was the true courage, that was joined with good conduct. He therefore commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them, but that they should and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain great Jew, Castor, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breastplates: but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Caesar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the interim, looking on his heart, believed him to be a true repentant, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bade Castor say what he had a mind to him. And when he would confess, he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews did thus; and that, if it was his will, he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten desisted with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while they were the power to divide the state of freedom. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done; and that, if the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeased openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus’s hand for their security, as well as to their welfare. And after that he came, he brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus, and those with him, were amazed at the courage of the men, and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval, a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and
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showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. So Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended pretended nothing that was good; he also reasserted those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Cæsarea, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Cæsarea the more earnestly to run to him with his bow open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him which missed him because he had not aimed at it, but shot it at one of his soldiery another soldier that was coming to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So be caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flames into the town. The fire was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and get ready for taking the third Wall.

§ 1. Now Cæsar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first: and when the Jews had freed him, he entered into it with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloths. This would make the narrowest part of the town, and the more oblong part of the wall. Wherefore if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not think of the manners of the Jews; for he had not to make a safer retreat upon occasion; for he did not think they would lay snares for those that did them such a kindness. When therefore he came in, as if his army was to kill all of those, he caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditions, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was afraid of the walls, to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people, he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, he found them so weak that they could have neither of their old courage, nor of their old bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south part of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

Titus, when the Jews were not at all modified by his leaving off the Siege for a while, set himself again to prosecute the same; but soon saw Josephus miscarry with his own Countrymen about Peace.

§ 1. A resolution was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditions an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more composed; and that he might not make them the more easy prey of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to

compus his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual apostles time when he must distribute obdurate money to the soldiers was now come, he his devotion to the memory of his dead to the army into battle array in the face of the ene-
my, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein before their arms lay covered with the armor of their war; and the horsemen led their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing either so grateful to the eye of the man, or so terrible to the spirit as that sight. For the whole old wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with the membrane of regalia: nay, a very great consternation seized upon the highest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms, and the good order of their men. And it cannot be thought that the seditious would have changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had not been so horrid that they despised of forgiveness from the Romans, unless they thought their tormentors must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with them, and the whole city be destroyed with the seditionists that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no sign of peace appeared, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks, both at the tower of Antonia, and at John's monument. Now, his designs were to take the upper city by the monument, and the temple by the tower of Antonia: for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that were at John's monument, they did that, in tents, and the soldiers in arms with Simon, made an election among them, and put some stop to them, while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. The Romans therefore had not only the necessity of the city, but there was no man that could alone defend the walls, nor was it unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so few; for although the Romans should have left the siege, and not found the city with its swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour, unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone defend the walls for the city. And he added this further, "How right a thing it was to change their conduct, before their calamities became incurable, and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was in their power." He then said that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions, to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the end, because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was lawful before what their passions dictated to them; which passion of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants, nor the country desert; on which account Caesar did now offer them his right hand for their security. Whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially, if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but secure them that the third wall which was not yet taken might be; though their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine's fight for the Romans against them."
JOSEPHUS supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews in Judea, to have the mind of Phinehas, that Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and the grandson of Aaron, a Levite, who, in the days of Moses, when Amalek, the enemy of Israel, were crossing the wilderness, killed the Amalekite, which was a great provocation of God, in order to save Israel. He therefore, in his speech to the Jews in Judea, shows himself to be of the same mind as Phinehas, and says: 'I wish God to be pleased with us, and to save us from our enemies, as Phinehas pleased God, and saved Israel; for when the Lord saw what Phinehas did, he was pleased with him, and saved Israel.'

Now, as Josephus speaks in this his admirable speech, so the Syriac, and, even in the Philemonian on the
the ten of Kutha," brought upon us Soces, and Soces brought upon us the Roman army; the army, in six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears, that arms were never given to our nation; but that we are always in a state of danger. It is to be taken; for I suppose, that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their Arbitrator, who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than the Chaldeans? You have taken; you have not returned; you have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarreling about rapines and murders, and insolence, and avarice, and envy. The temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country, which place hath yet been revered by the Romans, when it was at a distance from them, but they have gone over many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure then you have a right to be petitioners; for you are petitioners; and you are my hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness? And, if you are not Christians, why think you that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should multiply the city, and yet, contrary to the one, he had taken away that which was the honor? while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they will give back this city; and I will touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain you cannot expect that God should dispose as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately: accordingly he brake the power of the Assyrians that they might be overcome. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our land, or when after his death Soces came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilea, and lastly, when Titus came first of all near to the city, although Magnus and Soces did not only suffer, but were punished by fire and storm. Wherefore, when the Romans came to receive the empire, and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up? when they were under your power, since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; according you know you that Sisam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail, that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water, and drink both for themselves and their cattle;
man's going out thee they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the lepers, or the sick, or the poor, he caught an infection, his throat was cut immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they said in the city or attempt to get out of it; for they were equally de- spised by the sea and by the land. The roads were shut up to death under this pretense, that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madness of the sedition did also increase together with their frenzy, for they would make in every day infamous more and more; for there was no corn which any where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men's private houses; and then if they found any, they would beat them; and then the thievish and desiring they had any, and if they found none, they tormented them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indication they made use of whether they had any or not, was taken from the bodies of these men were, and if they were in good case, they supposed they were in no want at all of food, but if they were wasted away, they walked off without seeing them, and did not think it proper to kill such as these, because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Many there were, indeed, who sold what they had for more measure; it was of wheat, if they could get it; and if they could not, they sold them as they were, if they were poorer. When these had done they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had gotten; some did it without grudging it, by reason of the extremity of their case; we in, and others had baked bread of it, according as necessity and fear dictated to them; a table was nowhere laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the broken off the fire half baked, and ate it very hastily. This was the same as a sign that would justly bring tears into our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more than enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine was too hard for all other persons, and it was destructive to nothing so much as to modesty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised; insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating out of their mouths; every over was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers do as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing under their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that were in their vessels. While they were thus treated after this manner, yet were they not concealed in so doing; but the sedition everywhere came upon them immediately, and snatched away faster than what they had gotten from others; for when they saw any house shut up, and they came to them a signal that the people within hath gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they wanted, and cast it out of their very throats, and this by force, and not by seeking it. They came in, and took the food fast were beaten; and if the women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor was there any compassion upon women, to the aged or to the infants, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten, and shook them down upon the floor. But still were they more barbarously cruel to themselves of the event: they were, and hanged, and has actually swallowed down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their right. They also invented terrible methods of torment, to discover where any food was; and they tore the passages of the privy parts of the miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fun-
very much distressed from the wall. He then took a party of horsemen, and ordered they should by ambuscade force these all to run out into the plain, and give them a bloody battle against the men of the Mark, desiring fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditionists; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in this going out: so nothing remained but that, when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy: so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died; and were then crucified before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; yea, some days they caught more: yet it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken be suffered to live, as many as were seen; for so many saw he would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight. And to prevent this, he ordered every other soldier over so many he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield at that sight. And to prevent this, he ordered every other soldier.

2. But so far were the seditionists from repenting at this and sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the mass that remained more mischievous; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what manner of fate had befallen the other, and told them these were brought were suppliants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was manifest to all that they were going immediately as unto certain punishment, awaiting death from their enemies to be a quiet sepulchre, compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the king of many of those that were caught should be cut off; that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simeus, this exhortation, that they would now at sight of their relations thus put off (the king himself and all the rest) in order to desert the city, whereby they would save those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve some credit. But this was of no avail: the city broke out into universal tumult, and they then resolved to stormed about the banks that were not up, and hastened them, in order to show, at this words should be in so long time be followed by his desolate. In all this tumult, some of the Jews were-bannered over, and were incited to destroy the city, whereby they would save their relations; that they would be satisfied for them, some of the Jews were bannered over, and were incited to destroy the city, whereby they would save their relations; that they would be satisfied for them, and be butchered, and killed, and not be led away in triumph to destroy the city, whereby they would save their relations; that they would be satisfied for them, and be butchered, and led away in triumph to destroy the city, whereby they would save their relations; that they would be satisfied for them, and be butchered, and led away in triumph.

3. In the mean time Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about him, all of the same people, that is, tall, and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whencesoever it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened, in that the king of Commagene had been the first to flourish more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he is dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that "he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall." Now he was an old man, and proud in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success. Upon this Titus smiled, and said, "He would share the pains of an attack with him." But he added, "This was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while, ye see, the Jews with him were almost sorely galled; for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs perseverance in their fighting, and at lengths many of them were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the fifth day of Artemisius, [Yar.] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days consecutively. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was raised by the guard, another by the troops; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthous. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other retired. But the labour of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high place's of the name. And as the banks were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground under the other, which being brought, whereby the Romans stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were damped over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the earth was burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down and fall into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust as the fire was dashed with the fall of the banks, but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame broke out, on room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of those Jews, since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.
which sudden appearance of the flame, a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, could not have never been foreseen for the time come. They also thought it would be no necessity to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them.]

And a good part of the Senate, and his party, made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the walls shake. And one Tresillus of a family of Ga- lilean, and Megasthenes, one who was derived from some of Queen Mariamme's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Na- bateus, and called by the name of Chagiris, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying a lame man, snatched some torches, and ran sud- denly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies, but friends, without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and were in the presence of the Antichenes on them. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in, till the fire had caused the clash with the flames; and when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire, according to the regard they had for their own bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the en- gines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire; but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flames it- self, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot: and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them, and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with flames, and the flames, rav- ing their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were now also upon the ground upon which they had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible; nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camping, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array be- fore that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour; and as to those the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, to die for it; so that body of soldiers, preferring rather to be destroyed than to fall disgracefully, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these were in of standing to it, many of the others that hastened out first for shame turned back again; and when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitude from coming more of them out of the city [which they could the more easily do, because they had made no pro- vision against preserving their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought men who had been with all that came in their way, and without any caution fell against the points of their enemies' spears, and attacked them bodies against bodies; for the Jews had no manner of arsenal or storehouses as made by their other warlike actions; as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their bold- ness, than they did to the losses of the harm they had received from them.

And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonius, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproved the soldiery for their lenity; and to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of many besieged, while the Jews were allowed to rally out against them, though they were already in store. And when he saw the strength of the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The Antichenes were now mixed one against another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Caesar himself went into the danger be- fore them; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at the absence of Caesar's man. And many indeed despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

CHAP. XII.

Titus thought fit to encompass the City round with a Wall: after which the Samaritans commanded the People by whole Houses and Familiar to- gether.

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his com- manders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest temper thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of the Jews was storming; but Titus, whose judgment in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But those of those that were for a more cautious man- ners, thought it would be best to go on in the same strength, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without diverse fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who were de- sires to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. How- ever, Titus did not think fit for so great an army entirely to lie still, but those who should be left to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another; he also showed them how impractical it was to cast up any more banks, for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming out, still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army, was not very easy, by reason of its magni- tude, and the difficulty of the situation, and other accidents dangerous upon the highest parts of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with that; if so, it might be in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that
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Of the length of time that is to be spent, would diminish the glory of his success; for though it be true that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necess-
ary. Therefore he thought it just that the young men should therefore the more readily join their hands to the work of purifying and of removing, and to that he recommended Titus; that his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness and security, they must build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out upon them unexpectedly. Then, therefore, those that were absent would not be able to come to us, and those that were within would not be able to go out from us, neither would the city become entirely deserts of saving the city, and so would surrender it to us, or be still the more easily conquered when the famine had farther weakened it. For that besides this wall, they would not have been able to defend these places; nor had they banks raised, and again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be dangerous, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work; and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commandants. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them but they did strive with each other for the task, so that the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribune was equal to the superior commandants, while Cæsar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commandants; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Marcomanni, then pitched it down, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopoli: hence it went along the valley of Cedron, to the Mount of Olives, it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Pereserion, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bendeth again to the west, and went down to the valley of the Fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Anarnus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain as far as the plain of Bethphage and Bethany, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called the house of the Erebithis; after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there on the east was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only stated. Now on this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrisons in, whose circumferences, put together, amounted to ten furlongs; the wall itself was composed in three days; so that what would usually have required some months, was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had therefore encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night-time, and who should go all night round the spaces that were interposed between the Garrisons.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine wid-
any pain affect their bodies, since they could still bear the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

CHAP. XIII.

The great Slaughters and Sacrileges that were in Jerusalem.

§ 1. ACCORDINGLY Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without some sort of punishment. For Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them; he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealous, amongst the rest had been much concerned for provision to assist the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten power, he exclaimed that he had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only: so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth he prevented him by running awa...
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as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this covetousness was discovered in one instance, the same of it filled their several camps, that the desolate army of Titus, with the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as suppliants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me, that any of these befall the Jews, that was more terrible to them, and which the public sacrifices, thousand of these deserters were thus dismembered.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great, and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the Roman legions, (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein,) and had great indignation against both sorts of them: "What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold! Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then, out of their barbarity, murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?"—for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again; moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared, that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in reality it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Caesars under such sufferings, and which were shown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large heaps, and those who were brought to them, and for all this, he was commanded to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrileges, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple, as many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldron, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; but the man emperors did ever honor and adorn this temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for Titus to give divine things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple; on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil, by which the public sacrifices were consecrated, and the offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking, used [each of them] above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this: I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom perished by," for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particulars calamities! while Mammon, the son of Lazaarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, [Nisan] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus, [Tammuz.] This was itself a prodigious multitude; and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet he was appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand and sixty sand were shown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered; and they told him farther, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large heaps, and those who were brought to them, and also, that a medimnus of wheaten each was sold for a talent, and that when, a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the commons, sewers and old dung hills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans barely beheld all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that hate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

* Josephus, both here and before, B. v. c. viii. sect. 4, mentions the land of Sodom not as part of the lake, Amrath, or under its waters, but near it only, as Tactius also adds the same notion from him, Hist. v. 7, which the rest Kaldahl takes to be the very truth, both in his note on this place, and in his Prolegomena, tom. 1. p. 694—695; though I rather suppose part of that region of Sodom to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.
CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.—FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

CHAP. I.

That the Miseries of the Jews still grew worse; and how the Romans made an Assault upon the Tower of Antonia.

§ 1. Thus did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the sedition and the famine were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves, after it had preyed upon the people; and indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps upon the streets made a very horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, which was a hindrance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy; but as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and most of them tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were not they terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them, nor did they deem this a Front offered to the deceased to be less dangerous than the living, as those that had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if the Jews saw in punishment; for the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory; for they gloried, after a brutish manner, in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, men of war, and the soldiers were greatly got together with their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very view itself was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adornred with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country everywhere, and its branches trees were all cut down; nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change. And there had all the signs of beauty quite waste; nor, if any one that had known the place before, had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have imagined it to be without the refreshing by the closeness of the enemies' banks, before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again; at length they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing anything. This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] So when the Jews were retrenched, the Romans brought their engines, although they had all the while stored them in the city; for the Romans were assaulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded the Jews to make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall, and a contempt of the Romans, yet did the Romans not hinder the Romans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them, as desiring that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid any impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions made by their enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them, and did

at length he was quite covered over with dust, before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved a better fate, by reason of his bravery; but he was not happy in fate. There was another attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of them to pieces with stones, and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the wall; the other eight being wounded, were delivered up to us, alive, and did not hinder you at your first beginning to go up to them, yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you prevent from them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If any one of the guards shall be the first of the first guards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon which the rest of the guard got up on the sills, and ran away, before any body could see how many they were that were gotten up; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined that a great number of the enemy were come up. But when the trumpeter gave the signal, he ordered the army to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, and first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the Jews were near the bottom, near to the gate, he came into that mine which John had dug under the Roman banks. Then did the seditions of both the bodies of the Jewish army, as well that belonging to John, as that belonging to Simon, drive the rest away from the city, they ascended to the highest degree of force and alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginning of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, while the Romans were forcing their way, in order to get possession of that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; so that the peace of the city was gone, and the city itself, as well as the spears, and both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now during this struggle, the positions of the men were indistinguishable on both sides, and where the battle drifted, the men being in contact, were mixed together, and confused by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fell on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was not loud. And there was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies, and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. Accordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined, the Jews had the advantage, and another one to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lamentation. But still there was no room for flight nor for pursuit, but disorderly revolutions and retreats, while the armies were intermingled, and those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behind, forced those before them to go on, and thus the war went on. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Romans' skill, and the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night, till the seventh hour of the day; and had the danger the temple was in for their motive: the Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legionaries, on which the soldiers on that side depended, were not some
up to them. So it was at present thought suf-
ficient by the Romans to take possession of the
tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that
came from Bithynia, a man he was of great re-
putation, whom I had formerly seen in that war,
and one of the highest fame, both for his skill in
war, his strength of body, and the courage of his
heart. This man, seeing the Romans giving
ground, and in a sad condition, for he stood by
Titus at the tower of Antonia, leaped out, and of
himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they
were already conquerors, and made them retire
as far as the corner of the inner court of the
temple: from him the multitude fled away in
crowds, as supposing that neither his strength
nor his violent attacks could be those of a mere
man. Accordingly he rushed through the midst
of the Jews, and killed many of them, and of
those that he caught. Nor, indeed, was there any
tsight that appeared more wonder-
ful in the eyes of Caesar, or more terrible to
others, than this. However, he was herself
paralyzed by fear, which it was not possible that
he, who was but a mortal man, should escape;
for as he had shoes full of thick and sharp
nails, as had every one of the other soldiers; so
when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he
shook, and beloved the earth: the noise, and the
great noise, which was made by his armour.
This made those that were running away to turn
back; whereasupon those Romans that were in the
tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they
were joyous at the sight of Julian, and of the
hordes of the Jews, as they were in the midst of
them, and struck at him with their spears and
with their swords on all sides. Now he received a
great many of the strokes of these iron weapons
on his shield, and often attempted to get
away; but this time he was that much the more
that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along,
stab many of them with his sword. Nor was he
soon killed, as being covered with his helmet and
his robe, and he fell in all those parts of his body
where he might be mortally wounded. So he also
pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other
limbs were shattered, and nobody durst come to
defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now
Caesar was deeply affected on account of the
man of so great a stature, and of so martial an
disposition, and as he was in the sight of so many
people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but
the place would not give him leave, while such as
stood there were not able to chase him off, or to
attempt it. Thus when Julian had struggled
with death a great while, and had let but few of
those that had given him his mortal wound go out
unharmed, he had at last his throat cut, though
not without some difficulty, and left behind him a
very great fame, not only among the Romans, and
with Caesar himself, but among his enemies also;
then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and
put the Romans to flight again, and shut them
up in the tower of Antonia. Now the Romans, not
most signalized themselves, and fought most
jealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were
one Alexas and Gypheus of John's party; and
of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the
son of Macherus, and Jews the commander of the
Idumeans; and of the zealots, two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of
Jairus.

No wonder that this Julian, who had so many<br>sails in his shoe, slipped upon the pavement, which he was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.

The destruction of the temple has been so often referred to in the New Testament, [Tamus.,] as a.D. 70, when, according to Daniel's pro-
duction, 696 years before the Romans, in half a week, caused the sacrifice and cistern to cease. Dan. iv. 37. For at that time Vespasian entered on this war, to the very time, was but three years and a half. See Bp. Lloyd's Table of Chronology, published by Mr. Marshall, on this year.

Nor is it to be omitted what very nearly confirms this
duration of the war, that four years before the war began
was somewhat above seven years five months before the destruction of the temple. The same that in the New Testament is always so
called, and was then the common language of the Jews in
Judaea, was the Syrian. 

Our passage of Feb. our Testament want this
conclusion upon king Jehoshaphah or Jachethah, which it
seems was in Josephus's copy.
he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages: This, John, is an excellent example in such a time of danger; and I dare venture to promise, that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of the nation; I, an adulterer; I, do this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived; for while I am alive I shall never be in such a hurry, as to force myself into the temple, or to force the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed, I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because in opposition to fate I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them; and particularly that oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city! For they foretold that this city should be taken when some body shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen, but both the city and the temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? Is it God? therefore, it is God himself, who is bringing on this fire to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to punish it, which is full of abominations."

2. As Josephus spoke these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sob's. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his constancy. But for John, and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power; yet did that discourse influence a great many of the Romans to the contrary; and truly some of them were afraid of the guards set by the seditionists, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were, who, when Josephus was departed, thought they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priest Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of the high priest three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four matrons, and as also of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priest. Now Caesar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to tell them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again; so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear to the seditionists gave out again, that those deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were hereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. But when Titus had reconciled these men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall, together with Jospehus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fied to the Romans. These also being received with great joy, before the Romans, and besought the seditionists, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and to restore all their own place of residence being given up by right; but that, if they were willing to make a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary afire, but had not the means of suppressing necessity. Yet did the seditionists make more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon those deserters, they also set their engines for throwing darts and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distance from one another, insomuch, that all the space round about within the temple, might be compared to a burying ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies there; which was compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and the while their hands were yet warm with the blood of the slain, with which they had been sprinkled, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans should have given against Jesus, for their impolicy in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, in deed, there were none of the Roman soldiers, who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the temple were only burnt before their miseries be became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them, “Have not you, while you were in this city, set up a partition wall before your sanctuary? Have you not been allowed to put up the pillars thereof belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this precept, that all should be as the holy scripture says they that wall? Have we not given you leave to build such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you now, you persecuous villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place, (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of the gods,) to witness, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not form you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereas you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house, whether you will or not.”

* Of this oracle, see the note on B. iv. ch. v. sec. 3.
† Josephus, both here and in many places elsewhere, asserts that God was on the Romans’ side, and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews, which was, for certain, the true state of this matter, as the prophets Daniel, and our Saviour himself afterward, and clearly foretold. See Literal Account of Prophecy, p. 42. 44.
‡ Josephus had before told us, B. v. ch. xiii. sect. 1, that this fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans before his father’s and brother’s slaughter, and not after it.
8. As Josephus explained these things from the month of Caesar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear, and not from his good-will to them, and grew insatiate upon them. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, be proceeded unwillingly to go on again with the war; and hearing others to the contrary, he resolved, all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cæcilius Artobulus in particular for pursuing them, and to keep noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay, when there were too sparing for them, there was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the day, and continued until the fifth hour of the day, and that in the same place where the battle began neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both were driven by the violent burst of the armies between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Mardo, and Simon the son of Josua; of them, and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathias, and James the son of Sozas; of those that were with John, Gypeuthes and Alexas, and of the zealots Simon the son of Jairus.

7. In the meantime the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court, and began to break their banks, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now, as soon as the rest within the temple saw what was going on, and were afraid of the army in the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of the Roman soldiers fell, and did not choose to be enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night. From that time did the numbers, which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time, for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance they continued in, and the whole battle they continued in, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their assailers more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watchwords. Of this the barbarians perceived abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men, and somewhat confused and terrified, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle array, and formed themselves in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves. Nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans

8. Now, after one day had been interspersed

* Court of the Gentiles.  † Court of Israel.  ‡ Court of the Gentiles.
WAR'S OF THE JEWES.

Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough, that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly durst not, and made no attempt on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olivet, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing first, that they would not expect such an onset, and, in the next place, that they were not yet in a state of those bodies, and that therefore they should very easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting there their fortification or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their delight in their victory, the Jews came upon them with immoderate violence, and intolerable passion. The one part were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to let the Jews go, nor was there in them a kind of a nature: while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one whose name was Pedanius, belonging to a party of horsemen, what they did already do, forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ancle, as he was galloping away, the man was cast into the bed body in the ditch he was in his moun: so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand, and of the rest of his body, as also such skill both in his art and in his arm, that immediately upon his preying on his precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Caesar: whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and considered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but took himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

In the same manner, at the same hour, a man whom they dispossessed, and that off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz.] contrived such a stratagem as this: they filled that part of the western side of the temple that was to be spreding the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the Jews in particular parties, and Romains, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the more prudent part of the Jews, at the same time, they stood upon this inaccessible retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set all on fire; and as the flames burst out, and spread every where, the Jews, who were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded by the flames, some of them fell down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple] and many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take those inhabitants, their souls, were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the scaffold carried as flame to surround those who would have otherwise

Chap. III.

Concerning a Stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans, with another Description of the terrible Famine that was in the City.

§ 1. But now the soldiers that were in the temple did, every day, come endeavoring to get off the soldiers that were upon the banks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz.] contrived such a stratagem as this: they filled that part of the western side of the temple that was to be spreding the roof under them, with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs, many of the Jews in particular parties, and Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly; but the more prudent part of the Jews, at the same time, they stood upon this inaccessible retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set all on fire; and as the flames burst out, and spread every where, the Jews, who were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded by the flames, some of them fell down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple] and many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take those inhabitants, their souls, were prevented by the fire; though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the scaffold carried as flame to surround those who would have otherwise

* Of the Court of the Gostim.
As for Caesar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that remained, when the body might see that person grieve, for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were there about him to use their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them felt fearfully, as carrying along with them these words and this intention of Caesar as a sepulchral monument. Some there were indeed who retired into the wall of the Fasti, which was stony, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews: and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at lengths they all fell down dead.

2. At the last, a young man among them, whose name was Lougas, became a decoration to this sad affair; and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them, upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius fled to the king and before him to the army, and bade them make no account to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and, lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet there was one Artorius among them, a native of Ephesus, who escaped by his subtilty, for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him, "I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt serve me as I have done thee," the man running to receive him readily: Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they wereever more and more unacquainted with the places, and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the city. But the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Cedron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now, of those that perished by famine in the temple, there was no religious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did anywhere appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying; nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, not caring against the moon; they were like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that they consumed even the sacred things, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they at length abstain from girdles and robes, and the very leather which belonged to their horses. The whole city was gawned: the very wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmae]. But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine pressed upon their eating inanimate things! while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates, either among the Greeks or Barbarians. It is horrid to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had indeed willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own country, my own age: and because of the little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan; her name was Mary, her father was Eleazar of Jerusalem, and he signified the house of Hyssop. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein at this time of the war. The Jews, when they had already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious men, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion, and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious men, to those that were walking by, she found them fighting among themselves; nor did she herself, but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commodification of her case, would take away her life: and if she found any food, she perceived how they would take it from her; but none of them had any food, which she put to her, and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she meet with anything but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, "O thou for whom I had done all this for me, in this war, this famine, and this sedition! As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes with them. Yet are these seditions rogue more terrible than both the other. Come on, be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditions varlets, and in order to avoid death themselves but by killing and eating others. Whether such examples come up to the present case may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing but very eager to give assistance to governors of cities and their inhabitants, and to save both the city and their temple. But the zealots, the robbers, and the seditions, would have no terms of submission. They rejected all things that were only to reduce the city to the utmost, and force mothers to this unnatural barbarity, which in all circumstances has not, I still suppose, been historico parallelled among the rest of mankind.
a word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed. Upon this the soldiers came presently, and, smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her, that they would cut her throat immediately if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that "she had eaten a very fine portion of it for them, and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them, "This is mine own son. But I can see that you are now time enough doing. Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if you be so scrupulous, do not dominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the rest be preserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, he being never so much afflicted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they immediately left the place. But did not a little. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately; and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done amongst them. So that those that were distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to bear or to see such miseries.

5. The Jews made instant endeavours to quickly told the Romans, some of whom could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under: but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ever had arisen against our nation. But for Cæsar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, that "he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and instead of justice and abundance, a famine. That they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple, which we have preserved hitherto; and that therefore they deserved a part of their own destruction. That, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen and despised by superiors. And at the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind, after they had endured those very sufferings, by the avoiding which it only was probable they might have repented.

CHAP. IV.

When the Banks were completed, and the Battening-Rams brought and could do nothing, Titus gave Orders to set Fire to the Gates of the Temple: in no long Time after which the holy House itself was burnt down, even against his Consent.

1. And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous (Ab.). Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be brought, and that what had been the edifice of the inner temple; for, before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impression upon it, but the vast largeness and strong connection of the stones was superior to that engine and to the other battering-rams also. Other Romans did, indeed, undermine the foundations of the north-eastern corner, and had cast timbers into the outermost stones; yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unshaken; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and cranes, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Nor did the Jews interpose in doing so; but when they were gotten up they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong, others of them they met and smote, so that they were quite out of breath. In the mean time they went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men: a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as descending it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame if they permitted that they should be captured. But their courage was so great that possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladder, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain that they retired, although none of the Romans were dead or wounded. So that they had none of them met with any fresh to his death. Of the sedition those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now; as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus sent men to a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

2. In the mean time there desisted to him Ammonius came from Emmaus, the most holy of all Simon's guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadactus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to them, as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them, that "they were only driven to this desertion, because of the nine days' siege, and that they were in their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire, out of which they now hurried themselves away." However, the boldness and impudence of these men upon his rebuke, he dismissed them according, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the fire that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whereas it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught half of the cloisters. Upon the Jews seeing this in all about them, their spirits sunk together with despair, and they were incapable of any rein- terment, that not one of them made any haste either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow rising however for the time to come; but as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they wasted their passions against the Romans. The fire prevailed during that day and the next day on the cloisters, that were not all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus com- manded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make roads for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the com- manders together. Of those there were
come, according to the resolution of ages, it was the tenth day of the month Lous, [Ab.] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon: although these names took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them: for the Rethe had any such design, that he might lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning in the inner court of the temple; but these Romans must have the fire proceed as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him, began to give an understandable, and being hurried only by a certain divine madness, somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of the fire of the temple, and of himself in his tent, after the last battle: whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his command- ers, and all the Jews came, and in great astonishment: so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Caesar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting that there was a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spoke so loud, having their ears already dined by a great noise another way: nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain them from their passions, and this passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still standing; and many were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered: and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar’s orders to the contrary, but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditiou s, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire]: they were everywhere slain, and every where beaten with rods. As for the Greeks, who were the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped upon one another, as at the steps going up to it ran a quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above (on the altar) fell down.

7. And now, since Cæsar was now able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and after the Romans had put the fire out, they entered into the holy place of the temple, with his com- manders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations were invested before the doors of Herod the Great, and had been here built by him; though the later Jews always deny it, and say, that even Herod’s altar was succeeded to by an insolvency only.
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of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of, and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that formed the holy house and the temple, the priests, supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave order to Liberius the centurion, and one of those present, about that order that they should beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them; yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Caesar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them. But they thought that, once within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Caesar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And as soon as the holy house burnt down, without Caesar's approbation.

8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard of, both for this stately structure and magnitude, and for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was the fate that attended it to be, which is inevitable, both for living creatures, and for works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed as that of the burning of the holy temple burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by King Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of Vespasian, being collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under the Romans, there were six also hundred thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

The great Distress the Jews were in upon the Conflagration of the holy House. Concerning a False Prophet, and the Signs that preceded this Destruction.

1. While the house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain: nor was there a commissariat of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and burnt together the rooms of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than the noise and tumult which the Romans who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above, were beaten back upon the temple, and spread abroad about the temple, made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And besides, many of those that were within were as well as those that were without burnt. And when they were burnt out, the hill was opened, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and outcries again; Peres also did return the echo, as well as the thunders round about the city, being augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire as the earth was of water, that the blood was in equal quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number than those that slew them, for the ground did now appear visible for the day of tribulation was laid on it, but never heaped of bodies, as they ran up such as fled from them. And now it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out of the inner court of the temple by the Romans, and had much ado, not to get out of the temple into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spicets that were upon it, which were made of gold, and were cast into the Roman vessels to supply the revenue into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spicets that were upon it, which were made of gold, and were cast into the Roman vessels to supply the revenue into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy house the spicets that were upon it, which were made of gold, and were cast into the Roman vessels to supply the revenue into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister of that outer court.

2. And now the Romans judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house, burnt the whole town of the Jews, and all the cloisters and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side, and the other on the south; both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was the large number of garments, and an immense number of goods there reposed; and to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich became beggars, and even the beggars could not contain such furniture.] The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer court of the temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about sixteen thousand. But before Caesar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage, that they set that cloister on fire; by which means many of those were consumed by throwing themselves down headlong, and that it is a wonder our commentators have no notice of it.
were bent in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that "God commanded them that they should wait for deliverance from God; and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now, a man that is in adversity does easily comply with all the arguments the wicked seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but like men infatuated with the whole world, as I consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a start resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet, that continued a whole year. Thus also both the high altar, and the temple of certain cominations which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Nisan, and at the ninth hour of the day, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was so interpreted by the sacred sense, and not without some difficulty was it at the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very Happy Prodigy; as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved on account, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared, that the signal foreboded the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar], a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals; for, before sunsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about over the mountains, and bounding of cities. Moreover, at that feast which we call Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner [court of the temple] as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they found it in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise; and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude, saying, "Let us remove hence." But what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian, a Pharisee, who was a seducer before the war begins, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple. I began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east; a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the architecture, the choice and the voices against the temple". This voice he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry of his, and took up the man, and asked him who he was. And he answered, I am not he either any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those that chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried before. Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case was, that he had been guilty of some divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he was whipped till his bones were laid bare; yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his face to the temple, while it was possible, at every stroke of the whip he answered was, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." And when Albinus (for he was then our procurator) asked him, "Who was he and whence he came?" and why he uttered such words? he made no manner of reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albinus took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that passed before the war began, this man did not go to the temple, nor was seen by him while he said so, but he every day uttered these lamentable words, as if it were his premeditated vow, "Wo, wo to Jerusalem." Nor did he give ill words to any of those that hate him the day, nor even words to those that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed, no other than a melancholy prayer of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at the festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and six months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his prayer in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out, "Wo, wo to the city! and wo to the city again, and to the people, and to the holy house." And just as he added at the last, "Wo, wo to myself also," there came a
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CHAPTER VI.

How the Romans carried their Ensigns to the Temple, and made joyful Acclamations to Titus.
The Speech that Titus made to the Jews when they made Supplication for Mercy. What Reply they made thereto; and how that Reply moved Titus's Indignation against them.

§ 1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the sedition into the city, and upon the burning of the house of God, and the destruction of that, and upon the round about it, brought their ensigns to the temple, and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus imperator,1 with the gaudy marks of joy and triumph of the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves, without the wall of the city, there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hand as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and filled the vessel which his own friends gave to the guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer: "I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward, the priests that were placed there came down, and were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, that "the time of pardon was over as to them, and that this holy house, on whose account only they could stand, should be destroyed, so that it was agreeable to their office, that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those who were with them, when they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round, without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city and its destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer (court of the) temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Caesar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side, those of the Jewish nation, according to their own pleasure, and some of them utterly despaired, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city, and their own destruction.

1. Take Hevercamp's note here. 2. Ibid. 3. So Terentian truly says in his Apoc.

Pterygia, book third, that the religion of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshipping the ensigns, in swearing by the ensigns, and in preferring the ensign before the gods. See what Hevercamp says upon that place of Terentian.

This declaring Titus imperator by the soldiers, upon such success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Religion reserves us in such places.

The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us, where they placed their sons, so they were of very small description. See what Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to place the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and sold it to Ar

3. Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to place the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and sold it to Ara

5. Of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.
with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried those duties to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even by what you paid for your preparations for war against us with our own money; nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did them lie quiet, waiting for some other time, with a malicious intention, and have now shown your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came to this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for, had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately filled this city waste; whereas, he went and burnt Galilee and the neighbouring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance: which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and nourished up your impudence. He went out of the world, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil disensions, and abused that time, when both I and my father were dead, to make another war for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals, in the midst of war, when our good was devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates, to assist you in your raising disturbances: new walls were built by you round this city, sedition arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and the government seemed to be divided as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy intonations from him. When I heard that the people refused to peace, I excommunicated them: you exorted him to leave off these proceedings, before I began this war: I spared you even when you had fought against me a great while: I gave my right hand as a security to the people, observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those that I had taken captive: I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought any vengeance upon your league. I excommunicated my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been myself conqueror. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your presence there, if you would give up your desire to fight in another place. Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you imagine to trouble the world with mischief? To what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this, which is now destroyed? What preservation can you now desire, after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still as at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be suppliants even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! What does it mean if you steal the temple? Is not your holy house gone? Is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives: and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use. 3. To this answer of Titus they made this reply, that "they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so, but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him." At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered his proclamation to be made to them, that "they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army, and that the army was as able to destroy themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war." So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city, who did nothing against the desire of the people. Indeed the fire was kindled to the repository of the archives, to Acræ, to the council-house, and to the place called Opheas; at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of queen Heïanna, which was in the same street as the synagogue, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine. 4. On the same day it was, that the sons and brethren of Zanias the king, together with many other of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Cæsar to give them his right hand for their security; upon which, though he was very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but reserving the instruments of war indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

What afterward befell the Seditionists, when they had done a great deal of mischief, and suffered many Misfortunes; and also how Cæsar became Master of the Upper City.

'1. And now the seditionists rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. Nevertheless the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one a horseman and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. The horseman had somewhat to suggest to them in order to the same reception; whereupon he was brought before Simon, but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Aulus, one of his enemies, who had his head, behind him, and put a ribbon over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the men prevented that execution. and ran away to the
Roman, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now when he was about to strike, the enemy could not think of putting him to death, but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and seeing the head of the legion where he had been lodged, which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day, the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as was possible. To use soldiers were indeed glad to see the city destroyed. But they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischief done, nor would they, but were so determined that any had done well; for as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were very much excited, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city, largely to them out of their barbarity and impurity; and gave them his advice in order to their escape, though he gained nothing thereof more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of saving their lives themselves, they could not take the lives of those that they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustom’d to kill, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to escape from the Romans; and many of the deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; these were too weak by reason of their want of food to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every other place of deserters, though more than famine, was much more than famine, insomuch, that though the Jews despaired of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Now they stood in the midst of dead bodies in it, but what was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by that sedition or famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants and that crew of robbers who were with them, was in the caves and cellars under ground; whither, if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched out, but esteemed, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not able to hide either from the garrison of the city, or from those who were in the caves and cellars under ground. However, they depended on these underground subterrages, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses thus set on fire, into the ditches, they killed them without mercy and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that had Josephus preserved it, it would have made them taste even of the dead bodies themselves.

CHAP. VIII.

How Caesar raised Banks round about the upper City, and when they were completed, gave orders that the Machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole City.

§ 1. Now when Caesar perceived that the upper part was not completely taken, he could not be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Louis. [A. B.] Now the carriages of the machines were brought in from the sea, so that I have already told you, that were about the city within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already; in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the raising of the banks, and all the earth of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them, [enacted] a revolution on the bridge, where they rested, and that tower of Sisenna which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war with one another.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the bank raised them together in a revolution, and counselled about some of them to surrender themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they set five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Udareans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay, complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back with them; and then those five men, who had first attempted to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacobus, son of Simon, but as for the multitude of the Udareans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist the whole of the multitude. For the number of them was so great that every one of them was slain, yet were the deserters many in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for banishment. The Romans, on account of the weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and were revenged of them at a very low price; and because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And indeed the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace about forty thousand were saved, whom Caesar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the

* i. e. Mount Zion.

† This innumerable multitude of Jews that were sold by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's anathema upon the Jews by Deut. xviii. 98. Hebrews, especially the note on ch. ii. sect. 2. But one thing here is peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, although they should be sold to slaves, yet no man should buy them; i. e. either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery; or, rather, that the slave should rise up, and take the goods of the slave, and sell them to one of his countrymen; and yet Josephus, affirming that he was afterwards possessed by the Jews, and that they should be sold for little or nothing, which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.
pastes, the son of Thabithus, whose name was Jesus, upon his having secured given him by the oath of Caesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposi-
ted in the sacred vessels out of it. He was therefore brought to King Agrippa, and made to stand him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the sacred vessels, and in particular the two golden stones, and a great number of other precious ves-
sels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was struck on, and showed Titus the costs and girrils of the carven workmanship of people of purple and scarlet, which were there reposi-
ted for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamom and cassia, with a large quantity of other sweet spices, and was made to mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained for him, as he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpicus [Eul.], in sight of the city, which stood in disorder, in front of their machines against the wall. But for the se-
ditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, and, being discovered, the Jews defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery: yet did the Romans overcome them by their number, and by their strength; and, what was the principal thing of all else, the Jews were quite dejected, and became weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that op-
posed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants, as was much greater than the occasion required; yet for the enemy got over the breach, they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now they fled in multitudes, which had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, inso much that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons, and the terrify-
ing spectacle they made upon the Ro-
man wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had for a time been faithful to them, had gone away, (as indeed they were fled whersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee,) as also when those that came running before the rest told them that the wall was entirely open, and that the rest was entirely in their hands, and that others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them, which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their faces, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terrified, that they could not fly away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for those tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of all trade where they had been in the city, and came down from those very towers of their own ac-
cord, wherein they could have never been taken.

5. So they now left those towers of themselves or rather they were ejected out of them by God, and so they were so much to the terror of the Egyptians, that they were under Silonna, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their engines were not much more powerful than the attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersing them-
selves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans, being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their engines upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had obtained, as being now formed of the same weight lighter than its beginning; for when they had gotten upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they ran into such an uncertain ease, as could not mean so. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither they went. And, when they had burned and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found them in entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead, corpses, of which it is, of such a kind as was seen when the Jews stood in a horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commissariat for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were alive, but they ran over them through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a de-
gree indeed that the fire of many of the houses were quenched and the houses extinguished. Not that it is truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpicus [Eul.] upon Jerusalem; and was last had been in this to see so many miseries during this siege, that, had it always been enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasion of this its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

What Injunctions Caesar gave when he was come within the City. The number of the Captives, and of those that perished in the Siege; as also, concerning those that had escaped, who became sub-
terranean Cowards, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1. Now when Titus was come into this [up-
per] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants in Jerusalem had relinquished: for when he saw their solid alti-
dude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their ruin in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamom and cassia; and which Josephus does not mention but in a singular notice of, as agreeing with the later testimony of the Talmudists.
length, he expressed himself after the manner following: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, who prostrated the hands of the king, of tyrants, or any machines, do towards overthrowing these towers!" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends: he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the temples. To conclude, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliary, and enabled him to take what could not otherwise have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Caesar gave orders that they should kill none but feast what were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and infant; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Caesar set one of his freedmen, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every case that might arise by meeting them. Thus excusing himself to all those that had been seditions, and robbers, who had been impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph. Of the women that were about seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be degraded and destroyed by the wild beasts; but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished, for want of food, eleven thousand; some of whom did not taste any food; through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any when it was given to them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their beasts. But the Roman army was now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly the multitude of those that therein perished, exceeded all the losses of the barbarians that were brought upon the world; for, to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans gave some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and in the public buildings of the city. Titus also had not the ground to spare; he slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands, and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the flames; and the death of the innocent caused the most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out: for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food together with his brethren, in these caverns, and could find none. Of whomever was found with their right hand for security, which he had once proudly rejected before: but for Simon, he strove with all the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter: so he was reserved for the tribunal, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt down, and entirely demolished in walls.
BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

When the whole City of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting three Towers: and how Titus commanded his Soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed Rewards to them, and dismissed many of them.

§ 1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to stay or to plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury, (for they would not ravage any other such work to be done,) Caesar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency; that is, that of Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison over against it; and as a foundation to determine to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground that it came to be called foundation. That there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a quantity of persons, and the courage of large and mighty Thems among all mankind.

2. But Caesar resolved to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen. So, having entirely completed this war, he was desirous to commend his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his chair whereon he sat, and spoke so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following: "That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will which they had shown to him: he commended them for that ready obedience and constant service which they had given him in this whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone; as also, for that courage they had shown, and had thereby augmented of themselves the country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and bumptious rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said further, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long, for they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their government, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them. That accordingly, although he did both admire,
and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would permit. He said that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those who had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signaled their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made him a happy friend, and bestowed on them all their white epaulettes; and that no one who had been willing to take more pain than another should miss of a just retribution for the same; for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more men there were the more they were rewarded; and that the quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was at visible above ground. Now, so far as there had been any disturbance, there had been none of old custom, and let him go on if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Giorus, which was made after the manner following: This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, had occupied a place that was within the walls, and was laying the city waste. He then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stonecutters, with those iron tools which they use in the building of buildings, and let them into it if they could, and then the quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was at visible above ground. Now, so far as there had been any disturbance, there had been none of old custom, and let him go on if they were their enemies.

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed such a work; and that he would give them leave; yet he said, that one who called to him by their names, and commanded them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and other ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank; and, besides, he plentifully distributed among them out of the spoils, the better prey they had taken, silver, and gold, and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to them, he had wished his pen to add as his last present to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank-offerings [to the gods,] and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on.

And when he had stayed three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places of defense where they were most needed; but permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Ephrathas, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the two hundred Jews under the command of Cestius, their general, he expelled them out of all Syria, for they had lain formerly at Raphae,

and send them away to a place called Mele-
tine, near Ephrathas, which is in the limits of Armenia, and Cappadocia; he had thought it that two of the legions should stay with him, till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cesararia which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and in order, that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered them from sailing into Italy.

CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited all sorts of shows at Ces-
area Philippi. Concerning Simon the Tyran, how he was taken, and reserved for the Tri-
umph.

§ 4. Now, at the same time that Titus Cesar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alex-
andria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyful to find them all, by the passage over from Ionian into Greece; whence he set sail from Corecyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cesararia which lay by the sea-side, and came to that which is named Ces-
area Philippi, and stayed there a considerable time,

and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in myriads they were drowned in the sea; if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed of the seizure of Simon, the son of Giorus, which was made after the manner following: This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, had occupied a place that was within the walls, and was laying the city waste. He then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stonecutters, with those iron tools which they use in the building of buildings, and let them into it if they could, and then the quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a long time, and let himself and all them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was at visible above ground. Now, so far as there had been any disturbance, there had been none of old custom, and let him go on if they were their enemies.
BOOK VII.-CHAP. IV.

a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment intended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand; and Villalobus, and all the rest of the Romans, when they were thus destroyed, were destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Cesar came to Beuliyas, * which is a city of Phociscaea, a Roman colony, and from the Romans obtained a still more pomposity solemnity about his father's birthday, both in the magnificence of the shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at, in his triumph thereto belonging; so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same manner as before.

It happened also about this time that the Jews who remained at Antioch were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances that were then against the Antiochenes, and this both on account of the plunder spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pranks they had played, not long before; which I am obliged to describe without fail, though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions with those that went before.

3. For, as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over the face of the earth, and is scattered among its various provinces, so it is very much intermingled with Syria by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of the largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Alexander the Great, were first installed, and the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, laid Jerusalem, and spoiled the temple, yet did those that succeeded him in the kingdom restablish not a city so large, and of such great extent, as even the Antiochenes of all the rest; and as the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner as they both multiplied to a great number, and adorned their temple gloriously by fine ornaments, and with great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also made proselytes of a great number of those who were not Jews, as a pledge, whereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body. But, about this time, when the present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men had taken up a resolution of such a war, the city of Antioch being by a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father, who was governor of the Jews at Antioch, came upon the theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and became an informer against his father, and accused both him and others that they had resolved to burn the whole city in one night: he also delivered up to them several Jews that were accursed in their resolutions. When the people heard this, they could not restrain their passion, but commanded that those who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them; who were accordingly all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They did also fall violently upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing, that by punishing them suddenly, they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage they were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own courage and, of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by ascerding after the manner of the Greeks: he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, he cause they would by that means discover who they were that had most to do with the Jews; and who they would not do; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complicated, but those that would not do so were slain.

As for Antichus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Romans, and by this means he was master over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of resistance did he reduce them in this instance; but the rest of the four-and-twenty days was dissolved not only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise, was done in other cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews, nor was misfortune at all delayed to fell them, the description of which when we were going about, we promised in the account foregoing: for upon this accident, whereby the four-square market place before, and the archives and the place where the public records were preserved, and the royal palaces, and (it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury whereof all the city over was swallowed up over the whole city,) Antiochus accused the Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced the people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by the reason of the disorder they were in, to set this lunacy true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill-will at the Jews before, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what had been done and did this as a degree, that they all fell violently upon those that were accursed, and this, like madness, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: so they, like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even as if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city:

CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. That the Saracens, who were called Mysia, were compelled to return to their own Country again.

1. And now Titus Cesar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great acclamations and solemnity, betook himself to rejoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now Macedonians, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of all the others, became a sort of ruler to all the other civil governors. He was called sometimes secretly governor, sometimes sitharch, and (at Alexandria) also archon, as well as tetrarch of all the provinces of Quirinal's Miscellany. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon under their captivity there, as the history of Romans implies.
fixed from the solitude he had been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were always come, preserving the very expectations of them: for they had of him to be his real presence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely free from exceptions: for was a desirous man, the amenity, who could remember the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governments, to receive a governor who was adorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest and the wisest intentions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the preservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been so harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his coming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should then recover their secure tranquility and prosperity; and for thesoldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for they were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they were very desirous to be freed from those vices, they did use to one by one of their means, and heartily to receive such a prince as might be a security and an ornament to them. And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not do without him, nor was it enough to have his presence, but they made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it; nay, indeed, none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of the city in such crowds, and were so universal a sale, and so possessed with the opinion that it was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the very first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. For it was a new scene, as the new, that was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, it was that the whole multitude that had remained outside the city, and that the men and children, came into the road and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed by, they made all sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, and the pleasurableness of his countenance, and his softness, and his frankness, and his victory, and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And now the city was like a temple, full of garlands, and sweet odours; nor was it easy for him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of people that stood about him, where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods, for his safe return to the city. The multitude also betook themselves to feasting; which feasts and drink offerings they celebrated by their tribes, and their families, and then their neighbours, and still prayed God to grant that Vespasian, his sons, and all their posterity, might continue to the Roman crown for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all opposition. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasian, and thence grew immediately into a state of peace.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titus was lying in the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were in conversation, and tended to rebellion; and the Galilean the Great, with them, the second, assembled, and had thereby great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans in this attempt, for making the war were these: In the first place, the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into danger, upon small hopes; in the second place, the great possession of the Romans, which they thought were their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjicction to say but the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Beside these motives, it was the opportunity that now offered itself, which had already prevailed with them to do so; for when they saw the Roman government in a great internal disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every part of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and distressing condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselves to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus and also Vitellius, two very powerful and very grave officers, had great hopes. These had for a long time been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were induced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their sentiments: the resentment of the people had told them of what they intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a great part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as easily as he had divine Providence, sent letters to Ptolemy, Cæcilia, who had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to have the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government of Britain; so he was empowered to go on as the new prince, as the new, he was informed of the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten together, and put his army in battle array, and gave a great multitude of them in the fight, and saved the Roman crown. The most of the other officers were of a wiser; nay, had he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere they would however have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the news of the revolt of the Germans was made acquainted with it, he made no delay even at that his age, when he was exceeding years; but undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, and had had greater improvements than belonged to such age: accordingly, he marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts led them at the very rumour of his approach, as they submitted themselves to him with the more the more thing that they had been brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further mischiefs. When therefore Domitian had settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, he did not return to Rome apparently; but more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as having performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a man.

3. At the very same time with the foresaid rebellion of the Germans, did the said attempt of the Scythians against the Romans; reasons unobvious that might occasion this great dignity, well known. In the first place, the two former moving against the Romans, and the last as sent to press them by Vespasian, just as they are here described in Josephus, where in the history of the wars of the Romans, and of the Wars of the Jews, Gallos, in sect. 3. But as to the very favourable account generally given of Domitian, particularly as to his designs on the Romans and German expedition, it is not a little contrary to that in Suetonius, Vesp. sect. 9. Nor are the
for those Scythians, who are called Sarmatians, being a very numerous people, transported
themselves over the Danube into Moesia, without being perceived; after which, by their violence
and cruelty, under the escort of slain, they altered,
and great many of the Romans that guarded the fron-
tiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa
came to meet them, and fought courageously
against them, he was slain by them. They
then overpowered those that had been driven
against him, tearing and rending every thing that fell
in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of
what had happened, and how Moesia was laid
waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to punish those
Scythians; and when he perished in the battles he fought against them,
and that part which escaped fled with fear to their
own country. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future
security of the country, as also for the
more and more numerous garrisons in the place, till he
made it altogether impossible for the barbarians
to pass over the river any more. And thus this
war in Moesia a sudden conclusion.

CHAP. V.
Concerning the Sabbatic River, which Titus saw
as he was journeying through Syria; and how
the People of Antioch came with a Petition to
Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by
him; also concerning Titus and Vespasian's
Triumph.

§ 1. Now Titus Caesar tarried some time at
Berytus, as we told you before. He thence re-
moved, and exhibited magnificent shows in all
those cities of Syria through which he went, and
made use of the captive Jews as public instances
of the destruction of that nation. He then saw
a river, as he went along, of such a nature as des-
erves to be recorded in history; it runs in the
middle between Arca, belonging to Agrippa's
kingdom and Raphana. It hath somewhat very peculiarly in it: it is strong and has plenty of water; after which its
channel is dry for six days together, and leaves its
water; after which it
rises for six days together, and leaves its
channel dry, as any one may see; after which
days it runs on the seventh day as it did before,
and as though it had not made any change at all. It
had also been observed to keep this order per-
ettiually and exactly: whence it is that they call it
the Sabbatic River," that name being taken
from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

Yet was there no equal quantity of that scale
that had been in that city, still found among its
ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up;
but the greatest part was discovered by those
who were captives, and so they carried it away;
and I mean the gold and silver and the rest of that
most precious furniture which the Jews had, and
which the owners had treasured up under ground
against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey intended into
Egypt, and passed through the desert in a
manner, and came to Alexandria, and took up a reso-
lution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was so
accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them
to the places whence they had before come, into the
province of Panonia: as for the leaders of the captives, St
mon and John, with the other seven hundred
men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being
eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order
that they should, inasmuch as they had
served in Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph.

So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his
mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his
reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as
his majesty had done in the former triumph where he made
the most splendid appearance, in Titus's opinion,
was, when his father met him, and received
him, but still the multitude of the citizens con-
ceived the greatest joy when they saw them all
three together; for they did at this time;
and all was
were a few days overpast, when they determinat
ed to have but one triumph that should be com-
mon to both of them, on account of the glorious
exploits they had performed, although the se
nate had desired both the triumphs; and that the tri-
umphs by himself. So when notice had been
given beforehand of the day appointed for this
more about titis; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Ver-
ne's Geography, I. 17. the reader will find several in-
cases of such periodical floods and rivers, though none
of their periods were that of just a week, as of old
this appears to have been.

7 Vespasian, and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.
WARs OF THE Jews.

pompous solemnity to be made on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might see it, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4. Now all the soldiery marched out beforehand by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night time; and left not only the gates of the principal or the royal palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperor had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian came out in his chariot with his attendants, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's walls; for there it was that the senate, and the principal rulers, and those that shared the vastness of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediatly, and all gave them attestations of their valour: while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silkene garments, and crowned with laurel; then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of joy, and while they were dispensed through the city, he went on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held his peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up his arms solemnly; the like prayers did Titus put up also; after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiery to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the gate of the pons, because pompous shows do always go through that gate; there it was that they tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitude.

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the view of the day, and the magnificence of them all; such indeed as a man could not easily think of, as performed, either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature; for almost all such curiosities as the feast had this year given the piecemeal, were here hasted upon one another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature: and all brought together on that day, demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans: for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things, and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, but, as a man walking running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple which were used, and so carried along; and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the arts of the Babylonians. There were also peculiar to the Jews, that were transported, some in crowns of gold, and some in other orches, as the workmen pleased: and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be of less value. The ages of the trees were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness, as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen; nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural combinations. The men also bore very one of those images great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows, having also about them such magnificence of rich gifts, and presents, as were not surprizing. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not undervalued, while the variety that was in their garments, and the fine weight every one of them had, gave a beauty and deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all, was the structure of the pageants, that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnificence: for many of them were so made, that they were on three or even four stories, one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also brought gold and ivory fastened about them all; and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affected to make the show appear wonderful. There were also brought also very large and mighty machines, with the strongest fortifications take, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seised on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every piece full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemy, as if they were no longer able to lift up their hands in a way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy descent, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men, or for cattle, but through a land still as fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now also this machine was so magnificant and lively in the construction of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it; as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these gates, and at the top of every part of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed these pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils, they were carried in great plenty. But for those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table, of the weight of many talents: the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction was changed and the middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their points, and had lustre and gold covered branches for a lamb at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven, and represented the dignity of the number Seven among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils, was carried in a manner very splendid, was given by a great many men, carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely either of agreement with Moses's description, Exod. xxvi. 31, 32. (2) The smallness of the branches in Josephus, compared with the thickness of those on that arch. (3) That the Lev. or Pentateuch does not appear on that arch; see also Josephus. This was not the Spoils, but the procession. All which things deserve the consideration of the inquisitive reader.
BOOK VII—CHAP. VI.

ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Demetrius, lord of the depth, that he set them, and the glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now the last part of this Pompeian show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither which Demetrius came to the door of the pious, to the Romans ancient custom to stay somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rape had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required, that no malefactor should escape the vengeance of the state. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used as such, and when those sacrifices were finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at a banquet. Thus there was a convergence of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in so short a time, and in so great a manner, as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other enterprises, provided for the most reverend priests and statues; for in this temple was collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforesaid used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another. He also made ships and vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Macherus, and how Lucius Bassus took the Citadel, and other Places.

§ 1. Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellius, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it: after which he got together all the soldiers that was there, (which was a large body, but dispersed into several parties, with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel also should pass into the hands of the Roman army, for it is of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it; and here, and here only, and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it as it were, pitched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that there was no passage in their bottoms, and such as are not so easy to be crossed, even such as is impossible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west, extends to threeoscope furiously, and did not till it was also that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it in like manner an impossibility to think of getting over them: and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded on the north.

2. Now when Alexander [Jannaeus,] the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterward was demolished by Gabinius, when he made war against the Jews, and had instead another. Accordingly, as soon as he had been announced to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia: for it is seated in such a manner, that it is easy to see what is going on that part of the country, and prospect towards that country; he therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city out of which there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself; but it had not more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners, of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, which was beautiful and spacious. He also made a great many reservoirs for the reception of water, that there might be plenty of it for ready for all uses, and those in the most prosperous part of the country. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security, which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken, by those fortifications which it had been made to amplify. Thus he put a large quantity of darts and other machines of war into it, and contrived to get everything thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants security, under the longest siege possible.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue,* that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness, for it was noway inferior to any figtree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness: and the report is, that it was from the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompassed the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baarash, which produces a root of the same name with itself; its colour is like that of flame, and towards the evening it sends out a certain ray like lightning; it is not easily taken by such a root that is cut off from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman, or the menstrual blood, be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that may touch it: and less any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way, without danger, which is this: They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small; they by him to have been derived from king Solomon, of which we have already seen he had a great opinion; see Phil. viii. ch. ii. See also in the former place mention Josephus had of demons and demons, commonly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and the first four centuries. See Antiq. B. vi. ch. viii. sect. 2; B. xi. ch. ii. sect. 3.

*Spanheim observes here, that in Greece Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great and durable, like this rue as it is here. See Weitz. ch. ii. sect. 11. This strange account of the place and root Baarash seems to have been taken from the magicians, and the root to have been made use of in the days of Joseph in that superstitious way of casting out demons supposed
WHY THE JEWS.

them to a dog to it, and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily picked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the place of a way; nor after this need one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly doth away all those called the settents. Both are no other than the spirits of the wicked, tantenter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains of hot water, which in a day have a very different taste from the other: for some of these are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are also many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie low, but also in the highest, and where the city was, but what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent: above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another; the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot, which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant and refreshing drink, both for men and ladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur and alum.

4. Now when Bussas had taken a full view of the city, he was resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were in his place, they barricaded themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength, and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, when the illusion of this siege did not deter them, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. And when the Romans, and their general accept of those terms, while the multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves, were convinced to fly away at the first sight of it; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bussas told him of it; whether it were that they cheated them, or that they were afraid of being slain, lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that were kept prevented the enemy, and got away, and fell into the hands of the Romans; and when they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and children that were made slaves. But as Bussas thought he must perform the covenant he had made with them that were left behind the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bussas had settled these affairs, he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of the Jews that had been brought away were formerly, were there gotten together. Where he was therefore come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he, in the first place, surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, so as they might be enough to try to break through, might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of their horsemen; and for the footmen he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might perish thereby escape. So they made a general assault; and with a great shout fell upon those that were
ruined them, who received them with great courage, and so while the one side fought desperately, and the other would not yield, the sight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectation of the Jews, for twelve thousand, and not more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than the four thousand that the Romans made to the town of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground, and privately taking his sword and pistols,

6. About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea,] and gave orders that all Judea should be exposed to sale;" for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem three score furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews whereasover they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmas every year into the capitol, and an extra sum for the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Calamity that befell Antiochus, King of Commagene. As also concerning the Alans and what great mischief they did to the Medes and Armenians.

§ 1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great calamities. The occasion was this: Cæcilius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it was done out of regard to truth, or whether out of hatred to Antiochus, (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him that "Antiochus, with his son, who was king of the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia to that purpose; that it was therefore fit to prevent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general disturbance and division among all nations, that the cause was disposed to take some care about the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the kingdom made this affair worthy of greater regard, for Samosata, the capital of Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and, upon any such design, could afford an easy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure reception. Petus was accordingly be- lieved in this matter; it is called Emmaus, and is what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, and fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: he had with him a great company of horsemen and troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance; Ariobazus, king of the country called Chalichelene, and Sohemus, who was called king of Enezor. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces, so that they entered the king- dom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to fly with it privately, with his wife and children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be innocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city as far as a horseman could travel, thence made his way into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to s. e. upon Samosata, and by their means took possession of the city, while he himself went to attack Antiochus in the rest of his estate. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the distress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to prevent. But his sons were young, and unexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, therefore, and Cæsarius, besought themselves to force their force: and as the battle was a sore one, and last ed all the day long, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto, and the soldiers of Antiochus were not in any great demoralization; for there would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing quite discouraged the minds of his troops. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and the rest of the soldiers should take their enemies before they became entirely destitute of any confederates: nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went unharmed to Vologenes, the king of Parthia, who were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus, and ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been long time between them, than to raise an inexorable anger, upon pretence of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon: he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, his minds were freed from all that was done; and almost immediately they had been under. He also hoped that Caesar would be reconciled to them, upon the interces sion of Vologenes; for although he lived in a great respect, he knew not how to keep the senator of the Roman empire. So Caesar gave him leave after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had so sort of respect paid him there, and there he remained.
New there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned somewhere, as being Scythians, and inhabiting at the lake Meda. This nation about this time laid a design of falling upon Media and the Persians beyond it, in order to plunder them; but the Persians, who observed their intentions, treated with the king of Hircania; for he was master of that passage which king Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. The king gave them leave to come through that way; so they came, as the Greeks say, through the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered the country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle, while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Persia, the king of the country, had fled away for fear, into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up everything he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his conju- nes from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans therefore plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as the borders of the Parthians before they fell back. Now Tintades was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle: for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to himself. He had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and run away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this sight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of cattle, and other property, out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

Chap. VIII.

Concerning Masada, and those Sicarii who kept it; and how Siloh took himself to form the Duke of that Citadel. Eleazar's Speeches to the People.

§ 1. When Besaas was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there: who when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but only one strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got an army together that lay in different places, and made himself independent. This fortress was called Masada. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who has persuaded abundance of the Jews to revolt from Rome, and now grew up, and was a man of much wisdom; there was, indeed, as it were, the utmost remains of a political government, and introduced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable; under which scene, that sort of people that were masters of the city, they could be no more answered to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and though they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutal disposition, or as thinking the greatest man that would come to any mischief, as they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment, for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the usual period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suffered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But a violent death of such kind, from the hands of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it: I therefore now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

§ 2. But now it was that the Roman general came, and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him: and for the whole country of
BOOK VII—CHAP. VIII.

jading, he presently gazed it, and yet garriese into the most proper places of it: he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men on guard on the least parts of it: he also pitched his camp in such an asylum as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighboring mountain, which yet was a place of security for getting plenty of provisions; for it was nearly one of the places that was to be brought from a great distance to the army, and this with a great deal of pains to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water also was also brought to make the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When therefore Silo had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place: which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains, by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was encompassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms: they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon, excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a passage for ascent, through which the inhabitants were little used, that lead to it, one is that from the lake Ashalitis, towards the sunset; and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called the Serpent, as resembling that serpentine, by which the ascent was performed; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed forward; and be one of these places is a larger one, where a ladder was set up, and thence on the other: there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip: for on each side there is a vasty deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill, not ending at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the mountain, as the temple was; and in the middle of this was the high priest first of all built a fortress, and called it Masada; after which the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree: he also built a wall round about the temple and the place of sacrifice, so that it was composed of white stone, its height was twelve, and its breadth eight cubits; there were also erected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high, out of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the inside, round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a flat soil, and better mould than any valley foragriculture, such as that committed themselves to this service. For there were woods, and even there was quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad. Moreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent; it was within and beneath the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the baths, was of great variety, and beautiful, and was supported by pillars of single stones on every side; the walls also and the floors of the edifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs, for water, to be kept in the outer court, at the base of the places that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace, and before the wall; and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been no fountains there. Here was also a road dug from the palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not be seen by such as were without the walls; nor, indeed, could one easily raise the sight of the plain road, that connected the road on the east side, as we have already taken notice, could not be walked upon by reason of its nature; and for the western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than about one hundred cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor, indeed, could those that walked along it, without any fear, such as were there, easily get to the end of it; and after such a manner the town was fortified, both by nature and by the hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful, on account of its expenditure and long continuance; for the reservoirs were laid up corn in great quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time; here was also wine and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates humped up together; all which Ezech. 21:26 found there, when he and his company got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to such fruits newly laid in, although they were there a little removed from the sun, or laying in these provisions, [by Herod,] till the place was taken by the Romans; nay, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they found them not corrupted at all that while they were in possession of them, if we suppose that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long; this fortress being so high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter. There was also found there in abundance all kinds of warlike utensils and war, which had been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men; there was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that he had taken much pains to have all things here ready for the greatest occasions; for the reposes goes how Herod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two kinds of danger; the one for the multitude of the Jews, lest they should depose him, and restore their former idol; and the other for the common danger which was greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, and desired him to cut off Herod, and entertained him with flatteries and kindness upon her. And certainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands in this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her, nor should any one be surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So the fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

5. Since therefore the Roman commander Silo had now built a wall on the outside, round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one entering the besieged places of it, for any; he undertook the siege himself, though he found but one road that would admit of the banks he was to raise: for behind that tower which secured the road that led to the palace, and to the temple, and to all the parts of the edifices, behind that tower the enemy, in the notion of the imminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cubits beneath the highest parts of Masada; it was called the White Promontory. Accordingly he got upon that part of the rock, and upon the wall of the fortress, and when they fall to that work with alacrity, 

* Pliny and others confirm this strange paradox, that provisions laid up against sieges will continue good a hundred years, as Spean-bias notes upon this place.
and abundance of them together, the bank was raised, and became solid for two hundred cubic foot in three hours; which was not this has brought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were to be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank; this was fifty cubits, but in great height. The engine machine that were now got ready, were like those that had been first devised by Vespasian, and afterward by Titus, for sieges. There was also a tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all its platforms with battlements, out of the stones six Roman's heads; they threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made those that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift up their heads above the works. At the same time Silvo, with a great battering-ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, and to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down a part of the wall and quite overthrew it. Now, both the Sicarii made haste, and presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the machines with the other; it was made soft and yielding, not for the sake of avoiding the stone that affected the other. It was framed after the following manner: they laid together great beams of wood lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which they were cut; the ends at the sides of these were parallel to one another, and laid at such a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between these rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of the bank to a greater height, they farther laid other beams over across them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthways. This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applied, they were not broken by Silvo's battering-ram, and at the materials by such concussions were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer than before. When Silvo saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of this wall by setting fire to it: so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a great number of burning torches upon it; accordingly, as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fire spread with great speed. Marshal flame. Notwithstanding being the most powerful and cutting engine that ever was invented, yet it was not capable of doing those injuries and mischief as the Romans did. For they, having once laid hold of the wall, do not leave it, but take it as their own; and it was not to be easily got out of their power. This, however, did not happen to all those that were there besieged, but only to such as were not of the people of Jerusalem; for the rest were got by Silvo, who is described as such in the history of the war; and, according to the custom of the time, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly acted with so much prudence, skill, and without danger, but must now, together with slavery, choose such punishments also, as are intolerable: I mean this upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power, which would be an act of most criminal injustice; for what else do they mean than that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them, and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is still in our power to die bravely, and in a state of freedom from their hands, as if we had been others who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time, but it is still an eligible thing to die after a speech and a prayer, and together with our friends, and in a way of freeing ourselves from any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them, and beat them. It is most certain and evident that the instruments of warfare, by which we are so much engaged at the purposes of God much sooner, at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberties, and when we received such a treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, and to have been enabled that the same God, who had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour, had now condemned them to destruction; for had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser degree gracious, or given us means to the destruction of so many men, or delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To be sure, we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still as if we had been quit of all our sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others: we also taught other men to preserve their liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes were vain, and that we could not accomplish what we desired. For we are now in that desperate state we are now in, and which is beyond all our expectations: for the nature of this fortress, which was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance; and yet we were therein very weak and unable, and a great quantity of arms and other necessities more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance, for that fire which was driven upon our enemies, did not spread through the wall we had built as the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins, which we have been guilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own children. But this last first let us be assured that God will not only those who have tasted of slavery, and after we have had them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon another mutually, and preserve ourselves in freedom, as an excellent funeral monument and the everlasting glory of this city. But last first let us be assured that this is the curios. It seems as if that philosophic lady we survived, (ch. ix. sect. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,) were aware of the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazer, and so Josephus describes them in his own words; at the lowest, they contain the Jewish notations on these heads, as understood them, or sophistry, and cannot but deserve a quittance from the wars of the Jews.
would be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our wealth also; and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a testimonial when we are dead, that we were not such as to value wealth above liberty; and they will, while we are alive, and are not in a present condition to mind where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners for our soldiers in the army, we should regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary service, and make haste to let their souls leave them; and I think that no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they will not guard them, and make us hinder them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their kinsmen and friends, (that are dead,) so firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with each other in the other world, that if any men have heard all such commands that were to be given them, they deliver their body to the fire; and, in order to their getting their soul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, and in order to bring it and make it more worthy to be made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them to their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time neglect their friends, and either to live with honour, or else to die; but I find that you are such people as are no better than others either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying, though you be delivered from a wretched life; nor do I undertake to speak the truth, that you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; for the laws of our country, and of God himself, have, from ancient times, and as soon as we could use our reason, continually taught us and our forefathers have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions, and by their bravery of mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last affords our country liberty, and not death; for this last affords our country liberty, and is gained by a removal into their own place of purity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries, and the occasion of many to make themselves dead; for the union of what is divine, to what is mortal is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is just in itself, it makes sensible instrument, and causes it to advance farther in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from that weight which draws it down to the earth, and is joined to a body no longer mortal, it would naturally go to the pure place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power, and those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in their operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eye; but that_leaves no reason to speak the contrary of God himself, for the soul, it is not itself seen, while it is in the body, for it is there after an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It is this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorruptible one, pure and simple; which is not made anywhere in the body, for whatsoever it be which the soul touches, that lives and flourishes, and from whatsoever it is removed, that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality, that it is a proof of it not being a part of matter, as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say; whereas souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest depending on themselves, and conversing with God by their alliance to him, they then go every where, and forget all futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest we have in sleep? And how absurd a thing it is to pursue after liberty while we are not in a present condition to mind where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readiness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners for our soldiers in the army, we should regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these good men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a necessary service, and make haste to let their souls leave them; and I think that no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such a desire of a life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they will not guard them, and make us hinder them, but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their kin
they and their whole families, after the most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was made them for the assistance they had afforded the others; for that very same destruction which the Romans had meted out to the Syrians, did they suffer themselves from them, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us, for you cannot but know, that there were not any one Syrian city which did not slay their Jewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans themselves: nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to save the lives of any one of us, fled their city with the most barbarous slaughters of our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, no words, no, we have been informed they were more than sixty thousand: those indeed being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory! For we had arms, and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken, and we were not exposed to the darts of any enemies in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But then these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to us as the means of our misery; for we had been taken from us, and all fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious; and we were not disposed to hope for any deliverance of any of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending, and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition; and who would not make haste to die before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put among the beasts, and have been starved and tormented with whippings, and so died; some have been half devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. None of those are as yet, as we are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, being so desirous of death, could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation? which was fortified by so many and such huge fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many thousands of men to fight for it! Where is this city that had such a God left inhabiting therein? It is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; sorrow! where shall we look for the protection of the shepherds of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the body? though he may live on in the midst of danger! Who is there so much his country’s enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? And I cannot but wish that we had all died before we had seen such a thing.}

\[ See R. ii. ch. xx. sect. 9, where the number of the slain is but 10,000. \]

\[ 1 ff. was a parallel allusion of one of the people dug up after so profound a manner. But since we had a generous hope that debased us, as if we might, perhaps, have been able to revenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it was in vain to us; and if we should suffer any miseries in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our own power to show our tenderness to them; for we were born to die, as well as our parents; but though we have been bought, nor is it the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as these. We are bidden to depart hence; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power to do so, must undergo even them on account of their own convenience. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when at the very last they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe, that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive! And so, if we be the young men, we will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments; miserable also will be those of other years, who will not be able to bear the calamities of each young man might sustain. Our cause will be the more disgraceful to his exploring help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them, then, in subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become an example to others, and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This is it that our laws command us to do; this is the preservation and children of our hands; may God himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should do before we are taken. Let us, therefore, make haste, and, instead of affording them pleasure as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardness therein. \]

\[ See R. ii. ch. xx. sect. 9, where the number of the slain is but 10,000. \]

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solved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that spared to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men, indeed, were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of what were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time, they put an end to what they had in a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them, to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their tender to the stroke of those by whom executed that melancholy office: and when those ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he that cast most, should be slain; and all the others, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the sword, and the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some other or among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched, and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire with the great force of his hand to his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would lose no more such a sight among those weights of carnage as was subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of him to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in the ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, were hidden there when the rest were extant upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being the most, and every body was kept silent. The calamitous slaughter was made on the fiftieth day of the month Xanthicae [Nisan.]

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in marching, accordingly they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did; but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude and a sight of each one inconceivably wise, who stood still in expectation of silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering ram, to try whether they could force the gates with the noise. The women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all, both what was done, and the manner of it: yet did they not easily give their attention to such a strange undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said; they also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through the people, they met with the multitude of the lain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown when they went through with such an action as that was

CHAP. X.

That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, and what Dangers they were in there; on which account, that Temple, which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest, was destroyed.

§ 1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went to Cæsarea; for there were now no more enemies left to the south, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass, that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt; for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained such a design to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only Lord and Master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they paved the way for their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, that "these men, now they were driven away from Judea, have no hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known, they will be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither and fill us full of these calamities which belong to them, while we have not our own with them in any of their sins." Accordingly they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering them up to them, and thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and indeed six hundred of them immediately; but as to all those that fled into Egypt, and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness, or hardness in their opinion, every body was kept silent. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess who was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in a manner seemed under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments, as to name Cæsar for their lord: so far does the spirit of the soul prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lypus did then govern Alexandria, who from Delhi and the lower parts near Palæstina. According to he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the southern parts. See the same on Antic. B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 7; and B. ii. ch. i. sect 8.
presently sent Cæsar word of this commotion, who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they might yet get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lulipus to demolish that Jewish temple which was in the region called Oianin, and was in Egypt; which was built, and had its denomination, when Simon, one of the Jewish high priests, fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly on account of the friendship he had with his own grandmother, he, if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance, and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, desired him to give him leave to build a temple according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much reader to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would come to him with greater good-will, and that by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him leave, and thirty years old, and eighty hundred long since Memphian. That Nomos was called the Nomos of Heliopolis, where Ouias built a fortress and a temple, not like to that of Jeru-

salem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it sixty cubits high, to the height of sixty cubits, and made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gild, excepting the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but [as it was] it may have been cut out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king promised him a large compensation in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of all things that were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Ouias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a man to himself. There has been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Iasia, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew, in Egypt. And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lulipus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple till Lulipus died. A little afterward, Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worship-

ship partake of the, the holy, or even to come near the holy, the whole sacred place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in the temple. Now the time, from the building of this temple till it was shut up again, was thirty or forty-three years.

* Of this temple of Ouias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Antiq. B. xii. ch. lii. sect. 1. But whereas it is spoken of by Josephus in B. xiii. ch. i. sect. 1, and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem, and here that it was not like it, but like to the temple of Saturn, there is some reason to think it is a reading here, and that either the unscriptural particle is here to be blotted out, or the word entirely added.

† We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiq-}

Oochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when Ouias had leave given him by Philometer to build his temple in the time of the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was like to that at Jerusalem, and here that it was not like it, but like to the temple of Saturn. There is some reason to think the unscriptural particle is here to be blotted out, or the word entirely added.

† We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiq-
§ 1. I suppose that, by my books of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Eusebius, I have made it evident to those that persuade them, that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own originally: as also, I have therein declared, how we came to inhabit this country wherein we now live. These Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greek tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ear to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who hear ill to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, while they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Greeks; I therefore have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us, of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth, of the corruption and the distortion of their historians, by the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity, by the Greeks themselves. I will also show that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us, are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories; I will, however, bring those Grecians to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already; for I am convinced, that the very reverse is the truth of the case: I mean this, if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; say, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, of their laws and the discoveries of the world for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phoenicians, (for I will not now reckon antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that these two books were written on the Mount Sion, or other Mt. Eeon, or Eon, or Theon, or Sion, or Sion, or Zion, or Hebron, or Lyasumachus. It is one of the most learned, excellent, and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jerome's peculiarly have been the object of much blame. It seems to him a miraculous thing, how one was a Hebrew, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of testimonies of Christ, not only over the Grecian histories, but also over the Jewish. Epist. 34, ad. magnam. And the learned Jew, M. de Wesselyn, interpreted these two books so excellently, as to translate them into Hebrew, and from them we learn from his own catalogue of his works which I have seen: As to the time and place when and where these two books were written, the learned Jerome was able to determine them as far as they were written some time after his Antiquities, or some time after A.D. 93, which indeed, is too obvious at their entrance to be overlooked even by a careless peruser; they being directly intended against those that would not have advanced in those books concerning the great fall out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of Divine Providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history, how good the style is, must be left to the determination of the readers; and therefore, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.
Accordingly they confute one another in their own books to purposes, and are not ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things. It is inexplicable that such countries as were least subject to destruction from the world about them and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was (remarkably) done among them, but their history was engraved on the memory of one after another, and that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the letters they needed; for those that were written with these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phenicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to determine that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples, nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great industry was never the price of the letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that the present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks have been more anxious to become masters of than Homer's poems,* who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy: nay, the report goes, that even he did not leave the poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved by tradition, and they were put together afterward, and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilus of Argos, and Pherecydes of the Syracusians, and Thales, and Pittagoras and Xenophon, the most accurate among all the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

3. How can it then be other than an absurd that would make such an art profane, which was so well instructed, and so as to become sons of such a tradition and such an order of letters as Homer's poems? Even if it should be necessary to speak of the book with such care and respect: Nai, who is there that can doubt that the greatest of all among the Greeks, with whom it is impossible not to be convinced of their own conjectures?

* This preservation of Homer's poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that thence they were styled reciters, as sung by him, like ballads, by parties and not composed and consequently in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators; though such an appositeness seems to myself, as well as to the general common, p. 265, and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there were no ancient writings among the Greeks than Homer's poems, but that they did not fully own any ancient writings, but that there was in such accounts that were much about them, and that there were many that took much pains to find them out, which is true.

† It well deserves to be considered, that Josephus here says, how all the following Greek historians looked on Xenophon as the choicest of all ancient authors, and therefore met. As he knew Manetho, that most authentic writer of the Egyptian history in the great complaint of his mistakes in the Egyptian history, as also though he was the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him so that Xenophon, the more accurate historian in the days of Cyrus, implies, that Herodotus' accounts of that great war are almost entirely romantic. See the note on Ant., B. 2. p. 507, and that of Xenophon's Kips Ptolema, that we have already seen in the note on Ant, B. viii. chap. 2. sect. 3, how very little Herodotus knew about the Jewish war, as also the fact of his book being lost. But I am not disposed to call it a mere error, as Montecour Rollin has lately and justly denominated, whereas we are not always to depend on the authority of Herodotus, who was supported by so many facts, that we ought to compare the other evidence with his, and if it preferable, to prefer it before him. I do not see why, by this general practice of the ancients, it should be false (as Cicero seems to have done,) but that he often wanted evidence, and sometimes preferred what was marvellous to what was best attested as really true.

‡ About the days of Cyrus and Daniel.
against Apion. Book I.

Send to Jerusalem: the ancient names of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remotest ancestors, and signify who are the witnesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many of them already, and Aristobulus and his Ephiphanes made an invasion upon our country, as also when Pharaoh the Great and Quinquillus Varus did so also, and principally in the wars that have happened in our own times; those priests that survive them completely use new tables of genealogy or write the old records, and examine the circumstances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners.

But what is the nature of this exact management in this matter is what I am going to say. That we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records, for the interval of two thousand years; and if any of these have been transgressors of these rules, they are prohibited to present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifications: and this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not per se accounted to be divine who can claim any thing in writing; being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration; and others have written in their own times, and in a very distinct manner also.

For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradistinctly one another, as the Greeks have, but six books in which all the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This includes in it the history of the patriarchs of some three thousand years; but as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes; the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former of them, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time: and bow firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do: for during so many ages as has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrine, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatre, that they may earlier, and reaches so much wider than that of Theocyclus, and others, is the same, the subject of Thucycides, which belongs to his own times, and all under his own observation, much the most certain.

Of this accuracy of the Jews, before and in our Se-

above, we judge. The Jews are as near the, and the rest of the habitations, as much as near the are scattered; for they have been well worth our observation, what the reasons are that have been brought forth, and others, have been read to so little purpose by many of those critics, that in their mind the main aim has not been. The Jews are as near the, and the rest of the habitations, as much as
not be obliged to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them: whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who could undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in that case the writing itself, the authors of them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generations bold enough to write about such affairs, wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be found in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but these men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, and call these writings by the name of Histories.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that vast war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its transactions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named Gallienses, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by the Romans, and became a captive: Vespasian also and Titus had made war, and forced to attend them continually. At the first I was put in bonds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time the Romans did not yet have the least notion of my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully; and what information the deserts brought [out of the city,] I was the only man that understood them. Afterward I went to Egypt, and then returned to Ptolemais; when all my materials were prepared for that work, I made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by these means I composed the history of these transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans, and then to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chaleisius], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that understood the greatest part of our philosophy. Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.

10. There have been indeed some bad men, who have attempted to calumniate my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance, the matter of which was to have the authority of yours, and to undertake to contradict me too show the true state of those affairs! who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperor’s own memoirs, yet could not they be acquainted with them or written by the emperor himself.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being desirous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose I have sufficiently declared, that this custom of transplanting down to posterity histories of ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called Barbarians, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing, in the next place, to say a few things to show how it is requisite that our consideration is but of late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners: I shall also demonstrate that such as come upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise; nor is such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our principal care of all this, to educate our children well; and we think it no small sin to neglect the study of letters; and to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have disproved this, and shown that however barbarous a nation may be, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several commodities; and it is not for the barbarous nations who live by the seaside, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise.

Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousands of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was that the Phenicians themselves came to every trading and navigation to be known to the Greeks, and began to have it also said of them to many of our own men who understood the Greek philosophy: among whom were Julius Archelaus, Herod [king of Chaleisius], a person of great gravity, and king Agrippa himself, a person that understood the highest part of our philosophy.

Now all these men bore their testimony to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissembled the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any side, either had given false colours to actions, or omitted any of them.
the truth of their affairs, was this, that they had not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities was this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not known. How can it then be any wonder, if our underlings, to avoid the enmity of the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writings, while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar to themselves.

As it was the case, therefore, that we made use of this argument concerning the Greeks, in order to prove that our nation was not ancient, because nothing is said of them in our records: would not they laugh at us all, and probably the heathens, who were the first rulers of the world, that I now have alleged, and would produce their neighbour nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now the same thing will I endeavour to do: for I will bring the Egyptians and the Phœnicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill-will towards us; I mean this as to the Egyptians, who were Arabian, for they were known by the name of the Phoenicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill disposition towards us: yet do I confess that I cannot say the same of the Chaldeans, since our first leaders and forefathers were of their race; yet we do make mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is between us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns the others, I will demonstrate that some of the great nations, of which mention is made of us Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians, who adhered to the testimony of the Greek language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian; yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho was an Egyptian, and he, in his history, writes concerning us in the following manner: I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness. There was a king of our whose name was Tontum. This king was so ignorant, that I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and without the protection of force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterward burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and went right on, in a most outrageous manner; say, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis, he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and the lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of taking possession of the eastern regions; as he found in the Saitic Nome, [Seth-ritea.] a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theological notion was called Avaris: this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in the summer time, past the corn and pasture lands, and with his huge wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him rejoined another, whose name was Boon, for forty-four years; after him another, called Manachs, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janias fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Asia forty-nine years and two months. And these were the first rulers of Egypt, those who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hrcos, that is, Shepheard-s; for the first syllable, Hrc, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is Soa, a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hrcosos; but some say that these people were Arabian. Now, in another copy it is said, that this word does not denote kings, but on the contrary denotes captive shepherds, and this on account of the particle Hrc; for that Hrc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue again denotes shepherds. On this account, I think this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on:] "These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants, as he says, after his reign, session of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After these," he says, "That the kings of Thebes and of the other parts of Egypt, made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there was a war about the government;" and to this Manetho says, "That under a king, whose name was Aliphrangmuthosis, the shepherds were subdue by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres; this place was named Avaris." Manetho says, "That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within it. But when the king died, his son continued the same government; the son of Aliphrangmuthosis, made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that, upon his despair of taking the place by force, he made compacation with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they took a country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem." Now Manetho, in another book of his, says, "That this nation, thus called shepherds, were also called captives in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages, and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called shepherds. Now, and this is the reason that they were called captives by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive; and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's per- 1 Gen. xlv. 33, 34; xlv. 3, 4.

1 In our copies of the book of Genesis and of Josephina, the Joseph never calls himself a captive, when he was with the king of Egypt, though he does call himself a
mission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere."

15. It is probable, therefore, that the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore here bring in Manetho again, and what he relates to the order of the times in this case; and thus he speaks—"Then this people or nation bore the name of Egyptians in the land of Egypt, under the name of Ammon, or Ammos, a name which they received after they had slain the Ammonites, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigning afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after him came Amonophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Aceso, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephees, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephrathmuthus, for twelve years and eight months; after him was Tatmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Aresis, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Achenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Ratholis, for nine years; then was Achenchres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Achenchres, for twelve years and three months; after him Ammonophis, for eleven years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Ares comrades, for sixty years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nine years and six months; after him came Sesoan, for ten days; then an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armosis to be his deputy over Egypt."

[In another copy it stood thus: After him came Sethosis, and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of whom had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to govern over Egypt."

He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should associate with the other concerns of the king, while he made an expedition against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the threat of them. So, by the means of his many conquests, he increased the wealth of Egypt, and added to the empire."

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is from the number of years by him set down that he is a very historian; for if the things he records together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and thirty-two years and nine months, and that we came out of another country into Egypt, although the Argives look upon them as their most ancient king. 1 Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are not better than incredible facts."

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said. So I have now arrived at the Tyrians, that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them by those that concerned them, as much as with other nations also, these I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Corinth; and in their annals, the building of our temple is related; for Hiram, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friend- ship transmitted down to him from his forefa- thers, that he offered to contribute to the splendidness of these edifices of Solomon's, and made them a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning the roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilæa also, that was called Chabalon.

But there was another passion, a philo- sophic passion, of this nature given to them, that of friendship that was betwixt them; for they had mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unridled by each other; whereas Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser than he was. But they both had the contests that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for witness Dias, one that is believed to have written the history of the Tyrians after an accurate research. This Dias, therefore, writes thus in his history of the Phoenicians: "Upon the death of Abibaias, his son Hiram took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the sea and on the coast; and he appointed the festival of the Tyrians to be held at the Pyrgus of Olympias, which stood before on an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples in the strictest sense, that they had no one king more so than he; it is said that they owned nine kings before him, and Inschus at the head of them; see Authentic Research, Part ii. p. 1053; as Josephus could not but know very well; see Appius Claudius, who tells us that they knew they had been first of all demonstrated Danari, from this very ancient king Danus. Nor do the Tyrians wish to have it affirmed that they built Corinth without exceptions, but it is sometimes to be considered very ancient only, as is the case in the like superstitious degree of other words also.

See the preceding note.
They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for other things also. Because he could not solve the problems proposed to him, should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money to Hirom. Therefore, following most of them, as they relate, that one Abdonemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom.

These things are attested by Dionysius and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now, when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus: "Upon the death of Abihanus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple; he also went out and cut down a bough of a wild olive tree, and made it a temple, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones: besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built the temple of the sun god, and then that of Astarte, when he made his expidiction against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son, who mastered the problems, and reigned forty-three years, and reigned thirty-two years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew his son Lachias; after him came another son, who reigned forty-three years, and was called Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned eleven years: after him came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years; after him came his brother Aseymus, he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years. And thus, the kings of Tyre reigned over such a country that took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years; he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived forty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezonos, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years; he was succeeded by Matgenus, his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years; Pygmalon succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty years. And thus the Tyrian kings reigned from the time of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage, in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the time of twenty-nine hundred fifty years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem, in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage, one hundred and fifty years, and five months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories, [on the behalf of our nation, since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? And not to be sure, our ancestors have held this country long before the building of the temple, for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war, that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books. But there are some things which are more uncertain to me than is what I say; he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berossus, therefore, who was more renowned in his nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that dark wherein Noah, the origin of our race was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains: after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabobazar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us, "How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him: and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; and, nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them: when he sent them against Egypt, our city was desolate, during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyprus king of Persia." He then says, that "this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, subdued them in his kingdom, and Armenia, and Greece, and Asia, and that of Astarte, when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son, who mastered the problems, which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated: "Upon the death of Hirom, Belus and his court took the kingdom under fifty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years and reigned nine years. Now four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew his son Lachias; after him came another son, who reigned forty years, and was called Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned eleven years: after him came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aseymus, he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years. And thus, the kings of Tyre reigned over such a country that took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years; he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived forty-eight years: he was succeeded by his son Badezonos, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years; he was succeeded by Matgenus, his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years; Pygmalon succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty years. And thus the Tyrian kings reigned from the time of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage, in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the time of twenty-nine hundred fifty years and eight months. Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem, in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage, one hundred and fifty years, and five months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phoenician histories, [on the behalf of our nation, since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? And not to be sure, our ancestors have held this country long before the building of the temple, for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war, that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.
by it also, and that more eminent in its height, and in its great splendour. It would perhaps require too long a narration, if any one were to describe it: however, as prodigiously large, and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. And before it he had very high walls, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a pensile paradise, and by replanting it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things concerning this and the rest of this Chaldean history, wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, a queen of Assyria, and for her false pretence to those wonderful structures thereto relating, "as if they were her own workmanship; as indeed in these affairs the Chaldean history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the old Egyptians, of the king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phoenicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes in his fourth book of his Indian history, wherein he pretends to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength, and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, as well as Tyre, also. Now as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Assyria, shall not now be mentioned, for what Berosus adds further upon that head; for thus he says in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Nergilissero, his sister's husband, who was banished, and when he reigned but two years. After he was slain, Nergilissero, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years, his son Laberoosarchoch obtained the kingdom, that was but a child, and kept with our nation nine months; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspire together, and by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonoeus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with but little labour and his name; but when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylon. When Nabonoeus perceived that he could not resist him with his forces, and joining battle with him, was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city of Nisibis. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of money. He then sent his father to Nisibis, to besiege Nabonoeus; but as Nabonoeus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Ceramiucus, as a place to dwell in. But when he saw that it was not easy to besiege Nisibis, Accordingly, Nabonoeus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died." 21. These accounts agree with the true histories in our books: for in them it is written, that Cyrus set up Nabor, a Greek, as king of Nabonoeus; that he laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years: but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus his foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second years of Daricus, and all the records of the Physicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enough on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings in the kingdom of Persia, from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the second year of Daricus, in the days of Ithiobal, their king: after him reigned Bael, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people. Dthus, the son of Balsacus, two years; Cherneus, the son of Ablenus, twelve years; Ables the high priest, three months; Mit Homes and Gazaeratous, the sons of Ablenus, were judges six years; after whom Belatorus reigned one year, after his death they sent and fetched Nebazaraus from Babylon, who reigned four years; after his death they sent for his brother Bibras, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval of four years begins from the second year of Daricus, for on the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of these affairs and Tyrins agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies hence produced are as indisputable and undeniable attestations to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficiently comprehended by those as are not to be persuaded else. 22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquisitive of those that disbelieve the records of Barbareus and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit; and to produce many of these very Greeks who are now living, and to lay before them such as occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all the scientists in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in a very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not indeed any irrelevant writing that is owned for his book, in which he expatiates on the figure of Hermes, whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sorts of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus: The Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was Callipho, a Crotomeites by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conveyed the tenth with that of Essebius, is very uncertain; so we had best follow Josephus's own account elsewhere, Acts, B. c. xii. iii. sect. 4, which shows, that, secondly, the temple of Cybele, after the account of Cyrus, that work was interrupted till the second of Daricus, when in seven years it was finished, on the ninth of Daricus. This is a thing well known by the learned people, whom however we are not sure that we have any genuine writings of Pythagoras; those Golden Verses, which are his best remains, being generally supposed to have been written by himself, but by some of his scholars only, is in agreement with what Josephus here affirms of him.
with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also not to drink such waters as caused thirst again; and to abstain from all sort of questions. After which he said: 'There is a kind who did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy.' For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the Jews' and Thracians' words and phrases in the Persians' writings concerning the Tyrians, and led the Tyrians of the Tyrians forbade men to swear foreign oaths. Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called Corban; which oath can only be found among the Jews, since it is to be given to God. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus acquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, as he saith thus, in his second book concerning the Cilicians. His words are these: "There are among them some, who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Cilicians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phenicians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, do not circumcise. The latter are called Jews, and for those that are among them who live about the rivers Themepon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they have learned it from the Cilicians; for these were the only people that were between them and mankind, as they now appear to have done the very thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This therefore is what Herodotus writes about the Syria that are in Palestine are circumcised. But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and therefore it must be his knowledge of them that induced him to assert it. This Cilicius also, a still ancient writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of King Xerxes, in his expedition against Greece. For in his enumeration of all the nations of the East, he says: "Cilicians are among the rest, when he says: "At the last there passed over a people, wonderful to be beheld, for they speak the Phenician tongue with their mouths; they dwell in the Solymian mountains, and are of small stature, and have the features of horses; their heads and faces were like horses' heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke." I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body, that there were not only the Solymian mountains in our country, wherein we inhabit, as it is also the lake called Asphaltitik; for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cilicius make mention of our nation, whether it be those Jews, those Phenicians and Grecians, but those that are in the greatest admiration for their philosophical improvements who among them, did not only know the Jews, but, when they lighted upon any of them, admired them also, it is easy for any one to know; for Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Stoics, in his book, considering spicq, says, "That Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him: "Now, for the present part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it, but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of: Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperchides, I shall here in seem to thee to request all men, and that we all lay aside our dreaming selves. Hereupon Hyperchides an awered modestly, and said, For that very reason it is that all of us are very desirous of hearing what art thou going to say. Then, replied Aristotle, For this reason it will be necessary for us to state that rule of the rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperchides, Go on, if it please thee. This word (according to Aristot.,) was by birth a Jew, and came from Colocyria: these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophiers; they are named by the Indians Cahanmas, but by the Syrian Jews they bore the name of the country they inhabit, which is called Juden; but for the name of their city it is a very awkward one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to Jerusalem: and he, accounting himself a Grecian, not only by his language, but in his soul also; insomuch that as we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same place in one time, where he likewise was, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and granted us a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This Cilicius, therefore, makes us as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet, and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more of him from himself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now, Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Heceates of Ephesus, he adds, who was a very useful in an active life, he was contemporary with King Alexander in his youth, and afterward was with Ptolemy, the son of Lagus: he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating, by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Heceates roused himself first in the name of the Jews, and not the Solymian Solini celebrated in Homer, whose Cilicius here describes: nor are we to expect that either Cilicius or Heceates, or any other Pagan writers cited by Josephus and Eusebius, do so no mistake in the Jewish history. If, by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic records of that nation, we find them, the Jews, and the main, to contain the same, and have been so long sought to be satisfied, and not expect that they ever had an exact knowledge of all the circumstances of any Jewish affairs, which, indeed, it was almost always impossible for them to have. See sect. 23.
after the death of Alexander, and on the hun-
dred and seventeenth Olympiad, as Caster says
in his history. For when he had ended this
course of public buildings, he went on this olym-
piad Poltemy, the son of Lagus, last in the reign of
Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named
Poliorcetes, at Gaza." Now, it is agreed by all,
that Alexander died on the hundred and four-
teenth Olympiad, it is that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of
Alexander. Again, Hecateus says to the same
purpose, as follows:—"Poltemy got possession
of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza;
and he heard of Poltemy's mode-
r and humanity, went along in such a way as
Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his
affairs; one of which (Hecateus says) was Heze-
kiah," the high priest of the Jews, a man of about
sixty years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a sensible
man, and could speak very movingly, and was
very skilful in the management of affairs, if any
other man ever were so; although, as he says,
all the priests of the Jews took titles of the pro-
ducts of the earth, and managed public affairs
and in number not above fifteen hundred at the
most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a
second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of
income and dignity, and was known about
, so did he take certain of those that were
with him, and explained to them all the
circumstances of their people; for he had all
their habits and polity down in writing." Martyr
deprecates it again, "what reg-
ard we have for our laws, and that we resolve
to endure any thing rather than transgress them,
because we think it right for us to do so."
Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in
a reputation among their neighbours, and
among all those that come to them, and have
been often treated injuriously by the kings and
governors of Persia, yet can they not be dis-
s DOnned from acting but what they think best;
but that they are not to be prophesied upon,
account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they
are brought to the most terrible kinds of death,
meet them after an extraordinary manner,
by all other people, and will not renounce the
laws of their country, but produce demonstrations not a few of this their
resolute tenaciousness: of their laws, when he
speaks thus:—"Alexander was once at Babylon,
and had an intention to rebuild the temple of
Baal, which was taken by the hand in men who
were there, for he commanded all his soldiers in gene-
ral to bring earth thither; but the Jews, and
they only, would not comply with that com-
mand; nay, they underwent stripes and great
losses of what they had on his account, till
the king forgave them, and permitted them to live
in quiet." He adds farther, "That when the
Macedonians came to them into that country,
and demolished the [old] temples and the altars,
they assisted them in demolishing them all; but

* This Hezekiah, who is here called a high priest, is not
named in Josephus's catalogues; the real high priest at
this time, according to our Origen, is Archippus, whom
Caster shows he was, containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubic,
being about three quarters of an English acre, and just
twice the area of the court of the Jewish tabernacle,) as
certainties in the court of Judea, was the last third of
the entire number of aresor in the whole land of Ju-
dam, supposing it 100 measured miles long, and 70 such
miles broad. How perfect is the argument for the useful parts
in, an, perhaps, here in Hecateus, is not, therefore, very wide
from the truth. The 50 furlongs in compass for the city
Josephus presents, are not very wide from the truth
also, as Josephus himself describes it, who, if the War,

R. ch. iv. sect. 3, makes its wall 33 furlongs, besides the
suburbs and gardens; say, he says, R. ch. v. 28.
R. ch. iv. sect. 3, makes its wall 33 furlongs, besides the
suburbs and gardens; say, he says, R. ch. v. 28.

so I read the text with Havercamp, though the place
difficult.

This number of acres or Egyptian seasons, 3,000,000,
was, containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubic,
(being about three quarters of an English acre, and just
twice the area of the court of the Jewish tabernacle,) as
certainties in the court of Judea, was the last third of
the entire number of aresor in the whole land of Ju-
dam, supposing it 100 measured miles long, and 70 such
miles broad. How perfect is the argument for the useful parts
in, an, perhaps, here in Hecateus, is not, therefore, very wide
from the truth. The 50 furlongs in compass for the city
Josephus presents, are not very wide from the truth
also, as Josephus himself describes it, who, if the War,

for not assisting them in rebuilding it they
either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained
forgiveness." He adds farther, "That these
men deserve to be admired on that account.
for he speaks of the mighty people of our
nation, and says, "That the Persians for-
merly carried away many ten thousands of our
people to Babylon, as also that not a few ten
thousand were evidently after Alexander
into Egypt, and Phoenicia; by reason of the ed-
tion that was arisen in Syria." The same per-
takes notice in his history how large the
country is in which we inhabit, as well as of
its excellent character, and says, that by which
the city is inhabited contains three millions
of acres, and is generally of a most excellent
and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea of lesser
dimensions." The same man describes our
city Jerusalem also itself, as of a most excellent
structure, and very large, and inhabited from
the most ancient times. He also discours of
the multitude of men in it, and of the construc-
tion of our temple, after the following manner:

"There are many strong places and villages
(æx rods) in the country of Judea; but one strong
city there is, about forty furlongs in circum-
ference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twe-
ty thousand men, or thereabout; they call it
Jerusalem. This city is, first, it is in the
center of the world, and its altitude ten furlongs.
Hut it is a large edifice, wherein there is an alt
and a candlestick both of gold, and in weight
two talents: upon these there is a light that
never extinguished, neither by night nor by day.
The priests minister in it, nor any thing, nor any
duties therein: nothing at all is there planted,
other grove, nor any thing of that sort. The priests
abide therein both nights and days, performing
certain ceremonies; and the city is level. But the
sacraments, the great wine, and drinking not the least
drop of wine while they are in the temple."
Moreover, he attests, that we Jews went as am-
philies along with king Alexander, and after him
with his successors. I will add farther what he
adds, that he was not at all as he was
same manner, concerning the actions of a man
that was a Jew. His words are these: "As I
myself going to the Red Sea, there followed
us a man, whose name was Moscomian: he was
not at all as he was before; for when he was
he was a person of great courage, of a strong
body, and by all allowed to be the most skill
archer that was either among the Greeks or
 barbarians. Now, this man, as people were in great
numbers passing along the road, the
sagor was observing an augury by a bird, and
requiring them all to stand still, inquired what
they said for. Hereupon the augur showed him
the bird from whence he took his augury,
and told him, that if the bird said where he was
they caught all to stand still; but that if he got up and how onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosolum made no reply, but drew his bow and arrows to make a shot at him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus: "Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? Have you not seen him Jeremy and perhaps made some information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself; for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosolum the Jew should kill him."

But of Heceutus's testimonies we have said enough; for so to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discouraging the affaire of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedon into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, but, during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how, after that, the king came before them, and joined them to his cause in Seleucia, and had it in her power to slay away immediately, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught, and put to death." When Agatharchides had praised some of those who had made war for Syrian independence for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus: "There are a people called Jews, who dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which are not accustomed to rest on every seventh day; on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with their husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass, that when Pyulemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mod custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their city to be taken. And this law was so foolish that the Jews were so despised, that when the law was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreaus as these were, and not to follow the like silly sug-
ggestions."

23. Now, that some writers have attempted to mention our nation, not because they knew no- thing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances, and by those who are the successors of Alexander's, that our nation has always had at the time of Heceutus, and was a friend of King Antigonus, and president of Syria. Now it is plain, that Heceutus wrote to the king concerning the affairs of the Jews, and of the conquests of Herod the king, although he was bred up very near to the places where we live. Thus different from one another are the inclinations of men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. And now certainly the following records of the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phenicians, to say nothing of the Persians, who have been the true custodians of the books of all gods, are sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, besides those forementioned, Theophaus, and Theocotus, and Maessus, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Eusemerus also, the author of the History of Egypt, and Conon, and perhaps many others, (for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books,) have made distinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have made great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afforded their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. How-

24. One particular there is still remaining behind of what I at first proposed to speak to, and that is to demonstrate that those calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against them. For, in general, this self-contradiction hath happened to many other authors, by reason of their ill-will to some people, I conclude is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care; for which reason I think it the more necessary to declare the nobility of certain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city of Athens, Poly-

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And indeed the Egyp-

AGAINT APION.—BOOK I.

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"A glorious testimony this of the observation of the Babylon by the Jews. See Antig. B. xiv. ch. ii. sect. 4; ch. vi. sect. 5; Of the Life, sect. 54, and War, B. iv. ch. ix. sect. 19.

We not their law, but the supernatural interpretation of

"The Phenicians shepherds, when Josephus mentions for the Israelites. See the note on sect. 18."
ship which we made use of, though, when they saw the institution approved of by so many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nor to willfully and repeatedly abuse their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

56. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little before mentioned, for he might be called an authority on this subject. I mean Manetho.* He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and promised this: that “our people have come into Egypt, many ten thousands in number, and subjugated their lands”; and when he had further confessed, “That we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem and its temple.” Now thus far he followed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear to have written what rumors and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the lever of a thousand years, to be now mixed with us, as he says they were, and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he mentions Ammonophis, a fictitious king’s name, though on that account he durst not set down the name of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as to the other kings he mentions; he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related, that the deposition of Memnon for Jerusalem, and the building of the temple, has been reckoned five hundred and eighty years; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days, the reigns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hundred and sixty years, as days of itself, till the two brothers, Sethos and Hermeus; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of Egyptians, and the other, Hermeus, by that of Danues. He also says, that Sethos cast the other out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Ramphases reign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho therefore had acknowledged, that our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduced the name of Ammonophis, and says thus: “This king was desirous to become a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that kingdom, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his natures, and they, who were the mouth of Pepis, and one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities.” Manetho adds, “how this namesake of the god, as he might be the god, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all he had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt, and chose out a thousand, whom he sent to those quarries which were on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians.” He says further, that “there were nine cities in Egypt that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still Allnophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the

* In reading this, and the remaining sections of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily perceive that certain parts of this book have not been transcribed with accuracy, and that the author had too highly offended with the impudent calumnies of Manetho, and with the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had now to deal, and whose rage had been thereby increased by his religion, and passion than ordinary, and that by consequence he does not here reason with his usual fairness and impartiality; he seems to depart sometimes from the brevity and sincerity of a faithful historian, which is his grand

king, if there should appear to have been violence offered to slaves who also were polluted further (out of his capacity about futurities,) that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; but that he, in that case, was afraid that the gods would be angry with him and all those who were polluted with the leprosy, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate.” After which he writes thus verbally: “After those that were with Sethos were sent back in the quarters had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted, and was persuaded by the ancient theology, was Typhon’s city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsipes, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, that they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstat from any food they pleased, and should be ranked among the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all, that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more after this manner, and such as they were in the minds of the Egyptians, he gave order, that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their city, and make themselves ready for a war with king Ammonophis, while he himself went to Memphis and to the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis the king of the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them that he was the king of his nation, and of his nation, and that the land that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would be the first place, bring them to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their power; that he would not forget the kindness of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Ammonophis, the king of Egypt, was in the city, and gave order to his soldiers, that in a great confusion, as calling to mind what Ammonophis, the son of Papis, had foretold him: and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and set for their sacred annals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should have a guiding care of the gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was named Ramphases, from his father Ramphases, being but five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being in number two hundred thousand men, like of them, against the enemy, most near them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he character, and indulges the prolixity and colours of a pleader and a disputant; accordingly, I confess I always shall honor the memory of the author, though his writings, though I fully believe the reproaches cast on the Jews, which he here endeavours to confute and expose were perhaps greater. This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, that the laws of Osarsip or Moses were not made in consort with, but in opposition to the systems of the Egyptians. See the note on Antiq. B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 8.
returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians, for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received them with great hospitality and entertained that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fall; but that the next year, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amennophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down out of Egypt, they did not contradict the king's word, but did treat the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not set the inhabitants to till the land, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting of those sacrificial beasts which they then ejected from the country, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "He then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, whom he employed, and when they were gone in crowds," he says, "they chose one that had formerly been priest of Heliopolis; and that this priest first ordained, that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from the meats according to the Jews, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody but those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths to be sure to continue in it, and that when he said "I will speak about Avaris, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that "this priest sent to Jerusalem to invite people to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were coming from Jerusalem; and that when they came, they made a war immediately against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also, that "the Egyptians came with an army of troops, and took the city of Amemnomis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacred animals, to the priests, and opposed them in preserving them." He says further, that "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptians, and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and in short abstracted from no sort of wickedness, barbarity; and for that priest who settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name was Osaraph, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis, but that he had changed his name and counsels already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he be seen, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure," it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, this prophet, by whose means the king thought to conquer them, or was under the expectation he came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods could not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? For the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked practices; and as to eighty thousand spers, and those in an ill state also, how is it possible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled or driven out of Egypt immediately, and to make them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers, than intended to purge his country. He says further, that "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the anger of the gods, and that he and his country were come from Egypt afterward; and that he left this prediction for the king in writing." Besides, how came it to pass, that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how came he not to turn away from the prophetic art immediately? how came that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in his lifetime; or what worse thing could be suffered, out of the fear of which he made haste to kill himself? but now let us see the silliest thing of all: the king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did not even believe them, and then sent his army, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported, that the priest, who ordained their polity, and the chief of his priests, by the name of Osaraph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that, when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses." 27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity. But still Manetho goes on, that "after this Amennophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Khnmess with another, who had been defeated by Shishak in battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will substantiate that he trifles, and tellsarrant lies. After I have made a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him; for this Manetho had glorified and confessed that this nation was not originally Egyptian, but that it had been sent out of another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in their bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses became the founder of this kingdom; but that Moses, who was in the land of Egypt, let them be preserved in that country, but lived many generations earlier, I shall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves. 28. Now, for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, that "king Amennophis desired to see the gods." What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordained to be worshipped, the ox, the goat, and the sheep, he was a little wiser already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he be seen, and what should occasion this his desire? To be sure, it was because another king before him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods they were, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand in need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, this prophet, by whose means the king thought to conquer them, or was under the expectation he came he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for the event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose that the gods could not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or leprosy? 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Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of such a passage; for the lepers, and the multitude that was with them, although they might formerly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so cruelly, and this according to the prediction of the prophet, yet certainly, when they were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city and a country, they would have grown milder towards
him. However, had they ever so much hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against him, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I find this on the account of the great kindness they were so numerous must have had among them. Nay still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have had importance enough, figly with the rest of them, to icould the whole or-
dained laws quite contrary to those of their own
country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to him, that he caused the lay that part of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and obliged the people to take them for done so. But still, how absurd it is to suppose, that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them, while these poli-
ted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were ene-
my, and ought rather to be afraid of their ro-
toms. He says, indeed, that they compelled immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt, as if they did not them-
selves very well know that country out of which they would be taken by force, as if the lives were been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt, it is no wonder that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, and those that were emigrated in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting the Egyptians, and should not forsake the king, who would run away from them; on the contrary, he saith himself, that “Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium.” Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that “those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and, what is more, any of those men that found action there.” And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when he hath not; and afterward, when they themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, “Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and con-
quered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and destroyed them all.” And the Egyptians in Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatsoever, and as if those that had conquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did neither fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advantages for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that “he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syris,” while yet it is not said that they were an army that pass over that country, even without fighting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Mane-
theno, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that the Egyptian temper was of a finer temper, and that many of them were dead in the mines, since they had been there a long time, and in a servile condition; many others must be dead in the battles that ensued afterword, and more still in the last battle and flight after it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now, the Egyptians acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; and they have set down one of their or-
dained laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they had been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to him, that he caused the lay that part of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jerusalem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that they were their priests that contrived these things, and obliged the people to take them for done so. But still, how absurd it is to suppose, that none of these people's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to undergo the hazards of war with them, while these poli-
ted people were forced to send to Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, or what relation was there formerly between them, that required this assistance? On the contrary, these people were ene-
mies, and ought rather to be afraid of their ro-
toms. He says, indeed, that they compelled immediately, upon their promising them that they should conquer Egypt, as if they did not them-
selves very well know that country out of which they would be taken by force, as if the lives were been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a large country, and one better than Egypt, it is no wonder that for the sake of those that had of old been their enemies, and those that were emigrated in their bodies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting the Egyptians, and should not forsake the king, who would run away from them; on the contrary, he saith himself, that “Amenophis's son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium.” Now, to be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's repentance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that “those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of Egypt into their possession, and, what is more, any of those men that found action there.” And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when he hath not; and afterward, when they themselves had done the same things before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, “Amenophis, some time afterward, came upon them, and con-
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32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremon says. For he also, when he was writing about Egypt, sets down the same name for his king that Man.

etho did, Amenophis, as also of his son Rames-
set, and then goes on thus: “The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him of the temple having been permitted to his war. But that Phiritannes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purge Egypt of the men who had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer troubled with such frightful appearances. Amenophis, having cut out two hundred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out of the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe: that their name was derived from him, and that of Moses was from 
Tessinet, and that of Joseph Pteseph: that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not being willing to carry them into Egypt: that these scribes made
a league of friendship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt: that Ameno-
phius could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and that in certain caverns, who lay concealed in certain caves, and there brought forth a son, whose name was Messene, and who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred years old at a distance of six years, and received his father Ameneos out of Ethiopia.

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted, that what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations; for there is not one fact, or truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they should so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, what they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forfeit what they please out of their notions.

Now, Menetho says, that the king's desire of seeing the gods, was the origin of the execu-
tion of the polluted people; but Cheremon lays it was Phuriphates. As to the numbers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree excessively. Both say, to take them all, and that there were six to seventy thousand, and the latter about twenty thousand and fifty thousand. Now, for Menetho, he describes these polluted persons as sent first to work in the quarries, and says, that after that, they were sent to the pelasgian, and delivered upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, who had been left there by Ameneos, and so they invaded Egypt with them again; that thereupon Ameneos fled into Ethiopia, as if Cheremon says, because they were not Egyptian, or whether they came from a foreign country, that they were so ridiculous in blunder in not informing us who this army of so many tens thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country, it is a dream from Isis, about the leprous people, as-
signed the reason why the king would not bring them into Egypt.

Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with them, while they were going out of Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium, which four generations make about one hundred and seventy years. Besides all this, Ramessus, the son of Ameneos, by Menetho's account, was a young man, and assisted his father in this war, and left the country at the same time with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then over-
came the Jews in battle, and drove them into Sy-
ria, and that he remained with the others, and passed the second day after his birth, and lived to the hundred and eighty years; that there was not, and the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination: whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to those that were about Pelusium. But, perhaps, it will be looked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confusion of such writers as sufficiently confute themselves; and they have been only confu-
ting each other, and it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about

* By way of irony, I suppose.

† Here we see that Josephus esteemed a generation be-

between Joseph and Moses to be about 42 or 43 years, which.

* By way of irony, I suppose.
BOOK II.

§ 1. In the former book, most honoured Ephaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said, from the writings of the Phcenicians, and Chaldceans, and Phrygians, and Lydians, and Phœnicians, and Carthaginesians, and many of the Gentile writers as witnesses thereunto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Charismon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now, therefore, begin a consecration of the remaining authors who have written anything against us; although I confess I have had some doubt upon me about Apion the grammarians whether I ought to take the trouble of confessing him or not for some of his writings contain things very prejudicial to our interest, and other things laid against us; some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible, and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very curious, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, it speaks him to be a very unlearned person, and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet, because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they would suffer such things to be printed, but is writ tho' what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let the man go off without a Examination, who had written an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court. For I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to get over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means: yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion of disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt; and, in the second place, he accuses the Jews that they are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications, with the other legal rites used in the temple.

2. Now, although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were theirs expelled from this place by robbers, but by a people who dwelt among the Egyptians, and that such a people brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while it seems, that he built the city they thought, they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that the word Israel comes from the word to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say to me, who have a good repute, and have been a benefactor to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

This is the meaning of Hieroyslē in Greek, set Hebrew.
AGAINST APION.—BOOK II.

3. This is that novel account which the Egy-
tian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' de-
parture out of Egypt. For he makes it to have
been more than three years before Daudas fled to Argos; Lisi-
machus says it was under king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some others determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as desiring to be believed before them, hath determined it ex-
actly to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and the first year of that Olympiad; the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phoenicians. The reason whereof is, that this building of Carthage was, to be sure, in or-
der, as he thought, to strengthen his assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware that this character confutes his assertion, for if we may give credit to the Pho-
enean records as to the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relate that Hi-
rom their king was above a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage, con-
cerning whom I have formerly produced testimon-
ials out of those Phoenician records; as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in his building that temple. Moreover he adds, that they were of the same temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath con
tinued to have the very same number with those of the Phoenicians; for which reason he allowed them ten thousand. He then assigns a certain won-
derful and plausible occasion for the name of Sab-
bath; for he says, that "when the Jews had trave-
elled a six days' journey, they had baboons in those parts, and therefore gave them the name baboon, and that they rested on the seventh day, as having got safely to that country which is now called Judea; that then they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the Sabbath, for that malady of baboons on their groin was named Sabbathosis by the Egyptians." And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus! We must, it seems, take it for granted that this Apion could not have imagined that men must have these baboons. But, for certain, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distemper upon them, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day; moreover, they would not have been able to travel over a large desert, and besides this to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they had not all of them had baboons on their groins after the sixth day was over: for such distem-
per comes naturally and of necessity upon those that that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousands in a camp together, they constantly march a settled space [in a day.] Nor is it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; unless the man that is to be supposed. However, our admirable author Api-
on had before told us, that "they came to Judea in six days' time;" and again, that "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Aralia, which was called Sinai, and was con-
sceled there forty days, and that when he came down from thence, he gave laws to the Jews." But then, how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was neither water nor drink? He makes them wander over the country between that and Judea in six 
days! And as for this grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it either contains an in-
herent greatness, or is of so gross ignorance, for the word Sabbath in Hebrew, is different from one another: for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work: but the word Sabbo, as we affirm, de-
notes among the Egyptians a malady of a babo-

in the groin. *

* The burial-place for dead bodies as I suppose.
many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory; and as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopa-
tra, they sent ships laden with presents to the Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, in- stead of reproaching them, he ought to admire them. And therefore, not only those who are living among Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be, for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being ruined, these Jews brought them the most splendid presents of any other of the cities, and delivered them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then (says Apion) Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city, at the time when Thamas the Roman am- bassador was there present." Yes, do I venture to say, and am not afraid to do so; for that Ptolemy who was called Phys- co, upon the death of his brother Philometor came from Cyrene, and would have ejected Cle- opatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly. For this cause, then, it was, that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly he urged them to God; and, after a peculiar process; for when Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias's army and had caught all the Jews that were in the city, [Alexandria,] with their children and wives and possessions, and had treated them like brutish ele- phants, that they might be trodden upon and de- stroyed; and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contra- ry to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews, and the king himself was seized and de- stroyed, and was slain in the midst of the city by the command of the king; and a great many of them fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them: nay, after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men: his very concubine whom he loved so well, some time after, died of the same possession of supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had al- ready done or was about to do; whence it is well known to all, that he made these His- torians repeat the same story, which he himself was the first to celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumnator of men, hath the presump- tion to dispute with me about the facts; and thus against Physco, when he ought to have con- demned them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexan- dria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and, indeed, in general, with regard to all the Ro- man senators, and those who were the most power- ful men; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother slain by private trea- cherly, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cesar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son and successor: nay, she corrupted A- tomy with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to her; so that she was sent, not as a friend, to his friends, and [by her means] despoiled some

* For volldam, or frequently, I would here read volla, a great deal of money: for we, indeed, read both in Aristo and Josephus, that this Ptolemy Philometor concessed a sum of money to the Jews above 108,000 Jewish coppers, but not of any sums of money, which he disbursed on their account at other times, that I know.

1 Here begins a defect in the Greek copy; but the old Latin version fully supplies that defect

\* What error is here generally believed to have been committed by our Josephus in ascribing a deliverance of the Jews to the reign of Ptolemy Physco, the seventh of the Ptolemies. For it is certain that the events above described have happened under Ptolemy Philometor, the fourth of them, is no better than a gross error of the moderns, and not of Josephus, and I have fully proved in the above, Sect. i. p. 320—324, whether I refer the inquisitive reader to the sister's son, and adopted son.
of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his flight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled to abandon himself, the army, and to follow her into Egypt: nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her children, and had her hands lay hold of their armament, with the army, and to follow her [i.e., into Egypt] nay, when last of all Caesar had taken Alexander and the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a collection of corn from the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews, for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is not a marked one, for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the king had formerly accustomed to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

But besides this, Apion objects to us this,—"If we showed justiciary of those laws? But still, as charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such sedition as you speak of, or in piety when the writings of the sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient seelawitises; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions broke out still more and more, while our people continued more and more as the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their rustic hatred against us; for so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all, no other than foreigners: for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, and therefore they had not done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges thereto, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolate. Moreover Apion would not blot us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimous and modest manners of them whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem. Conferring honours upon their own, for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Greeks and some other nations think it a right thing to make immortal images, we have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, we exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were nowady related to them: may, some take pictures of such persons as they were food of. What wonder is it then if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But then, our legislator hath forbidden us to make images of demons: beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make those images for all that are the animals of passion, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator no where forbidden us to pay honours to worthy persons, pro nobis; and others of the like mind, so as to those we pay to God; with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors, and to the people of Rome: we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them: nor do we only offer them upon every day to the common gods, but at this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor, indeed, in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be the same: but we are so distinguished by such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persever at their own laws? But still, as charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind. Moreover, those that search into such sedition as you speak of, or in piety when the writings of the sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient seelawitises; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions broke out still more and more, while our people continued more and more as the authors of these troubles, who having not the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians, and continued their rustic hatred against us; for so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of..."
is not a more contemptible animal than "4 and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But besides this answer, I say further, how could it be that Apion does not understand this to be no other than a prudish lie, and to be confuted by the thing itself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, in which we constantly persevere, and through many misfortunes have been preserved in our city, as like wise have preserved others, and also Theocles, [Epiphanes,] and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Caesar, have conquered us in war, and got the temple out of our hands; yet the more of them found such things there, nor indeed any thing but what was agreeable to the strictest piety, although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. But for Antiochus, [Epiphanes,] he had no just cause for that ravage in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and his friends; nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This is attested by many worthy writers; Polyaibus of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodorus,1 who all say, that it was not out of any desire of money that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either an ass's heart or a dog's impudence, or that he despised the God they worshipped, or for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are mixed upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same with us which they are with other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they cannot do so, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either pleased with the invention of such fabulous discourses, or however, when he began [somewhat better] he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he had no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us.

1 Flavius Josephus, Against Apion: or, a Confutation of His Book, Against the Jews. (1775)
against Apion—book ii.

Every one of which and by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from the rest; into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and none but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the Jews went into the second court, as well as their wives, while all us men and the third went in the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments: but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high-priest, and that only in his peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about these offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but at certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, there are priests that consecrate the vessels, and as they do again at noon, till the doors are shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house, nor is there any thing therein but the altar (of incense), the table (of showbread), the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law; for there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of; nor is there any fasting within the place. For what I have now said it will be sufficient, and the testimony of the whole people, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses of the priests, and every one of them hath above five thousand men in them, yet do they officiate in the temple in parts, and only those days are open, other priests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any thing relating to food or drink, and only the altar of the temple; nay, we are not allowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sacrifices. 9. What can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that concerned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is a great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he knew the sanctity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the seizing of a Grecian, about inexecutable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into the city, which was prohibited to nobles among the Jews, and abhorred to enter our temple or the priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of the subject. Moreover, the high-priest and the bishops as are above related, have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us. 10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us further, and adds the following pretended facts to his former tale; for he says, the man related how, while the Jews were carrying on war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshipped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been Zeus Apion, and he himself promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them, and will there him certain instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner, that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of god from heaven, on earth, that the Jews were terrified frightened at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at some distance, and that Zabibus, while they continued so quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off that golden head of an ass, (for so facetiously does he write,) and then went his way back again to Doro, in great haste. And say you so, sir? for so did I, as I may repute. Apion then says that he himself, and lays on him a burden of foolishies and lies; for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumean borders are put upon our country, and is near Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora: although there be, it is true, a city named Dora, in Phenicia, near Mount Carmel, but it is four days journey from Idumea. Now, then, why does this man wish to accuse us, but from his ignorance, or with other unions? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! but still it seems that while Zabibus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody ever met him. 11. At the same time, in war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards: I omit the rest. Now the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and all the doors were ninety cubits high, and there were no fewer than twenty; men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he says, he had a hand in the matter. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second tale of Apion's, is uncertain.
to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off his bragging, for every body but himself would think, that Apion spake not justly and against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and much of them have been of their own producing, and brought into subjection by others. Now for the Egyptians, perhaps they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Greece, and this account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts. Whereas these Egyptians are the very people who appear to have used them. In this country we have a law of sacrifice, no, not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteem to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians, or of the Persians, the latter of whom were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was Balisades, who used to meet with in his life: I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, nor do I reproach on those who were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians; and it is that of Scarcia, a celebrated king of Egypt, that hath blinded him: now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: accordingly we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant who desires to reprehend the monarchs of Persia, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty; and it is only that, which hath done the ruin of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, and as we are considered to be by posterity as having been esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. But says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, nor any inventors of the arts of wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Clesanthes, and some others of the same sort; and, after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and proves the Alexander is to be the best, because he hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own desert, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and all, and which profligacy may justify the vanity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men,

* This notorious disgrace belonging particularly to the people of Egypt, over since the times of the old prophers of Egypt, and the present, and here, all of a sudden, must be confirmed by the testimony of Isodors, an Egyptian of Pelusium, Epist. lib. i. cap. 480. And this a remarkable completion of the ancient predictions of God, by Ezekiel, xxiv. 14. *That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the bast of the kingdoms;" and that it should not exist itself any more above the nations "The we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whatsoever; and such as have persuaded our Antiquities cannot be gainsaid in this way.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blame-worthy, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the censor of his opinions. He enumerates those things which accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcisions of our privy members. Now, as far as our slaughter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men: but then Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian, (as he pretends to be,) he had not shew any unseemly delight in the slaughter of the whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feasting; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion was afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but had been filled full of the widest sort of brute beasts, which, because they are not to be got, they carefully nourish. However, if, as Apion says, the Egyptians think to be the most wise and most pious of them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the histories say, that their sacrifices were originally committed to the care by their kings and by the high office of the gods, and the support of wisdom and philosophy. Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh: nor does any other more; and these Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifices they offer up to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blind in his mind when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he contended to reproach us, and to accuse such others as no more than our self for this abhorrence; he is so much abuses, but have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus, which makes me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of our nation, and the manners of the Egyptians by way of self-necessity, on account of any respect his privy member; and when he received no benefit by such circumcision, his member became putrid, he died in great torment. Now men of good sense, who consider the laws concerning religion accurately, and to perceive therein, but not presently abuse the laws of other nations; while this Apion deserted his own law, and told lies about ours. And this was the end of his entangled分辨s, and the conclusion of our discourse about him.

15. But now, since Apollonius, Molo, and Lyaimachus, and some others, write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are the fundaments of our whole constitution of government, and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence become evident that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner of men, and the particular branches, by the wisdom of one, and not so much as to have been free from defective power, under any of the monarques to that day. And all this has been found equally true in the latter ages, under the Emperors, even the most happy, and from the days of Josephus to the present age also
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...labours with fortitude, and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine, to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an eulogium upon subjects, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. For we do not like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists, and man-haters, and sometimes common slaves and laborers, of course, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness, and madness in our conduct: say, he says, that we are the weakest of all the barbarians, and that this is the reason why we are not to expect any better improvements in human life. Now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says...
there are innumerable differences in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man may briefly reduce under the following heads: some legislators have permitted their governments to be under monarchies, and others put them under oligarchies, and others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but he ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a theocracy, by describing the authority and the power to God, and by persuading all the people to have a regard to him, as the author of all things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one, and to consider all that they themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observation, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thoughts. Moses was, he represented God as the begetter and immutator, through all eternity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and, though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now explain how these notions of God were introduced into the wisest among the Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforded them. However, they testify with great assurance, that these notions are just, and agree with all that human reason, and to everyone's justice, or for Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the nature of God; yet I have indeed disclosed those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only not enter with those who were his contemporaries to agree with these notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be removed. The reason why the constitution of the state, which Moses represented God as the utility of all, than other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies, and all our words (in Mose's settlement) have a reference to piety towards God; for he hath left none of the laws undetermined. For there are ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now other lawyers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every one of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; and

* This expression itself, ἡσαυρίαν κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου, that Moses ordained the Jewish government to be anocracy, may be illustrated by the parallel expression of the Romans, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 9, that "Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleased to be absent." Both ways of speaking sound harsh in the ears of the Jews and Christians, as do several others which Josephus uses to the heathen; but still they were not more improper in him, when he all along in his Ammonisms himself, both in his Antiquities and in those his books against Apion, all written for the use of the Greeks and Romans, to their notions and language, and this as far as ever truth would give him leave. He was very just in that, that he never uses such expressions in his books Of the War, written originally for the Jews beyond Egypt. And in their language he is once fixed. The whole Josephus directly opposes the Jewish settlement under Moses to be a divine settlement, and, indeed, no other than a real theocracy. These excellency accounts of the divine attributes, and that God is not to be at all known in his essence, as also while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without the practice. For the Athenians, by their practice, directly from the earliest infancy, and the apprehension of every one's duty, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself—according to his fancy; but they must have instructions, as to what kind of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of; as also, what common they should have with others; what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and what they should be proud of. It is certain that, by living under that law as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out of ignorance; nay he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without punishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best, and the most necessary instruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employments, and to assemble together for hearing of the law, and learning it exactly, and committing it by heart, once a week, and once in a month, and once in a week; which thing all other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And indeed the greatest part of mankind is far from living according to these same laws, though they have nearly known them; but when they have sinned, they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are in the highest and principal parts of the government confess, that the laws are everywhere enacted with that wisdom, that those who are obliged to take them for their assessors in public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws: but for our people, if any body do but ask any one of them about our time, or the law should be brought before him, he will tell his own name, and this consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our hearts and impressed on our souls, but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agreement of mankind and nations, and a great difference between mankind and all nations concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners, procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is any where among mankind for no other people, but we Jew have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one some other clear expressions about the resurrection of the dead, and the state of departed souls, &c. in this late work of his, De Resurrectione, in his works of the Jewish Antiquities, or, rather, Ebonite Christians, than of a mere Jew or Pharisee. The following large accounts also of the laws of Moses seem to me to show a report to the higher interpretations and improvements of Moses's laws, derived from Jesus Christ, rather than to the bare letter of them in the Old Testament, whereas Moses himself took these the same laws, though without any of the considerations of those laws, though generally excellent in their kind, he properly now found either in the copies of the Jewish People, or, if any part of them, he himself became a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, nor even all of them among the laws of Catholic Christianity distinct. I desire, therefore, the learned reader to consider, whether he may not be peculiar to the Ebionites among the Jews, or, rather, to the Nazarenes or Ebonites among the Christians; though we have, indeed, but imperfect accounts of those laws, as the Nazarenes or Ebonites transmitted down to us at this day.
is affected, but some of the philosophers have been most expert to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as authorize a way of making a god, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all think that we are common to us all. We have kept a sort of a holy day, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things: as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that they desired to have piety for their and said this any body may hear from our women and servants themselves.

21. And indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not been living according to a plan of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persuade in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor suppositions that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure, they say, is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded that our life is suitable to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people’s laws that will improve us? Perhaps we would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours? while this makes us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and the wise and just, and to be the administers of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself; which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had, as the gifts of fortune: but he intrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to perform such services. And as some of the men had the main care of the law and of the other parts of the people’s conduct committed to them; so they were the priests who were ordained to be the speculators of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the end of our worship is the highest religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious assembly? For what things foreigners, when they visit our temples, do not observe for a few days’ time, and call them mysteries and sacred ceremonies, we observe with great pleasure and an unskilled resolution during our whole lives. What has to do with this is, that the whole phrase is no longer forbidden? These things are easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all.

* We may here observe how known a thing it was among the Jews and heathens, in this and in many other instances, that sacrifice were still accompanied with the most shocking of luxury, besides the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving. However, these ancient forms used at sacrifices are now generally lost, to the no small damage of true religion. It is here also exceeding remar-
our intercourse with strangers: for it will then appear, that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own country, nor destroy one another's; but to do with others, in the same manner, any one intrusted to another, ought not be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for his loan. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bonds of society with one another.

29. It will also be worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in

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This last is no where in our present copies of the Old Testament.
read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of a invariable virtue. But suppose that all men would admire them on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write something of them even in their own times and for laws, are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have not only given unchangeable rules of action, but have also published writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, of the excellence of the rectitude of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth, that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than a collection of fables, and reports of his artificial fictions. But they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So far as we have gained, that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedaemonians, compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government is in its incunabula; and let them further consider, that though the Lacedaemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change of their constitution, they forgot all their laws, and cast them off, when we, having been under ten thousand changes that happened among the kings of Asia, we have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in: nor have we neglected our customs, because we are a free people. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedaemonian multitude, while they neither plunged themselves into the sea, nor burned their own city, free from all such painstakings, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their hands employed in a manner seem to be appointed for them by the others: and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whose power they are the victors, and that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for, not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them have in heaps neglected those laws and have delivered themselves, together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay, not more than one or two that have betrayed our laws, no, not out of fear of death itself: I do not mean such as have sold their country in order to save themselves; but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire of seeing a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men as are true believers in the world, who believe that no evil would be so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws! Nor ough men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for we do not wish to be easily caught by our own errors in the impression of things in which we are instructed, I mean working with our hands, and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink, not at random or at every one's pleasure, or being under jurio jurisdiction with our own laws, but making our own furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their words in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot hear to submit to our laws. But the constitution of our laws, whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lycaonians and the Molonians, and some other people, (unknow why,) reprove us the vilest of mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations: for the custom of our country is to keep within our own laws, and not to bring them into the laws of others. And indeed our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people, on account of their very insanities and ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours; it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute them will be not new. These men not only, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also: for who is there among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both our laws and our custom? The most famous legislator, for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods such as these; that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them, that they are such as they please; and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals; as some to be kept under the earth, some high up in the air, and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell: and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter, (which daughter he brought forth from his own head,) made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confining his own father.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought those notions deserved severe reproofs: they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be handless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly; that some are set to trades; that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior and fights with men; that some of them are harpers and musicians in archery; and that the rest are singers. And that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far, that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and find it to be not only of more weight, but also much more useful. "De Oratore."

Or, we have observed in our times of rest and sorts of food allowed us [during those distresses].

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and lament and mourn for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them, and their temples; which how can we except rather than a most absurd and suppositional, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, even Zeus, the king of the gods, who hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in person, or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without fear. These are indeed fine things: as are the rest that follow. Adulteries, truly, are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were found in the very act. And what should they not do, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust, from lying with his wife so much as they might get into their bedchamber! Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward, and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass. And what sober persons are there who would not be provoked to contradiction and scandal and to the charge that they forgave, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other passion in the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to have given others of them another name; and they also endeavour to move them as they would the wildest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them unless they pay them such wages.

The story, therefore, of the four countries, what should be the occasion of this unjust management, and of these scandals about the Deity? And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of themselves and of God; and I think it a plain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it, nor did they compose the other part of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and having nothing to do to the point, they introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also, and sculptors of Greece, had therein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a God; the one to be formed out of clay, and the other by making the bare picture of such a one. But there worksmen who formed the representations of the gods in ivory and of gold as the constant materials for their new statues: whereby it comes to pass that some temples are quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorn every city, and they speak the most honourably of them that I can.] nay, certain other gods there are, who are newly introduced and newly worshipped, [as we, by way of digression, have said already, and yet have left their place of worship desolate:] and for their temples, some of them are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the ple-

* See what these novel notions were in Dr. Hinde's note, v. 82. To swear by an ark, by a gnat, and by a dog, is also by a gender, as says Philostratus and others. This swear-
at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written somewhat that was not owned for truth by the Athenians, about the gods, had been seized upon and put to death, if he had not been saved by the exertion of some woman who was in the action of prostituting herself; for all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare even women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody that she was a woman who sold and prostituted her self; and if the gods, it having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws; and a capital punishment had been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that they who make use of such laws, do not believe those of other nations, unless they are really gods; otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians: Now, as to the Ionians, they are another sort of men, and differ little from brute brutes; yet do they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed. They also slew Ancharesis, a person greatly admired for his wisdom among the Greeks, when he returned them; because he appeared to come wrought with Greek customs: one may also find many to have been punished among the Persians on the very same account. And to be sure Apollonius was greatly pleased with them; he did not believe those of other nations, unless they were made by other legislators; because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the very same opinions about the gods which they had! This last was exemplified in the temples which they set up to the gods, and most entirely enslaving the Grecians. However, Apollonius has imitated all the Persian institutions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his own sons. Now, whether men have the courage in raising up wars to increase our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws; and when we with patience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compass to break our laws; then it is that we come to go to war, though it be in reality to pursue, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, indeed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate that of the Peræans, who are not observed by their own legislators? And why do not the Lacedæmonians think of abolishing that form of their government which suffers them not to associate with any others, as well as the Thebans abolish that unnatural and impudent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a sufficient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought wicked; and yet they are not uncommon in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions for the time to come: nay, such things are still inserted into the body of their laws, and had once such a power among the Greeks, that they held man to be an end and an end in itself of all the gods themselves as a part of their good character; and, indeed, it was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. This the Greeks contrived as a provision for their own absurd and unnatural pleasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping them the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining that for adulteries fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting virgins they need only marry them: it also, what excuses they may have in denying the facts, if any one attempts to challenge their administration in other nations it is a studied art, how men may transgress their laws. But no such thing is permitted amongst us; for though we be deprived of the use of our cities, or of the other advantages we have, our law concerning it is most excellent; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies make us this concession, that our laws are most excellent; and if still they imagine, that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they not only laws without all their efficacy, the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered to us concerning God. For as there hath been a very long time for this comparison, if any one will but compare its duration with the laws made by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the acutest of them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have always inspired admiration among men; and in the earliest Grecian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophical doctrines, follow our legislator, and give the same opinion as he gave concerning the friendly communication one with another. Nay further, the multitude of mankind itself has had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and by which our fasts, and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions are not observed; that also endeavor to imitate the mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing great distress, and the desire of the greatest advantage, and what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath no bat of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force; and as God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the arts and sciences. Also, if any one will but reflect on his own country, and his own family, he will have reason to give credit to what I say. It is therefore but just, either to condemn all mankind of indulging a wicked desire, because they are guilty of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us, and be directed against us, for the behaviour towards us when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he, by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God. For though we should not be able ourselves to understand the whole matter, that is all that would the great multitude of those who desire to imitate them, justify us in greatly valuing ourselves upon them.

see Horeb Covenant, page 61. I am almost ready to suspect that for years, we should here read yeats, and that corrupting wedlock, or other men's wives, is the crime for which those heathens wickedly allowed this composition in money.

Or for corrupting other men's wives the same allowance
JOSEPHUS'S DISCOURSE

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I have delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities; and have only mentioned them now, so far as was necessary to my present purpose; without proposing to myself either to blame the laws of other nations, or to make an encomium upon our own; but to instruct those who have written about us unjustly, and in an impudent affection of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books. For whereas our accusers have pretended, that our nation is a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers, who have made mention of us in their books, while they said, and not so dubiously, or, they had said, that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt; while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared on the contrary that we returned to our country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow: whereas God in old time bestowed, as his virtue on us, and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature: but I will not teach nor teach not; but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have one to another freely; they are enemies to injustice, they take care of righteousness, they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings: they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws: they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions; through them, the consent of greater and surer demonstrations than what is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say, that we are become the teachers of other men in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only,—for what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? And this so far that we are to be neither divided by our internal mutual jealousies and seditions in prosperity, but to contemn enemies when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and all ways are satisfied that God is the inspec and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters. But it is too late to make it intelligible that we have made use of them, more than any other men, and if we have demonstrated, that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions, and the Moloss, with all the rest of those that delight in lies, start new stories; the whole world is convinced: but the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

AN EXTRACT OUT OF JOSEPHUS’S DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS CONCERNING HADES.

§ 1. Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished; a subterraneous region, wherein the light of this world does not shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, it cannot be but that the inhabitants are subject to perpetual darkness. This region is allotted as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments, agreeable to every one's behaviour and manners.

2. In this region, there is a place set apart, as a lake of unquenchable fire, whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast, but it is prepared for a day aforesay-determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedly be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men, as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of destruction; while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-fading kingdom. These are now indeed confined in Hades, but not in the same place where the unjust are kept.

3. For there is no descent in this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with a host; which gate when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way, but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led with hymns, sung by the angels appointed over that place, unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constructed by necessity, but ever since the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here; with whom there is no place of toil, nor burning heat, no piercing cold; nor are any brriers there; but the countenance of the fathers and of the just, which they see always, smiles upon them, as do their own excellent works, and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force with the left hand by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good will, but as prisoners driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them, and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Here these angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself; but when they have a near view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and so effectually terrified thereby; not only when they are under the place [or choir] of the fathers and of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them; insomuch that a just man hath compassion upon them cannot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt it, pass over it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are confused and a proper season which God hath determined, when he will make a resurrection of all men from the
CONCERNING HADES.

END OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.
APPENDIX.

DISSESSATION I.

The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, vindicated.

Since we meet with certain important testimonies in Josephus the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, hath of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, I found it fit for me, who have ever deduced my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the original evidence and citations I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make those who were interested in their investigation and defense, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned persons, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger, in the Prolegomena to his book De Emendatione Temporum, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and most correct of all modern writers; nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where concisus; us."

The ancient Citations of the Testimonies of Josephus, from his own Time till the End of the Fifteenth Century.

About A. D. 110. Tacit. Annal. lib. x. cap. 44.—Nero, in order to stifle the rumor, [as if he himself had set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were esteemed for their wisdom by the Greeks and Latins, and called by the vulgar "Christians;" these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.

About A. D. 147. Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho, p. 230. —You [Jews] knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell, when he was crucified.

About A. D. 160. Ep. Epiphan. Cont. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 334.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Plautius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus Christ, who was called James the Just, because of his love of truth and his firmness.

About A. D. 250. Contra Cel. lib. i. p. 35. 36. —I would say to Celsius, who personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins. For Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he baptized the brother of that very Jesus that was baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those maraudings coming upon the people, because they had so little faith that Christ who was foretold by the prophets, be, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says, "These mere sects befall the Jews by way of revenge for Jesus' sake and the sake of the name of Israel."

When Pilate, in the name of the high priest, called Jesus, because they had laid claim on him who was a most righteous person. Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen as the Lord's brother; [Gal. 1. 19.] which relation to him becometh the nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If therefore he says the desolation of Jerusalem befall the Jews for the sake of Jesus, with the name of the high priest, James might well say that it happened for the sake of Jesus. [Acts 13. 2.]

About A. D. 334. Euseb. Demonstr. Evan. lib. iii. p. 128.—Certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning Jesus of Nazareth, was not sufficient. However, it is not by us that we oblige any one of others; if, over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for further witness, who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes the mention of our Saviour in these words: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had received a sound instruction; he drew over to himself multitudes..." If the reader examines this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had something more than a name among mankind, for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? But observe the same terms of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews, who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets. [Acts xxii. 22.]

Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 11.—Now the divine scripture of the Gospel makes mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as the wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabs; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive; on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, [Aretas made war with him,] because his daughter had been used dishonorably. In which war, when the Romans were come to his assistance, the whole army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John.
Moreover, the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man, and the Baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the Gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingship, because of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes this of John:—"None of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and took the name of the Lord, and was the same that the Scriptures said was to come in both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him, when the noble use was, by a certain order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; suppose still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others ceased, he continued, and the people delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to do. When he had therefore the first attempt of a mutiny from him, by cutting him off, than after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repeal [of such negligence. Accordingly, he] wrote to his son Philip, that he was to be born in temer, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same manner:—"Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure from him. He drew from the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake his cause, but had confidence in the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct as yet, and are not daring to be so, and as I before went, the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any further evasion? &c.

Josephus was a great and noble person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been his occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it was by the counsel of the Jews, and they did not dare to be so, and as I before went to him, the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any further evasion? &c.

Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following:—These miseries befell the Jews by his own rebellion, and James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in this manner:—"The holy and apostolic words: "Cæsar sent Ambibus into Judæa, to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high priesthood, was in tempest and disturbance in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since, therefore, this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority,] because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James the brother of Jesus, who was called Justus, and another of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were like-minded men on the laws, they disliked what was done. They also went to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified," &c.

About A. D. 360. Ambrose, or Hesychius de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. ii. cap. 12.—We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as Josephus affirms, (who is an author not to be rejected, and this was against himself,) that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist, a just man, who had said to him, It is not lawful for thee to do this thing. The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus: That there was at that time a wise man, if (says he) it be lawful to have him, whom they call Christ, and of fruitful works, who appeared to his disciples after the third day from his death alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other mirvons as concerning Christ. And among those whom began the congregation of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men; nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world which continues strange to his religion. If a Jew of not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandereth from the truth, that even at the same time he believes a believer as to what he himself said; but thus he spoke, in order to deliver historical truth, because he thought it not lawful for him to deceive while yet he was no believer, because of the malice of his heart and his unrighteous disposition. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer; but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he says it as true as possible.

About A. D. 400. Hieronym. de Vir. Illustre. in Josepho.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees, account of the great and noble person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been his occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it was by the counsel of the Jews, and they did not dare to be so, and as I before went to him, the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered these things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any further evasion? &c.

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About A. D. 410. Isidorus Polycrate, the Scholar of Chrysostom, lib. iv. capist. 232.—There was one Josephus, a Jew, of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had
showed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now, since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? "Now Christ, the wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive, and the divine prophets had seen these and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this manner of his in the midst of his enemies, above all where he says, "Jesus was a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure."

About A. D. 410. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. cap. 1.—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a prophet, great, excellent: among the Jews and Romans, may well be a witness of credit, as to the truth of Christ's history; for he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth. He, who himself saw Christ alive, is not, I think, ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that he saw him alive, being many of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me by his conclusion, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to speak out of zeal for the laws of his country; and he names them as having been affected with the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to allow his name to them.

About A. D. 510. Cassiodorus, Hist. Tripertit. & Sozomeno.—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of great dignity among the Romans, became the greatest of Christ's history; for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines: he names him Christ openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

A. D. 640. Chron. Aeth. p. 514.—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Anti- quities, that the son of Herod the Baptist, by Philip, who was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife; she was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petraeans. When therefore Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive, (on whose account he slew John also,) Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been divorced. In this war, he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 595, 597.] Now that our Saviour taught his preying three years, is demonstrated both by other necessary reasons, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 584, 586.] Josephus relates in the fifth book of the Jewish war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third year of the bishopric that some new one, since they dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down from the temple, and slain by them stoning.

About A. D. 740. Anastasius the Great, p. 333.—These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him who was a most just man, and a most holy one, of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembled the summi-drim of judges, and brings before them James, the high priest, and others of the chief of them, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them. As breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the people, and in the city, and in the country, and in the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa] desiring him to send to Ananus, that he should act so no more, for what he had done already could not be undone.

About A. D. 350. Johan. Malcton Chron. Lib. xi. —From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written; who brought us this, that from the time the Jews were first divided into good and righteous man, (that is, if it be fit to call such one a man, and not a God,) the land of Judaea was never free from trouble. These things the sages of the Jews relate in their sermons.

About A. D. 360. Photius Cod. Lib. xlviii.—I have read the treatise of Josephus about the universe, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, Of the Substance of the Universe. It is composed for the most part of the first book of the Origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him. Moreover, it is said that he is the Father, after such a manner, as cannot be blamed; which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, through the phraseology does not at all differ from this person; for otherwise, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter.

Cod. cxxxviii.] Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and of Peraea, the son of Herod the Great, and brother of Philip, who was beheaded by his brother Philip, whose name was Herodias, who was the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain, Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband, and married her. This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ:] being afraid, as Josephus says, lest he should raise a revolution among his people: for they all followed the direclion of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

Cod. xxxiii.] I have read the Chronicle of Justinus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related; but, as was natural with Jewish writers, ascribing all events to God, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or the acts done, or the miracles wrought, by Christ.
Dissertation I.

The time uncertain. 
Macarius in Acta Sanc-
Josephus, works, says he wrote with truth the history of the Jewish af-
airs, bears witness that Christ, the true God, was incarnate, and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are deposited in the public library at Alexandria. He speaks about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure: he drew over to him both men of the Gentiles and of the Jews; and when he was crucified, the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thou-
sand other wonderful things concerning him.

And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Since therefore the writer of the Hebrews has given this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

About A. D. 980. Suidas in Deos Jesus. — We have found Josephus, who hath written about the taking of Jerusalem, (of whom Eusebius Pam-
philus makes frequent mention in his Ecclesiasti-
ical History,) saying openly in his memoirs of the exac-
tions of Herod, that on this occasion he crucified the priests. Thus we have found Josephus saying,

A man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

xiii. — The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also Josephus witnessed, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

About A. D. 1130. Zonaras Annal. tom. i. p. 267. — Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Anti-
quities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus, the third day rose again, and the wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews.

And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

About A. D. 1220. Gelasius Annal. p. 284. — The text here read, "The lover of truth, because he commended John who baptized our Lord: and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of wonderful works, he was crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are deposited in the public library at Alexandria. He speaks about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure: he drew over to him both men of the Gentiles and of the Jews; and when he was crucified, the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thou-
sand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."
told that those and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. And the famous name of Christ was taken from him, as well as the other continuance in him.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and on that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod. And yet Josephus adds, that 'It is not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of Christ; or that this person was no other than whom all the works knew by the name of Jesus Christ, and his father James Sower. It must hence to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following:

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could no otherwise understand the expression of Josephus and afterward the Christians, who knew that a great Messiah, a person that was to be Christ, the Anointed of God, and that was to perform the office of a King, a Priest, and a Prophet, to God, to declare the readiness in which he desired them to use his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says, the Christians were named from this Christ, without a syllable as to the very name Jesus, nor the true Messiah, or Christ of God. He further seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when, upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was commanded by Jesus, he calls him the Brother of Jesus, not, that was the true Messiah, or the true Christ, but only that was called Christ.

(3.) It was quite outside the purpose of Josephus to write his Antiquities, for a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the name of the word Christ to his Greek and Roman readers; he would surely have explained the name Jesus, as that in the Jewish and Christian accounts of Christ and of the Christian religion would such a declaration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans, of his republic, both which people, he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of himself, and he has not learned it of us of his own opinion, unless we preferably gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing in parallel cases.

(5.) The sense is, to be the universal sense of all the authors without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost every man have this to be the true reading, yet do they every where suppose Josephus to be still the same Josephus, the same having Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought

by the apostles in the name of Christ impressed a sacred horror.'
mean to declare any more by these words than a
common opinion, that, according to his usual
way of interpreting authors, not to the words,
but to the sense, (of which we have, I think, two
more instances in his accounts out of Josephus,
now before us,) he renders this clause a
statement of fact, not of opinion, such as is his habit
to consider in the gospel.
Nor is this parallel expression of Pilate to be
otherwise understood when he made that inscrip-
tion on the cross, This is Jesus, the King of the
Jews, (v.) which is well explained by his words
therein, and on the very occasion of the present
clause, What shall I do with Jesus, who is
called Christ? (b) And we may fell as well prove
from Pilate's inscription upon the cross that he
believed he was a sufficient authority in his own
time, to give out that the real King of the Jews, as
we call from these words of Josephus, that he thereby declared him-
to be a real believer in him, as the true Mes-
iah.
IV. Though Josephus did not design here to
declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet
he could be not possibly believe all that he here as-
serts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so
far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebion-
ites, who were then the only in that country
who pretended to be the true Messiah, without believing he was
more than a man; who also believed the neces-
sity of the observation of the ceremonial law of
Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which
he might have known, and is now known, to
be the faith of the Nazarenes' and Ebionites',
Christian's faith, though in opposition to all
the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ in the first
century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic
Church of Christ in the following centuries also.
Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Jo-
sephus was no other in his own mind and con-
science than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish
Christian; and have observed that there was the
entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the
Baptist, of whom he says that he was the
successor of Moses, and the minister of the
Law, and the minister of the Nazarenes, and
seems to have been, by his own
and the" Bible"
HII
Thus, when Josephus says, about A. D. 68, that the Jews of
Judea, who were brought before the Roman praetor,
were very unready at the condemnation of this
James, and some of his friends or followers
Christians, by the high priest and sanhedrin,
after the death of Jesus, (about A. D. 63,
the proclamation of...)
so that that proclamation of James
himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he
was, without the strongestusions to
Christian religion, or without being secretly a
Christian Jewish, i.e. a Nazarene or Ebionite,
which thing is, by the way, a very great addi-
tional argument that such he was and no other.
Thus, lastly, what we have is cited in this
passage, that James, the head of the two
Ebonites in Judea, could not, to be sure,
be of that opinion; nor could Josephus him-
self be of the same opinion, as he declares he
was, without the strongestusions to
Christian religion, or without being secretly a
Christian Jewish, i.e. a Nazarene or Ebionite,
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which thing is, by the way, a very great addi-
tional argument that such he was and no other.
VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly in the case of Origen, who was a Gnostic. The reason that is given is that, as we have seen, he wrote, because he twice assures us, that in his opinion, Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for the Christ. Now as to this latter clause, I have already shown, that Josephus does not, in the case of the Jewish Gospels and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and Christians naturally understood by them: I have also observed, that all the ancient authors allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in his opinion, acknowledge the Messiah, or Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God; notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine, so that we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not these words in his copy, nor to say that it is, after all, much more likely that the clause is not the same, the differences in the other copies in this clause, or indeed omitted it entirely, than that he, on its account, must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposition at all. However, it seems to me that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimonies concerning the brother of Christ, he omits his speech from the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ himself, that the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him!

(2.) Origen was not surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem by the Jews' murdering of James the Just, and not to their murdering Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his brethren before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet be could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony. Nor do the words he here uses to Josephus was not remote from the truth, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(3.) How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, to say, that "it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?" and so very large, so very large, and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them: and this is the more to be depended on because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who, in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the Catholic Christians, who thought him a God would say any thing like his being a God.

(4.) How came Origen to affirm twice, so express, that Josephus did not himself own, that Jesus of Nazareth, and James the brother of Christ, notwithstanding his quotation of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist, his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and one of his principal disciples. Thus Origen is not a likely persuader of Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called Christ indeed, but not any otherwisethan Jesus the father of James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had the Photius's, called Memoirs of the Jews's captivity, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare not pretend that they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the farther consideration of the learned.
of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that this Josephus never speaks of the advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done every where else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this fami-
ly testimony before us; so that it is probable Photius had not this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexan-
dria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is only to be supposed that he cites none of Josephus but once, and that for a point of chrono-
logy only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Jo-
sephus; so that his silence may almost as well be taken for the same reason as the absence of Photius. Tertullian, and the Greek antiquities of Josephus, and certain passages in Josephus’s works as against those before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that those testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any of Josephus’s treatises but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology: nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Joseph-
us’s writings beside, and never mentions an abso-
tain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion, in his dispute against the Jews, to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testa-
ment in the destruction of Jerusalem and the missi-
lines of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to be, that Tertullian did not read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish Wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latini writer that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one passage, that I know of, cited by Tertullian, of Josephus’s writings: nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clas-
ases, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence.

DISCERSSATI I. II.

Concerning God’s Command to Abraham to offer up Isaac his Son for a Sacrifice.

Since this command to Abraham (f) has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts, from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the facts or the times of whereof these facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since these mistakes about those ancient customs, opinions, cir-
cumstances, and reasons, have of late been per-
peased, that the very same account of Abraham, which was so celebrated by St. Paul, (g) St. James, (h) the author of the Hebrews, (i) Philo, (k) and Josephus, (l) in the first century, and by im-
mediate successors of the creator of such his con-
duct; and that withal the best and wisest men of all ages, Heathens as well as Jews and Chris-
tians, Marcus Antonius as well as the patriarchs Abraham and St. Paul, have ever humble sub-
mitted themselves to this conduct of the divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not de-
mand any of them of his justice, so, not supposing the continuance of the same divine providence and enjoyment as before, to those assertions do appertain. When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of us all, the first by the decree of fate, and the second by the judgment of nature, and even the last till the days of David and Solomon; when he was pleased to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extremify the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as those people were full, (p) and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an an-
gel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Archimnians, (the number attested to by Herodotus the Cyprian, as well as by our own Bibles), in the days of Hens-
kie, of whom some seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Semiramis, by whom they were penetrated; or when, at the plague of Athens, London, Mar-
seilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion; I do not re-
member that any one of these, but God deal justly with such his creatures, in

(f) Gen. xxii.
(g) Rom. iv. 16—25.
(h) James ii. 21, 22.
(i) Heb. xi. 17—19.
(k) Phil. de Evang. p. 364.

(m) Gen. xxii. 15—19.
(n) Wisd. xi. 94.
(o) Rom. xi. 7.
(p) Gen. xv. 18.
those to us seemingly severe dispensations: nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and 'Trent of them put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to a greater misery in the world to come: nor is it fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the presence of all the majesty and all the glory of God, to be all-good Creator and Benefactor to an account, upon any such occasions; since we cannot but acknowledge that it is He that hath made us, and not we; that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves, independent of him; but that all we are, we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which therefore he may justly take from us whenever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases, with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9, "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it;" and with patient Job, l. 21, ii. 10, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." If, therefore, this shortening or taking away the lives of men be an objection against any thing proclaimed for that purpose, it is still strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general, and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no more concerned in the bare result of the fact of Abraham now before us. Nor is this case much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job and his friends' debates, by the inspiration of Elias in the determination of God, as that time the present system of things shows, where the divine providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment, from the final judgment, from the final judgment, 3. Last till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt not but this has been generally the case in generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority; nor indeed, in the sceptical and modern care to deny this authority directly: they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as the interference of the execution of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have now been long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God, it is not constant, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet there was no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, the friend of God, (v) which is the same thing plainly to have certainty of those their revelations: and what evidently shows they were not deceived, is this, that the events and consequences of things afterward corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus the first miraculous voice from heaven, (a) calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of those eminent promises made by (a) Psal. xci. 3. (b) Isaiah xil. 8. (c) Gen. xxii. 12. (d) Gen. xxii. 17. 18.
was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named Anobret, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called Jeud, [the Phcenicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name,] he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice."

(7) The Phcenicians, when they were in great danger from their enemies, burnt their dead to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose. And Sanchoniatoh's Phcenician history is full of such sacrifices. [These histherto I take to be the origins of fire.]

"(8) In Arabia the Damatia sacrificed a child every year."

(9) They relate, that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed the son of the same name with Typho at the sepulchre of Osiris."

(10) "Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhonian men alive in the city Idithya, [or Lilibya,] and scattered their ashes like claff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season in the dog-days."

(11) "The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this fiction of a holy and respectable practice was the instrument that the Christian and Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonian oracle before the time of Amosios, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."

"—Iesus adiectus haec tristia dicta reportat: Sanguine piacatis, ventis, et virginae caso, Quemque Mimas, Damas, Demas, certe nobis vel; Sanguine quereni reditas, enimque Homoneum Argelica. (5)"

"He from the god this dreadful answer brought, O Gorgias, when the Trojan shores you sought, Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought; So must your safe return be bought again, And Grecian blood once more the main—Drden."

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty, in the world, that either wicked demons, or wicked men, who neither made nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they the authors of the sacrifices, and so we are next to look for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the offerer's own children, without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was a murderer from the beginning; (f) a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That, accordingly, Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation, vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves, for this crime: and for this, and other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay, sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. [Paganism, the heathen state of idolatry, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.]

"(g) Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech. Defile not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled, and the Lord will cast you out of his land, with the pestilence and with the wild beasts." (h)

"(h) Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

"Take heed to thyself, that these be not enlarged by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hath commanded thee not, ye shall surely destroy."

"(i) And Ahab made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

(1) Moreover, Ahab burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel."

"(j) And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anamzech, the gods of Sepharvaim, &c.

"(m) And Josiah defiled Tophet, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech."

(1) Yes, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters to the demons of the heathen, and burnt the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isc. xlv. 5.

"(m) The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, saith the Lord: they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name to pollute it: and they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart.

"(p) Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which the fathers of Israel knew not, nor the kings of Judah, and which they have not filled with the blood of the sons of Jerusalim, in the first and second, and in the third and fourth, and in the fifth and sixth and seventh, and in the eighth and ninth and tenth year. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my heart.

"(q) They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination to cause Judah to sin:" (See chap. xx. 26: 1 Cor. xii. 20.

"(r) Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me and these thou hast sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy womb, when thou didst bring forth a babel and with your hands and with your bare hands, and with your eyes, cast it into the fire?"

6. That Almighty God never permitteth in any one instance, that such abominations should actually be offered to Molech, though he seeth right to have required it.
under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and at this a time when mankind generally thought that the greatest security for the preserving pardon of sin and the divine favour; this the ancient records of the heathen world attest.

Take their notion in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatos: (4) "It was the custom of the heathen to resort to the most holy sanctuaries and for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing [or avenging] demon and the gods, and to propitiate them after a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab, (v) when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who then took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him up to be slain, and wrote it down upon the city wall." This also the Jewish prophet Micah (v) implies, when he inquires, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offering, with a ten thousand rams, and ten thousands of fat kids of the goats? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Not shall I come before him with a burnt-offering, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God?"

It is true he did not try the substitution of a lamb for a burnt-offering of Abrahams to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their demons or idols, yet did he withhold his in order to prevent the execution, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prove the execution, and by himself in a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately: (w) "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Take thy son, thine only son, whom thou wast inclined to offer up, and offer him up for a burnt-offering upon the mountain which I will show thee." Thus though Jepthah (x) has, by many, been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child, and it was said to him upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, of which opinion I was once myself; yet, upon more mature consideration, I have, for some time, thought that this was a mistake in many; that the sacrifice was not being devoted to God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifice, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in the Old Testament; and should be referred to mentions any such law no more than Josephus: and when Josephus had thought that Jepthah had made such a vow, and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with his vow, as he himself of these circumstances for him as, having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words, (y) "as having offered an offering neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearse should have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus, (c) who is herein justly followed by Archbishop Usher, (e) (no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to be sacrificed, with a view to the highest duty of the cases: and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion. St. Clement describes it thus: (b) "Isaac being fully persuaded of what he knew and of the necessity of this sacrifice was willing and consented to be offered as a burnt-offering." And for Josephus, (c) after introducing Abraham in a pathetick speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that "Isaac was very devout and of a very tender disposition; he considered him as giving a short, but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that "he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jepthah (a) perform his vow as a father of many nations, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despairs entirely of the interposition of Providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience he has received him and prepared to offer him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac: (e) "We will certainly return again to you. As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" And Abraham said, "My son, the Lord will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Both these passages look to me, somewhat like such an expectation. However, 9. It appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, should have been of this opinion, that if God should permis Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice, he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that both "he and Isaac were upon the higher or upon the lower, or upon the earth, or among the stars, or in the sea, or in the earth, or in the air, or in the temple, or in the wood, or in the mountain, or in the sun, or in the moon, or in the fire..." It is clear and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. x. 17, 18, 19. "By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac, and he that had received him was not ashamed, who also had made him, &c., that Sarai his wife should be called Sarah; that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her; and that he would bless him, and she should become nations, and kings of the house of his sons should be called out of her; for through Isaac shall thy seed be called." And since withal it is here supposed, that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promise, in these circumstances, to raise Isaac again from the dead; and this was an eminent instance of that faith whereby "(b) Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness,"viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be slain, he would certainly and speedily raise him up again from the dead, (c) "from whence also he received him in a figure," as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes. 10. The fact the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection, was this, besides the general considera-
ration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia at seventy-five years of age, he had (a) had constant experience of a special, of an overwhelming, of a kind and gracious providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him, and enriched him with all good things. "Israel was the only child of Isaac," he had acted as Ishmael by Hagar, and afterward promised him Isaac to (b) spring from his own body now dead, (c) and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah before the time appointed, as God had promised, he actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made it to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although at his first that out return back, after the amazing might have been tempted to stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief, (c) yet might he now, after fifty years' constant experience, be purely strong in faith, giving glory to God; as being firmly persuaded that God had promised, (d) the resurrection of Isaac, "he was both able and willing to perform." 11. That this assurance, therefore, that God, if pleased, may bring Isaac to be slain again, and raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all the others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this indeed takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it. 12. That, upon the whole, this conclusion is of Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent beforehand in Isaac, "a beloved, or "only begotten son," what was to happen long afterward in his son Abraham, the Messiah, the beloved and "the only begotten of the Father, whose days Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it." (p) et al. that "he by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, was offered up for a sacrifice, and should be raised again the third day," and this at Jerusalem also; and that, in the mean time, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city of Jerusalem, the place of the Messiah, the sacrifice, and should be "raised again the third day." 13. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem, and why it is noted, that it was "the third day," (r) that he came to the place, which implies that to the second阵营．, after the giving of the sacrifice, would naturally be the "third day" also: and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael "the son of the flesh," only, but Isaac the son by promise, (a) the beloved son of Abraham, and why Isaac was not slain, the first-born, the firstborn son of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to bear the wood on which he was to be sacrificed; (l) and why the place was named after him, the land of Gerar, or vision, i.e. most probably a place where the Shechinah or Messiah had been seen, and God by his shewbread, even before the days of Abra- ham, and where lately lived, (n) perhaps now lived, the prophet Melchizedek; the name Melchizedek, the name Messiah; (p) who might then possibly be present at the sacrifice, and why this sacrifice was to be offered upon the mountain called afterward distinctly Moriah, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosiac sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus (p) and the generality suppose, or perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour mount Calvin. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor perhaps did St. Clement mean any thing else, when in his foretold passage, he says, that "Isaac was the servant of the servant, and was to come," and therefore "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor indeed does that name of this place, Jehovah-Jireh, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, that God would supply all his wants, it appears, (i) to be given by Abraham, on any other account, than that God would there, in the fulness of time, "provide himself a lamb that Lamb of God (w) which was to take away the sins of the world" for a burnt offering. But now, if, after all, it be objected, that how peculiar, and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, such as that Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac, must however be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or at least greatly encourage their wicked practices in the sacrifice of their children to their idols, I answer by the next consideration: 13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (q) which command itself the Gentiles would not then or at all be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices, as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seem to have been the very occasion of the immediate abolition of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the substitution of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abo- lition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologist, which is also cited from Porphyry, by Eusebius and Theodoret: "Amosis, the first king of the Egyptians, abolished the law for slaying men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the other sacrifices, to find whether they were clean or not; after which they were placed in a three day in a. Whose was the Pyramids of Egypt, and therefore sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax, of the same number, should be substituted." Now I have lately shown, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that all the wisdom of those Egyptians, in which Moses was afterward learned, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently by the foretold passage, that the first instance of these humane practices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the northeast part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Heersheba, in the south of Heliopolis, where the Egyptians lived, at the distance of about a hundred and twenty miles only, was, in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phcenician shep- herdsmen. Now, according to the above account of this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now, if we look into my chronological table, published A. D. 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or, which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into (a) Gen. xii. 4. (b) Rom. iv. 19. (c) Heb. xi. 11. (d) Gen. xxvii. 8. (e) Rom. iv. 20, 21. (f) John viii. 56. (g) Acts ii. 32. (h) Gen. xxiv. 4. (i) Hebr. xi. 17. (j) Gen. xxvii. 8. (k) John xiii. 17. (l) Antiq. B. i. ch. xii. sect. 2. (m) John i. 29. (n) Marsh, p. 301. (o) Gen. xii. 4. (p) Rom. iv. 19. (q) Heb. xi. 11.
Dissertation II.

A. M. 2673, or into the thirteenth year of Tertullus or Aneus, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years' reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifice in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shows the great unreasonableness of the divine prohibition of sacrifice. Of course it is very probable the direct occasion of putting an end to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many if not for all generations afterward.

Dissertation III.

Tacitus' Account of the Origin of the Jewish Nation, and of the Particulars of the Last Jewish War; that the former was probably written in opposition to Josephus' Antiquities, and that the latter for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus' History of the Jewish War.

Since Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time, or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost unknown amongst the Romans of that age; and since therefore it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and of the Jewish war together, especially as our author is a very surprising paradox to me, both because he has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they are, and because Tacitus, especially lately when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject matter, and circumstances, is so very remarkable: may, indeed, since many of the particular facts belong peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. For, Tacitus, the other writer which we know of, whence such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minatius Felix, in his Octavius, sect. 33, as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Thus as to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his accusers, he lays at the mouth of Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, but not with these. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew, but a Roman. Nor does the name of Pontius Pilate, so much as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus' seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation as to be esteemed to the recommendations of others.

Most of these stories are an entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, of Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerome, with whom we never heard of any other of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus' account of the Jewish war may be, to some extent, derived from Josephus himself, as I mean from the commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, sect. 65, and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs at Rome are stated, as our author is so far interested in these things, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before the war, with which Antiochus, both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, probably the same history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, to Christ and Christians in the days of Tiberius, from any historians of the Jews, of which Jewish and Christian affairs the authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus' own account of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or trata, a miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly, ever leaves any thing relating to them that is true and solid, be when the same is in those Antiquities at this day of which matters more will be said in the note on this history immediately following.

History of the Jews.—Book V. Chap. II.

Since we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem], it seems proper to give an account of its original;—The traditions are, that it was built by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomizer of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before. Nor could his letters, as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus' seven books of the Jewish War were then so common; were in such great reputation as to be esteemed to the recommendations of others.

Most of these stories are an entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve by Vespasian and Titus, the emperors, of Agrippa, and king Archelaus, and Herod, king of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were deposited at the public library at Rome, as Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerome, with whom we never heard of any other of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things indeed Tacitus' account of the Jewish war may be, to some extent, derived from Josephus himself, as I mean from the commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, sect. 65, and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs at Rome are stated, as our author is so far interested in these things, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before the war, with which Antiochus, both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, probably the same history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, to Christ and Christians in the days of Tiberius, from any historians of the Jews, of which Jewish and Christian affairs the authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathens generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify; and this is so true as to Tacitus' own account of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or trata, a miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly, ever leaves any thing relating to them that is true and solid, be when the same is in those Antiquities at this day of which matters more will be said in the note on this history immediately following.
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from that burden, by sending them into the adja-
cent countries, under their captains Hierosol-
num and Judas. The greatest part, say they, were
wandering about the Ebre. They were obliged to change their habitation, in the reign
of king Cepheus. (2) There are those who re-
port that they were Assyrians, who wanting
lands got together, and obtained part of Egypt,
and also a part of the Phoenicians, the inhabi-
tants of their own, in the land of the Hebrews, and the
parts of Syria that lay nearest to them. (3) Others
pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that
the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poe-
tics, and the Solymos, or this nation, and gave
this their own name, Hierosolyma, to the city
which they built there. (b)

CHAP. III.] Many authors agree, that when
since an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt,
and also the destruction of the Cepheus, Bocchthas,
king went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon,
and begged he would grant him some relief
against this evil; and that he was enjoined to
purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of
men into other countries as hateful to the gods. (c)
That when he had sought for, and gotten them
all together, they were left in a vast desert: that
hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping
and inactivity; but one of those exiles, Moses,
by a sign under the star Saturn, and from a friend,
from any of the gods, or from any of mankind;
seeing they had been abandoned by both, but bade
them believe in him as in a celestial leader, (d)
by whose help they had already gotten clear of
the king, and escaped out of Egypt; and then
though they were unacquainted with every thing,
they began their journey at random. But no-
things tired them so much as the want of water;
and now they laid themselves down on the ground
as a herd of wild asses from feeding, and
went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees.
Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there
was thereabouts some grassy soil, and so he opened
large sources of water for them. (e) That
then was an easy to them; and when they had jour-
neyed continually six entire days, (f) on the sev-
enth day they drove out the inhabitants,
and obtained those lands wherein their city and tem-
ple were built. (g)

CHAP. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the na-
tion firmly to himself, he ordained new rites.
dem as such to be contrary to those of other men.
All things are with them profane which with us

(a) One would wonder how Tacitus or any heathen
by the name of Jupiter, or such other
are known to be blacks, could be the parents of the
which are known to be whites.
(b) The name of Moses, bodies improve the truth; and this Ta-
cites might have from Josephus, only disguised by himself.
(c) This Tacitus might have out of Josephus, Antiq. B.
28. ch. iii. sect. 2.
(d) Strange doctrine to Josephus! who truly observes
use this occasion, that the gods are angry not at bodily
perfections, but at wicked practices. Apion. B. i. sect. 98.
(e) The twenty-sixth, 26, or twenty-seventh, 27, year.
Be a blind confession of Tacitus that Moses professed
to have his laws from God.
(f) Until the Jews in the plain confession of Tacitus,
that Moses brought the Jews out of a rock in great
plenty, which he might have from Josephus, Antiq. B. iii.
ch. iv. sect. 7.
(g) Strange indeed! that 600,000 men should travel above
200 miles over the deserts of Arabia in six days, and
conquer Joves the seventh.

(i) That seven is greater, but only so far, that the
they were separated from the wicked and idolatrous nations
about them.

(k) This strange story contradicts what the same Ta-
cites will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the
body of notice he found no image there.

(l) The only instance of Tacitus or of his heathen
sisters, but no more.
(m) Such memorials of what must have been very re-
garded, and the rage to the rest of mankind, and with-
out any possibility.

are sacred; and again, those practices are allow-
ed among them which are by us esteemed most
abominable. (g)

They place the image of that animal in their
most holy places, by whose indication it was that
they had escaped their wandering condition and
their thirst. (h)

They sacrifice the rams by way of reproach to
[Jupiter] Hammon. An ox was also sacrificed, which
the Egyptians worship under the name of
Apis. (i)

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memori-
ml of that miserable destruction which the mangle
which to which the创建 was brought on them,
and with which they had been defiled. (j)

That they had endured a long famine they at
least still by their frequent fastings. (k) And that
they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an
argument from the bread of the Jews, which is
unleavened. (m)

It is generally supposed that they rest on the
seventh day, (n) because that day gave them
the first rest from their labours. Besides which
they are idle on every seventh year, (o) as being
pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they
do honour thereby to Saturn; (p) or perhaps the
Idei gave them this part of their religion, who
(as we said above) were expelled, together with
the Jews, by Solomon, and were the founders of
their nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest
orb, and of the seven planets exerts the principal
part of that energy whereby mankind are go-
vernment; and as these unfeathered bodies exert their power,
and perform their courses according to the number of seven. (q)

CHAP. V.] These rites, by what manner soever
they were first begun, are supported by their an-
cient laws, and their own rent. (r) They are awk-
ward, (s) impure, and got ground by their prae-
vity; for every vile fellow, despising the rights
of his forfathers, brought thither their tribute
and contributions, by which means the Jewish
commonwealth was augmented. And because
among themselves there is an insufferable fidel-
ty and kindness, always ready at hand, but bit-
er enmity towards all others; (t) they are a peo-
ple separated from others in their food, and in
their beds; (u) the state of the Jews is upon
earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign
women, (w) though nothing be esteemed unlaw-
ful among themselves. (e)

They have ordained circumcision of the part

(i) The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the
whole year, the day of expiation, the 10th of
(A)
(m) Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.
(n) It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or
confirm the Jews' sabbath day, and seventh part of
rest, were in memory of the seventh; and Sabbath-day's
rest, after the six days of creation. Every Jew, as well as
every Christian, could have informed him of these matters.
(o) A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbath
year, and without all good foundation. Tacitus probably
had never heard of the Jews' year of jubilees, so he says
nothing of it.

(p) As if the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before,
knew that the Greeks and Romans would long afterward
enjoy the same, all the seventh part of the year; this
observer was not so called of old time; and it is a question
whether before the Jews fell into idolatry, they ever heard
of such a star or god as Saturn. Amos v. 25: Acts vii. 43.
(q) That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs
of mankind, was a heathen and not a Jewish notion: nei-
er Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astro-
urgy, though the former of these do not pretend to

(r) This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses,
and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathen cared
not always to.

(s) What those pretended wicked and impure institu-
tions were, Tacitus does not inform us.
(t) Josephus shows the contrary, as to the Jews of
Mesopotamia, Antiq. B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 10.
(u) A high, and, I doubt, a false commendation of the Jews.
(v) An entirely false character, and contrary to their
many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus, Antiq. B.
ii. ch. ii. sect. 12.
used in generation, that they may thereby be dis-
tinguished from other people: the proselytes (w) to their religion have the same usage.

Righteousness seems to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren, in the ut-
most contempt; (z) but still they take care to in-
crease and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly un-
usual by any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and contempt of death.

They account for their custom of burying (g) in-
stead of burning their dead from the Egyptians; they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invis-
ible world below; but of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to that. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one Divine Being, (c) and that known only by the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this Being is su-
preme, and eternal, and immutable, and unap-
sirable, is their doctrine. Accordingly, they have no temples, or altars, nor do they (with their cities and temples: they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors. (a) But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and timbrels, wear ivy round their head, and make their usages very like those of the Thracian temple, (d) some have thought that they worshipped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus, for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and related for feasts, while the practices of the Jews are abs-
surd and sordid.

Chap. VI.] The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south; on the west by Mesopotamia and the (great) sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them. (c)

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have many black and white showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful: the produce of their land is like ours, in great plenty. (d)

They have also, besides ours, two trees pecu-
liar to themselves, the balsam tree and the palm tree. The leaves of palms are tall and beauti-
ful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is sewell, the veins quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are to be opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

(a) The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes of the gate.

(b) How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and kindness which Tacitus told us the Jews had towards their own? It is only means that they preferred the unwise commands before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.

(c) The limits of Judea are bounded by Syria on the north, on the east by Arabia, on the south by the Red Sea, and on the west by Mesopotamia and the Euphrates.

(d) These are very valuable' commodities, which Tacitus here makes, as to the unexpected piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one infinite, invisible God, and absolute reason, and of all worships of image or simi-
	larity, of the image of the emperor Caius himself; or of af-
sording it a place in the temple.

(e) The Jews held the temple to be the house of God, and almost only from him; out of whom, therefore, I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

(f) This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the front of the Jewish temple, was in all probability taken by Tacitus out of Josephus: but as the Jewish priests were accustomed with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, here Tacitus came to imagine this, I cannot tell.

Libera is her principal mountain, and is very high, and yet, what is very strange to be related, it is almost shadowed with trees, and never free from verdure.

The same mountain feeds the river Jordan with water, and affords it its foun-
tains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea; it passes through one and a second lake, unendiminished, but it is stopped by the third. (c)

This Jordan, and is worthy of circumsta-
ence, as if it were a sea. (f) It is of ill times, and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants by its strong smell. "The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes or such birds as use the water; for it is uncertain, but the fact is thus, that bodies cast into it are borne up as by somewhat solid. Those who can, and those who cannot swim, are equally borne up by it. (g) At a certain time of the year it casts out its fishes; (d) the mean of getting them is other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature of a black colour; and, if you pour vinegar upon it, it cleaves together, and swells upon the top. Those whose business it is, take it into their hands, and pull it up into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without further attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off; nor can you cast it off either with a brass or an iron instrument; but it cannot be driven out, and it cannot be prevented from destroying the menstrual purgations of women, as the an-
cient authors say. But those that are acquainted with the place assure us that those waves of him-
men are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the ship's side, which then takes it up in warm steams from the earth, and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

Chap. VII.] Not far from this lake are those mountains which are related to have been of old fa-
tile, and to have had many cities full of peo-
ples. (b) but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning; it is also said, that the footsteps of that destruction still remain, and that the earth itself speaks as burnt earth, and has lost its min-
eral fertility; and that, as an argument thereof all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at com-
plexion, that nature is so unmercifully corrupted, that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn and grapes, are put away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea, and the sands that are collected about its

(c) See the chorography of Judea in Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. sect. 3; whence most probably Tacitus quoted this short abridgment of it. It comes in both antedate-
ments before Vespasian's invasion.

(d) The limits of the cities of Judea might have been from Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. ch. iii. sect. 2, 3, 4. The other is in the present copies.

(e) The Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppage by the third, are exactly agreeable in Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. ch. x. sect. 7, 8.

(f) No less than 250 forbeus long and 159 broad, in Jo-

phus, Of the War, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4.

(g) Strabo says, that a man could not sink into the Jordan. The same is said by Pliny, Historia of the world.

(h) Josephus never says that this river was cast out at a certain time of the year only, and Strabo says th-

i This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place mentioned, and that it particularly points to the time of the year, is peculiar to him in all the copies. The rest thought the entrance were in the very same place, where now the lake is, but Josephantum Tacitus say he were in its neighbourhood only, which is Mr. Reaumur's opinion also.


Dissertation III.

Annal.—Book XII.

But be that was the brother of Pallas, whose surname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself]. He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, and without reproof, on account of his authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition: and even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command, [for he1 dividing up the prince’s statue in their temple.] And in the mean time Felix, by the use of unreasonalable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was irritated by his partner in the government, Cumanus, and the Samari-{

(t) After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, king Antiochus tried to conquer their superintendence, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most prodigate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arscaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians]. Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become a people not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote: which kings when they had been expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the destruction of cities, they introduced the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superintendence: for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

Chap. IX.”

The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Caius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory, and burnt the image of the sun, whereof there was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still.

Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Paccorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Pusias. Cumanus, who was a king of Parthia, was driven beyond Euphrates; and for the Jews, Caius Sosius subdued him. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod: and when Augustus conquered Antonius, he still augmented it.

After Herod’s death, without waiting for the disposal of Cesar, took upon him the title of king, who was brought to punishment by [or under] Quintilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation which possessed, and these children of Herod govern’d it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius, the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cesar’s statue in the temple; but rather than permit that to be done, the creation of Herod was put an end to by the death of Cesar.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freed men, to be governed by them. Titus Flavius Sosius Felix, one that exercised all kind of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla the granddaughter of Antonius, so that Felix was greater in name than Caius Cesar and Claudius, and the dominion of the same Antonius.

(t) A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

(t) Here begins Josephus’s and Tacitus’s true accounts of the war. See Of the War, sec. 7.

(2) They came to Petronius, the president of Syria, in warm words, but without arms, and so humble suppliants only. See Tacitus insincerely, where he afterward.
and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege]. We have already informed [the reader] that Vespasian had with three legions very well exercised in war. Histor. book ii. chap. 5.

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of glory; but what did first of all seem to confirm the certainty of his elevation to the highest dignity, and the glory of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these, he believed it was portended that he should come to the supremo; of there is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the name of Carmel, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and indeed no more than an altar and some worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: the priest, whose name was Basiliades, when he over and over looked at the entrails, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, a huge number of men. These doubtful answers were not delivered by fate, but at this time were explained: nor was any thing so much in public voice, and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they foretold what he expected.

Vespasianus was away, having fully agreed on their designs: the former to Antioc, the latter to Cassarea. Antiocch is the capital of Syria, and Cassarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the imperial crown was at Alexandria, where Titus Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to the oath of fidelity to him on the calends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, although (g) the army in winter had taken his oath on the thirtieth of the nones of July, with that eagerness that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, chap. 79. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. book iv. chap. 51.

During these months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time, when the winter and the spring and stay made for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events happened, by which the good will of heaven, and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour, was declared. A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexand- eria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneel- ed down by him and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstitions nation so others. He Rossi: that the emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another in- firm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed with the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Josephus, which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing to such terrible destruction upon the Romans, which he had threatened to execute by those Roman armies. Not only was another Roman general than Ves- pasian, which was not permitted to do so. Josephus, as the whole history of Josephus implies, and the place where now Vespasian was, which was no other than Judaea, requires also, though the insurrection due to the Roman emperor had brought so much trouble to the great city of Alexandria, only the nations or the innumerable to the Jews and the Galileans must be of Judea, and not of July. Hist. book vi. chap. 7. (a) The advancement was due to Vespasian, and Titus were as wise, 59. But I have described the synagogues in Vespasian, Hist. book i. 37, and seem to us well attested. Our Reader, therefore, has overlooked the heaviest crimes of Vespasian to preserve the reputation of his honest historian, Josephus, it is superfluous to mention the house of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to ed Caesar, as by the same god's suggestion, to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them, and when they were instant with him, he sometimes said to them, that as a person, and sometimes upon the reluctance of the informer, he flattered himself, and others flattered him with the hopes of succeeding. At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinions. Whether this sort of men were capable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be repaired, if the obstinacy were removed and his other's limbs were restored, but if an healing virtue were used ever, they were capable of being made whole. Per- haps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the emperor is called by them, because opposition in his eyes, and would, said he, that if the same succeeded, Caesar would have the glory, if not, the poor miserable objects would only be hoodwinked at. Whereupon Vespasian imagined that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on this business could be invisible, so he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitudes, who stood in great expectation, he did what they des- served as; upon which the same hand was re- moved, and every one seemed to be cured. Both these cures (r) are related to this day by those that were present, and when speaking falsely will get no reward.

BOOK V.—CHAP. I.

At the beginning of the same year Titus Caes- ar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his father were private persons, was celebrated for his partial conduct, acted now with justice and vigour, and hopes of repetition, the kind animosities both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another who should most en- courage him. He was also himself in a dispose- d manner, that he was there, and sought such fortune; and when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treasuring all after such an effectual manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good-will and good fortune. Alexander the great, and his general actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with the common soldiers, yet without any stain to his honour as a general. (c) He was received as Judea by three legions, the fifth, and the tenth, and the twenty-third, and the twenty- third legionaries. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty cohorts (d) of auxil- liaries accompanied, as also eight troops of horses.

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(a) This character of Titus agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions. (b) These, twenty cohorts and eight troops of horses were commanded by Josephus, Of the War, 8 u. chap. 1. sect. 6.
for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also their fear and experience had taught them generally what to look for. Moreover, the covest temper that prevailed under Claudius, gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money (b) leave to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were preparing for a siege. These walls were mentioned in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities, for every obstinate fellow ran away thither, and there became more seditions than before.

There were seen in Jerusalem and in many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called Bar-Gioras, (the son of Gioras,) had the middle parts of the city under him, and he had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were in a sort of superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation, but battles, factions, and burnings, were common to them all and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent to the Romans, as the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

Such prodigies (c) happened, as this nation, which is superstitions enough already, could not now any longer bear the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they stone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked like a bright pitcher's colour, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring, and at the same time there was a great mourning, and as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacred books, that at this very time the East would prevail, and that some saint came under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city was now left to its own fortune; and on the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between those that were at home.

The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and expense in its building than those of the cloisters wherewith the temple was enclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually, and the mountains were hollowed under ground; they had moreover pools and cisterns for the preservation of the rain water.

They built this city foresaw, that from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours they should have frequent wars; thence it came to pass, that they had been encircled.

(a) This word in Tacitus, post tempus, shows his legion, syne, if an expression was gone which was some months afterwards, in Josephus, run in his mind, Of the War, B. v. chap. iv. sect. 1.

(b) The petty bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem are at large in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. ii.

(c) Josephus distinctly mentions these horses or cavalry. 600 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner, Of the War, B. v. chap. ii. sect. 3.

(d) This is a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, that it would be dishonourable to stay till the Jews were starved out by famine, is in Josephus, Of the War, B. v. chap. ii. sect. 6. 

(e) These horses, or cavalry, are large in Josephus, Of the War, B. vi. chap. v. sect. 3.

(f) These interpretations and reflections are in Josephus, Of the War, B. vi. chap. vi. sect. 4.

(g) The number 600,000 for the besieged is no where in Josephus, but is there for the poor buried at the public charge, Of the War, B. vi. chap. xx. sect. 2. 

(h) About the number of the besieged under Cornelius Gallus, though they were many more afterward at Titus's siege, as Josephus implies, Of the War, B. vii. vii. vii. sect. 2.
Dissertation II.

they supposed they were to be carried away captives, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Caesar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by treachery. He stationed the darters among the legions; and there were no further engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

Annals.—Book XV.

Nero, in order to stifle the rumour, (as if himself had set Rome on fire,) ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practises, and by the vulgar, the Tiberians: these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, the procurator. (f) For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it broke out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter, and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities; and therefore, there were accused, who confessed, after a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them in their mockings, and demanded them, putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces: some were nailed to crosses, and others flamed to death: they were also used in the night-time in a kind of torches for illumination. Nero had offered his own garden for this spectacle. He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like the driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, and sometimes appearing as himself: whereon the commiseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man. N. B. Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in the Jewish and Christian manners, and in every thing that was hard to be believed, and of much greater authority than Tacitus; I mean Pliny's Epistle to Trajan when he was proconsul of Syria, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome. These are required in our esteem with Havercamp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be read, but almost to be learned by heart also.

Pliny's Epistle to Trajan,

Abou,' A. D. 112.

Sir,—It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding than I, who have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what, and how far, they use to be punished; as are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused], and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with the strong man? whether there be not room for pardon to many who are found in ignorance; or whether it may not be an advantage to one that has been a Christian, that he hath forsaken Christianity? whether the bare name, (f) with, for any crime besides, or this being connected to that name, be to be punished? In the mean time, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians: I asked them whether they were Christians, and if they were not, they were discharged; but Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: if they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed; (f) if I did not doubt but, let their confessions be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this and such whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that extremity. But since the examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A liberal was sent to me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused.] These denied that they were Christians, on their oaths; and I sent them to death. They called upon the gods, and supplicated to your image, (f) which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine: they also cursed Christ: (a) none of which things, as we know, they could do, if they were Christians. I caused them to be sent to death, that the Christians be compelled to do; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them that were named in the libel said they were Christians, but presently denied it again, that indeed they had been Christians a very few years, and some more; and one there was that said, he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of your gods; these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were sent on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrifice. This, which was not very bad, and they were commanded, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again; after which they were to proceed to something of so great a nature, of so common, but innocent meal, (a) which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden my such conventicles. These examinations made me resolve, if it be necessary to inquire by torture, what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids, who were called deaconesses; but I discovered no more than that they were addicted to a bad and to an extravagant superstition. If it be needful, we have never haditur that they have yet, and have recours to you, for the after seems to be well worth consultation, especially

(f) This is the case of St. Paul, who being a criminal Rome was allowed to appeal unto Caesar, and was sent to Rome accordingly. Acts xxii. 25—39; xvi. 25; xvi. 29.

(a) Amazing stupidity! that the emperor's image, one while he was alive, should be allowed capable of doing a thing that he was not only expressly prohibited for that being a Christian. Polybius reproved.—Eighth and six years hence I now serveth Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?

(a) This must most probably be the feast of chrism.
on account of the number of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, who are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger, for this superstition is spread like a cancer, not only in cities and towns, but in the country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

TREAJN'S EPISTLE TO PLINI.

MY PLEA—You have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that have forsaken the worship of the Christian religion, and taken part with the government of this kingdom, and it makes it plain that he is not so, by supplanting to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to be punished, but he and the rest are to be punished; but with this caution, that the public correction and publication of these, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus, against Apion, from Maim, and several other authors, and whatever may be done with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as wa know from Josephus himself contra Apion, B. i., sect. i., that many of his enemies on this occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thrusfully confuted in these two books written against Apion. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had not been able to read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confusion of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose his repentation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since therefore Tacitus, soon after the death of Nero, in the first part of his own history, and in contradiction to them, was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same with that published in Josephus, against Apion, from Maim, and several other authors, and whatever may be done with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself contra Apion, B. i., sect. i., that many of his enemies on this occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thrusfully confuted in these two books written against Apion. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had not been able to read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confusion of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose his repentation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VIII. It is therefore very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the preconceived opinions concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus than hearken to any of his other sources.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever; as also he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus allowed of such stress of facts, that they were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which indeed, no one can avoid seeing that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus, therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part: and this procedure of his is more the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality, [Hist. B. i. chap. i.] and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstition, and astral fanaticism, and the impiety of the gods, were strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since therefore Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ himself was a Jew, and that his apostles and first followers were Jews, and also knew that the Christian religion was derived from the Romanевreins, and contaminated with, he is not so much hated and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews; as therefore his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally held forth against the Jews, and whether he be true or not, and whether the Jews were treated with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself contra Apion, B. i., sect. i., that many of his enemies on this occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in these two books written against Apion. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had not been able to read these two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confusion of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose his repentation instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.
TABLE OF THE JEWISH WEIGHTS, MEASURES, &c. AND PARTICULARLY THOSE MENTIONED IN JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

Of Jewish Measures of Length.

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<thead>
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<th>Measure</th>
<th>Inches</th>
<th>Feet</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cabit, the standard</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Zordoth or large span,</td>
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<td>0.025</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Ezekiel's Canneh or reed,</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Arabian Canneb or pole,</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Schermes's line, or chain</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<td>3600</td>
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<td>Parassan,</td>
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Of the Jewish Measures of Capacity.

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<th>Cub.</th>
<th>Inches</th>
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<td>828</td>
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<td>828</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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<td>Him</td>
<td>134.54</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netretoes or Syrian firtik</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>0.25</td>
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Of the Jewish Weights and Coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>£. s. d.</th>
<th>P. s. f.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stater, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary,</td>
<td>0 2 6</td>
<td>0 5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrian Coin, equal to the shekel,</td>
<td>0 2 6</td>
<td>0 5 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekah, half of the shekel,</td>
<td>0 1 3</td>
<td>0 5 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Attica, one fourth,</td>
<td>0 0 7.1-2</td>
<td>0 11 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchn,</td>
<td>0 1 3</td>
<td>0 27 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerah, or Obolus, one twentieth</td>
<td>0 0 11-3</td>
<td>0 5 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneh, Mna—100 shekel in weight—21900 grains Troy</td>
<td>7 10 0</td>
<td>39 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneth, Mna, or Mna, as a coin,—60 shekels,</td>
<td>375 0 0</td>
<td>1665 0 0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drachma of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0 1 1</td>
<td>26 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekel of gold, not more than</td>
<td>0 4 4</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daric of gold,</td>
<td>1 0 4</td>
<td>5 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talent of gold, not more than</td>
<td>648 0 0</td>
<td>29 99 0</td>
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Table of the Jewish Months in Josephus and others, With the Syro-Macedonian Names Josephus gives them, and the Names of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nisan</td>
<td>Xanthicus</td>
<td>March and April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Iyar, silver—300 shekels</td>
<td>Artemesius</td>
<td>April and May</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Sivan</td>
<td>Desius</td>
<td>May and June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tamuz</td>
<td>Panemus</td>
<td>June and July</td>
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<td>5. Ab</td>
<td>Lous</td>
<td>July and August</td>
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<td>6. Elul</td>
<td>Goprtius</td>
<td>August and September</td>
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<td>7. Tisri</td>
<td>Hyperberistos</td>
<td>September and October</td>
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<td>8. Marhavan</td>
<td>Dias</td>
<td>October and November</td>
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<td>9. Casleu</td>
<td>Appelleus</td>
<td>November and December</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Tebeth</td>
<td>Audamun</td>
<td>December and January</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Adar</td>
<td>Pordius</td>
<td>January and February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ve Adar, or the second Adar intercalated</td>
<td>Dysn</td>
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### TABLE I.

**Comparative View of the Lives of the Patriarchs, from Adam to the Deluge.**—According to the Hebrew Computation.

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<th>A.M.</th>
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<td>130</td>
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### TABLE II.

**Chronological Table, from the Creation to the Birth of Our Lord.**

According to the Sutuations of three celebrated Writers.

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<th>Usher, (following the Hebrew.)</th>
<th>Josephus.</th>
<th>Pezron, (following the Septuagint.)</th>
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<td>2. The Deluge.</td>
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<td>2348</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The Vocation of Abraham.</td>
<td>3063</td>
<td>427 1921</td>
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<td>4. The Exodus of Israel.</td>
<td>2513</td>
<td>857 1491</td>
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<td>5. The Death of Moses.</td>
<td>2563</td>
<td>897 1291</td>
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<td>6. The Foundation of the Temple.</td>
<td>2392</td>
<td>1356 1013</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. The Captivity.</td>
<td>2307</td>
<td>1741 677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The 1st Edict, by Cyrus.</td>
<td>2568</td>
<td>1741 677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The 2d Edict, by Darius Hystaspis.</td>
<td>2396</td>
<td>1741 677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The Nativity of our Lord.</td>
<td>4004</td>
<td>2348 1506</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total number of Years... 4004